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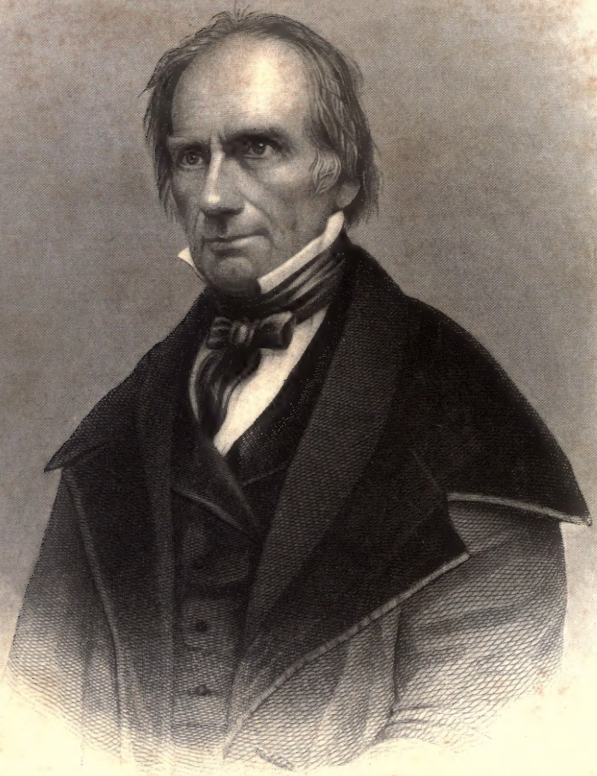

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H. Clay

THE

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

HENRY CLAY,

DOWN TO 1848

BY EPES SARGENT.

EDITED AND COMPLETED AT MR. CLAY'S DEATH,

BY HORACE GREELEY.

NEW AND ENLARGED EDITION,

CONTAINING

MR. CLAY'S SELECT SPEECHES.

NEW YORK AND AUBURN:
MILLER, ORTON & MULLIGAN.
NEW YORK: 25 PARK ROW.—AUBURN: 107 GENESEE-ST.
1856.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1852,
By H. GREELEY & T. McELRATH,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States, in and for the Southern District of New York.

AUBURN:
MILLER, ORTON & MULLIGAN,
STEREOTYPERS AND PRINTERS.

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INTRODUCTION.

SEVERAL sketches, more or less elaborate, of the Character and Career of HENRY CLAY, appeared during his life-time, oftener prefixed to collections of his Speeches; though one independent Memoir, of decided merit, was written more than twenty years since by GEORGE D. PRENTICE, Editor of the *Louisville Journal*, and then widely disseminated. That, however, has long been out of print, while the more eventful and memorable half of Mr. Clay's biography was yet in the future when Mr. Prentice wrote. And I have reason to believe that Mr. Clay himself gave the preference, among all the narratives of his life which had fallen under his notice, to that of EPES SARGENT, first issued in 1842, and republished, with its author's revisions and additions, in the summer of 1848.

The aim of Mr. Sargent was not so much to impart his own conception of Mr. Clay's views and motives as to enable every reader to infer them directly from the Statesman's own words, or those of his illustrious cotemporaries—whether compatriots or rivals. His work, therefore, is rather a collection of authentic materials for the future biographer than an original and exhaustive essay. For the time had not arrived—nay, has not *yet* arrived—for a final and authoritative analysis of Mr. Clay's character, nor for a conclusive estimate of the nature, value, tendencies,

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and results of his public measures. We Americans of 1852—nearly all of us who read or think, with many who do neither—are the heated partisans or embittered opponents of Mr. Clay—with him or against him, idolizing or detesting nim, we have struggled through all the past decades of our manhood. He has been our demigod or demon through the last quarter of a century, while many of us date our admiration or our hostility from the year 1812. If, then, we can but preserve and intelligibly present the facts essential to a just estimate of Mr. Clay's character, we may very properly remit to the next generation the duty of analyzing those facts, and determining what manner of man was the Orator of Ashland whose voice enchained and wielded listening Senates, and whose weaponless hand was mightier than the truncheon of generals, or the scepter of monarchs. It is at least the duty of his surviving friends to take care that he be not misrepresented to and undervalued by posterity because the facts essential to his true appreciation were not seasonably collected and fitly set forth.

This, then, is the aim and end of the work herewith submitted—a candid presentation of the facts essential to a just estimate of Mr Clay's Life and Public Services, from the point of view whence they were regarded by his devoted, unselfish compatriots and friends. If he has been over-estimated, if the system of Public Policy which he so long and ably advocated be mistaken and unsound, time will so determine. Should the ultimate verdict be—as I think it can not—adverse to his eminence as a Statesman, it need not therefore blast his reputation as a Man. That he was a sincere and ardent Patriot, an earnest though unpretending Philanthropist, a beloved Husband and Father, a kind and just Neighbor, a chivalrous Adversary, and an unfailing Friend—these are no longer doubtful. So much, at least, is secure from the venom of calumny and the accidents of fortune. Let some future Plutarch or Thucydides fix and declare the world's ultimate verdict on the American System and its Father; but we, who knew and loved him well, may more truly and vividly, even though awkwardly and feebly, depict how looked and felt, how spoke and acted, how lived and loved, the man Henry Clay.

The Editor, in revising the work of Mr. Sargent, has taken the responsibility of omitting or modifying some passages which involved harsh judgments of those Political brethren who, at one time or another, have seen fit to prefer some other Whig to Mr. Clay as a candidate for the Presidency. He did not perceive that those judgments bore any proper relation to Mr. Clay's character or career, while their reproduction would tend to revive feuds and heart-burnings now happily laid to rest. That Mr. Clay might have been elected President in 1840, had he been nominated by the Harrisburg Convention, may very readily be affirmed at this time, by men who had ample reason to doubt it at the gloomy close of the Elections of 1839. It was far easier to demonstrate, not in that year only, that Mr. Clay deserved to be President than that he would be a successful candidate. And there is nothing in this which, rightly considered, proves Whig principles obnoxious or Mr. Clay unpopular. Among the Three Million Voters of our Republic, a majority in favor of every feature in a comprehensive, affirmative, positive, vigorous system of Public Policy, can rarely be expected. One who assents to the general outline will object to this detail, another to that, and so on; while a great many decline fatiguing their brains with any thorough study or investigation, but jump at the conclusion that the truth lies somewhere between the contending parties, and probably about half way. Thus the expounder, the champion, the 'embodiment' of either party founded on great principles of public policy and logical in their adherence thereto, is almost certain to lose the votes of the great body of twaddlers, fence-men, and others who split the difference between the contending hosts, though his nomination has evoked the profoundest enthusiasm, and been hailed with unbroken acclamation. Let those who still marvel that Mr. Clay, while so popular a man, was not a successful candidate, consider what would have been the chance of Mr. Calhoun's election, had that eminent Statesman been nominated against his great antagonist in 1844, or indeed at any time. He would not have received one-fourth of the Electoral Votes; and yet Mr. Calhoun was the truest and ablest exponent the Country has known of the Political creed antagonist to that of Mr. Clay.

With regard to the important questions which have more recently agitated the Republic, especially those relating to or involved in the Compromise, the Editor has endeavored to place them fairly and clearly before the reader, so far at least, as was deemed necessary to a thorough understanding of Mr. Clay's course. If, in the absence of authorities and the haste of preparation, injustice has been done to any one, or any important fact has been overlooked, he solicits corrections, and will be happy to embody them in the Life.

One point may as well be here noted. It has recently been stated with confidence, by one who has in this case no conceivable motive for falsehood, that Mr. Clay was actually born in 1775, and so was two years older than he has hitherto been, and in the body of this work still is, represented. Improbable as this story would seem, it is not utterly devoid of corroboration. Should investigation establish its correctness, it will of course be readily conformed to in future editions of this work, should such be demanded.

And thus inviting correction, but by no means deprecating unfriendly criticism,—conscious that haste and a complication of engrossing duties have marred the execution of his work, but confident that the illustrious subject will nevertheless be found faithfully and clearly depicted in this volume, the Editor closes his task and solicits for its performance only that it be tried by the standard of its own modest aims, rather than by that of the critic's preconception of what its aims should have been.

H. G.

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LIFE

OF

HENRY CLAY.

I.

HIS YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD.

HENRY CLAY is a native of Hanover county, Virginia. He was born on the 12th of April, 1777, in a district of country familiarily known in the neighborhood as the *Slashes*. His father, a baptist clergyman, died during the revolutionary war, bequeathing a small and much-embarrassed estate and seven children, of whom Henry was the fifth, to the care of an affectionate mother. The surviving parent did not possess the means to give her sons a classical education; and the subject of our memoir received no other instruction than such as could be obtained in the log-cabin school-houses, still common in the lower parts of Virginia, at which spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic, are taught.

In 1792, his mother, who had become united, in a second marriage, with Mr. Henry Watkins, removed to Woodford county, Kentucky, taking all her children, with the exception of Henry and his oldest brother. It was always a subject of regret with Mr. Clay, that he was deprived at so early an age of his mother's counsel, conversation, and care. She was a woman of great strength of mind, and was tenderly attached to her children.

He had been only five years old when he lost his father; and, consequently, his circumstances in early life, if not actually indigent, were such as to subject him frequently to hard manual labor. He has ploughed in cornfields, many a summer-day,

without shoes, and with no other clothes on than a pair of Osnaburg trowsers, and a coarse shirt. He has often gone to mill with grain to be ground into meal or flour; and there are those who remember his youthful visits to Mrs. Darricott's mill, on the Pamunkey river. On such occasions he generally rode a horse without a saddle, while a rope supplied the place of a bridle. But in the absence of a more splendid equipment, a bag containing three or four bushels of wheat or corn was generally thrown across the horse's back, mounted upon which the future statesman would go to mill, get the grain ground, and return with it home.

At the age of fourteen, he was placed in a small retail store, kept by Mr. Richard Denny, near the market-house in the city of Richmond. He remained here till the next year (1792), when he was transferred to the office of the clerk of the high court of chancery, Mr Peter Tinsley. There he became acquainted with the venerable Chancellor Wythe, attracted his friendly attention, and enjoyed the benefit of his instruction and conversation. The chancellor being unable to write well, in consequence of the gout or rheumatism in his right thumb, bethought himself of employing his young friend as an amanuensis. This was a fortunate circumstance for the fatherless boy. His attention was thus called to the structure of sentences, as he wrote them down from the dictation of his employer; and a taste for the study of grammar was created which was noticed and encouraged by the chancellor, upon whose recommendation he read Harris's Hermes, Tooke's Diversions of Purley, Bishop Lowth's Grammar, and other similar works.

For his handwriting, which is still remarkably neat and regular, Mr. Clay was chiefly indebted to Mr. Tinsley. Chancellor Wythe was devoted to the study of Greek. He was at one time occupied in preparing reports of his decisions, and commenting upon those of the court of appeals, by which some of his were reversed; and in this work he was assisted by his amanuensis. After the reports were published, he sent copies to Mr. Jefferson, John Adams, Samuel Adams, and others. In these copies he employed Henry Clay to copy particular passages from Greek authors, to whom references had been made Not understand-

ing a single Greek character, the young copyist had to transcribe by imitation letter after letter.

Leaving the office of Mr. Tinsley the latter part of 1796, he went to reside with the late Robert Brooke, Esq., the attorney-general, formerly governor of Virginia. His only regular study of the law was during the year 1797, that he lived with Mr. Brooke; but it was impossible that he should not, in the daily scenes he witnessed, and in the presence of the eminent men whom he so often heard and saw, be in the way of gathering much valuable legal information. During his residence of six or seven years in Richmond, he became acquainted with all or most of the eminent Virginians of the period, who lived in that city, or were in the habit of resorting to it—with Edmond Pendleton, Spencer Roane, Chief-Justice Marshall, Bushrod Washington, Wickham, Call, Copeland, &c. On two occasions, he had the good fortune to hear Patrick Henry—once, before the circuit court of the United States for the Virginia district, on the question of the payment of the British debts; and again before the house of delegates of Virginia, on the claim of the supernumerary officers in the service of the state during the revolutionary war. Mr. Clay remembers that remarkable man, his appearance and his manner, distinctly. The impression of his eloquent powers remaining on his mind is, that their charm consisted mainly in one of the finest voices ever heard, in his graceful gesticulation, and the variety and force of expression which he exhibited in his face.

Henry Clay quitted Richmond in November, 1797, his eldest brother having died while he yet resided in that city. Bearing a license from the judges of the Virginia court of appeals to practise law, he established himself in Lexington, Kentucky. He was without patrons, without the countenance of influential friends, and destitute of the means of paying his weekly board. "I remember," says he, in his speech of June, 1842, at Lexington, "how comfortable I thought I should be, if I could make £100 Virginia money per year; and with what delight I received the first fifteen-shilling fee. My hopes were more than realized. I immediately rushed into a lucrative practice."

Before assuming the active responsibilities of his profession,

he devoted himself with assiduity several months to his legal studies. Even at that period the bar of Lexington was eminent for its ability. Among its members were George Nicholas, James Hughes, John Breckenbridge, James Brown, William Murray, and others, whose reputation was sufficient to discourage the most stout-hearted competition. But true genius is rarely unaccompanied by a consciousness of its power; and the friendless and unknown youth from Virginia fearlessly entered the field, which, to a less intrepid spirit, would have seemed preoccupied. He soon commanded consideration and respect. He was familiar with the technicalities of practice; and early habits of business and application, enabled him to effect an easy mastery of the cases intrusted to his charge. His subtle appreciation of character, knowledge of human nature, and faculties of persuasion, rendered him peculiarly successful in his appeals to a jury; and he obtained great celebrity for his adroit and careful management of criminal cases.

An anecdote is related of him about the time of his first entrance upon his profession, which shows that, notwithstanding his fine capacities, he had some native diffidence to overcome before they were fairly tested. He had joined a debating society, and at one of the meetings the vote was about to be taken upon the question under discussion, when he remarked in a low but audible whisper, that the subject did not appear to him to *have been exhausted.*

"Do not put the question yet—Mr. Clay will speak," exclaimed a member, who had overheard the half-hesitating remark.

The chairman instantly took the hint, and nodded to the young lawyer in token of his readiness to hear what he had to say. With every indication of extreme embarrassment, he rose, and in his confusion, began by saying: "*Gentlemen of the jury*"—unconsciously addressing his fellow-members as the tribunal, to which he had perhaps often made imaginary appeals in his dreams of a successful debût at the bar. His audience did not add to his agitation by seeming to notice it, and, after floundering and blushing for a moment or two, and stammering out a repetition of the words, "Gentlemen of the jury," he suddenly shook off all

signs of distrust and timidity, and launched into his subject with a promptitude and propriety of elocution, which excited general surprise.

To those familiar with the perfect self-possession of Mr. Clay's manner in after-life upon all occasions, the most trying and unexpected, this instance will present an amusing contrast; for the evidence is not on record of his ever having failed for an instant in his resources of repartee or of argument in debate.

Shortly after this early essay in public speaking, he was admitted as a practitioner before the Fayette court of quarter sessions, a court of general jurisdiction. Business soon poured in upon him, and during the first term he had a handsome practice. His manners and address, both in personal intercourse and before a jury, were unusually captivating. Frank in avowing his sentiments, and bold and consistent in maintaining them, he laid the foundation of a character for sincerity and honor, which amid all the shocks of political changes and the scurrility of partisan warfare, has never been shaken or tainted. In the possession of these attributes, beyond the reach of cavil or of question, is to be found the secret of that inalienable attachment among the vast body of his friends, which has followed him throughout his career.

One of the most important cases, in which Mr. Clay was engaged during the first three or four years of his professional life, was that in which he was employed to defend a Mrs. Phelps, indicted for murder. This woman was the wife of a respectable farmer, and until the time of the act for which she was arraigned, had led a blameless and correct life. One day, in her own house, taking some offence at a Miss Phelps, her sister-in-law, she levelled a gun, and shot her through the heart. The poor girl had only time to exclaim, "Sister, you have killed me," and expired. Great interest was excited in the case, and the court was crowded to overflowing on the day of trial. Of the fact of the homicide there could be no doubt. It was committed in the presence of witnesses, and the only question was to what class of crimes did the offence belong. If it were pronounced murder in the first degree, the life of the wretched prisoner would be the forfeit; but, if manslaughter, she would be punished merely by

confinement in the jail or penitentiary. The legal contest was long and able. The efforts of the connsel for the prosecution were strenuous and earnest; but Mr. Clay succeeded in not only saving the life of his client, but so moved the jury in her behalf by his eloquence, that her punishment was made as light as the law would allow. He gained much distinction by the ability he displayed in this case, and thenceforth it was considered a great object to enlist his assistance in all criminal pursuits on the part of the defendant. It is a singular fact, that in the course of a very extensive practice in the courts of criminal jurisprudence, and in the defence of a large number of individuals arraigned for capital offences, he never had one of his clients sentenced to death.

Another case, in which he acquired scarcely less celebrity, was shortly afterward tried in Harrison county. Two Germans, father and son, had been indicted for murder. The deed of killing was proved to the entire satisfaction of the court, and was considered an aggravated murder. Mr. Clay's efforts were therefore directed to saving their lives. The trial occupied five days, and his closing appeal to the jury was of the most stirring and pathetic description. It proved irresistible, for they returned a verdict of manslaughter. Not satisfied with this signal triumph, he moved an arrest of judgment, and, after another day's contest, prevailed in this also. The consequence was, that the prisoners were discharged without even the punishment of the crime, of which the jury had found them guilty.

An amusing incident occurred at the conclusion of this trial. An old, withered, ill-favored German woman, who was the wife of the elder prisoner, and the mother of the younger, on being informed of the success of the final motion for an arrest of judgment, and the consequent acquittal of her husband and son, ran toward the young advocate, in the excess of her gratitude and joy, and throwing her arms about his neck, kissed him in the eyes of the crowded court. Although taken wholly by surprise, and hardly flattered by blandishments from such a source, young Clay acquitted himself upon the occasion, with a grace and good humor, which won him new applause from the spectators. All great emotions claim respect; and in this instance so far did the

sympathies of the audience go with the old woman as to divest of ridicule an act, which, in the recital, may seem to have partaken principally of the ludicrous.

Notwithstanding his extraordinary success in all the criminal suits intrusted to him, the abilities displayed by Mr. Clay at this period in civil cases were no less brilliant and triumphant. In suits growing out of the land laws of Virginia and Kentucky, he was especially distinguished; rapidly acquiring wealth and popularity by his practice. It is related of him, that on one occasion, in conjunction with another attorney, he was employed to argue, in the Fayette circuit court, a question of great difficulty—one in which the interests of the litigant parties were deeply involved. At the opening of the court, something occurred to call him away, and the whole management of the case devolved on his associate counsel. Two days were spent in discussing the points of law, which were to govern the instructions of the court to the jury, and on all of these points, Mr. Clay's colleague was foiled, by his antagonist. At the end of the second day, Mr. Clay reentered the court. He had not heard a word of the testimony, and knew nothing of the course which the discussion had taken; but, after holding a very short consultation with his colleague, he drew up a statement of the form in which he wished the instructions of the court to be given to the jury, and accompanied his petition with a few observations, so entirely novel and satisfactory, that it was granted without the least hesitation. A corresponding verdict was instantly returned; and thus the case, which had been on the point of being decided against Mr. Clay's client, resulted in his favor in less than half an hour after the young lawyer had entered the courthouse.

For an enumeration of the various cases in which Mr. Clay was about this time engaged, and in which his success was as marked as his talents were obvious, we must refer the curious reader to the records, of the courts of Kentucky, and hasten to exhibit the subject of our memoir on that more extended field, where his history began to be interwoven with the history of his country, and a whole nation hailed him as a champion worthy of the best days of the republic.

As early as 1797, when the people of Kentucky were about

electing a convention to form a new constitution for that state Mr. Clay may be said to have commenced his political career His first efforts were made on behalf of human liberty, and at the risk of losing that breeze of popular favor, which was wafting on his bark bravely toward the haven of worldly prosperity and renown.

The most important feature in the plan for a new constitution, submitted to the people of Kentucky, was a provision for the prospective eradication of slavery from the state by means of a gradual emancipation of those held in bondage. Against this proposal a tremendous outcry was at once raised. It was not to be questioned that the voice of the majority was vehemently opposed to it. But young Clay did not hesitate as to his course. In that spirit of self-sacrifice, which he has since displayed on so many occasions, in great public emergencies, without stopping to reckon the disadvantages to himself, he boldly arrayed himself on the side of those friendly to emancipation. In the canvass, which preceded the election of members of the convention, he exerted himself with all the energy of his nature in behalf of that cause, which he believed to be the cause of truth and justice. With his voice and pen he actively labored to promote the choice of delegates who were pledged to its support. He failed in the fulfilment of his philanthropic intentions, and incurred temporary unpopularity by his course. Time, however, is daily making more apparent the wisdom of his counsel.

Mr. Clay has not faltered in his views upon this great question. They are now what they were in 1797. In maintaining the policy of this scheme of gradual emancipation he has ever been fearless and consistent. Let it not be imagined, however, that he has any sympathy with that incendiary spirit which would seem to actuate some of the clamorers for immediate and unconditional abolition at the present time. His views were far-sighted, statesman-like, and sagacious. He looked to the general good, not merely of his contemporaries but of posterity; and his plan stretched beyond the embarrassments of the present hour into the future. A more just, practicable, and beneficent scheme than his, for the accomplishment of a consummation so devoutly to be wished by humanity at large, could not have been devised.

It resembled that adopted in Pennsylvania in the year 1780 at the instance of Dr. Franklin, according to which, the generation in being were to remain in bondage, but all their offspring, born after a specified day, were to be free at the age of twenty-eight, and, in the meantime, were to receive preparatory instruction to qualify them for the enjoyment of freedom. Mr. Clay thought with many others, that, as the slave states had severally the right to judge, every one exclusively for itself, in respect to the institution of domestic slavery, the proportion of slaves to the white population in Kentucky at that time was so inconsiderable, that a system of gradual emancipation might have been adopted without any hazard to the security and interests of the commonwealth.

Recently a charge was made by the principal opposition paper at the south, that Mr. Clay had joined the abolitionists; and the ground of the charge was the averment that he had written a letter to Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, approving the leading views of that party. Upon inquiry, it appeared, however, that the letter was written by Cassius M. Clay, a namesake. In noticing the erroneous statement, Mr. Clay remarked, in a letter to a friend: "I do not write letters for different latitudes. I have but one heart, and one mind; and all my letters are but copies of the original, and if genuine, will be found to conform to it wherever they may be addressed."

Would that every candidate for the presidency might say this with equal sincerity and truth!

Notwithstanding the failure of his exertions in arresting the continuance of negro servitude in Kentucky, Mr. Clay has never shrunk from the avowal of his sentiments upon the subject, nor from their practical manifestations in his professional and political career. For several years, whenever a slave brought an action at law for his liberty, Mr. Clay volunteered as his advocate; and he always succeeded in obtaining a decision in the slave's favor. Opposition in every shape would seem to have roused the most ardent sympathies of his soul, and to have enlisted his indignant eloquence in behalf of its unfriended object. The impulses, which urged him at this early day to take the part of the domestic bondsmen of his own state, were the same with those

by which he was instigated, when the questions of recognising South American and Grecian independence were presented to the consideration of a tardy and calculating Congress.

During the administration of John Adams, 1798–'9, the famous alien and sedition laws were passed. The popular opposition with which these extraordinary measures were received, is still vividly remembered in the United States. By the "alien law," the president was authorized to order any alien, whom "he should judge dangerous to the peace and safety" of the country, "to depart out of the territory within such time" as he should judge proper, upon penalty of being "imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years," &c.

The "sedition law" was designed to punish the abuse of speech and of the press. It imposed a heavy pecuniary fine, and imprisonment for a term of years, upon such as should combine or conspire together to oppose any measure of government: upon such as should write, print, utter, publish, &c., "any false, scandalous and malicious writing against the government of the United States or the president," &c.

Mr. Clay stood forth one of the earliest champions of popular rights in opposition to these memorable laws. Kentucky was one of the first states that launched their thunders against them; and though many speakers came forward to give expression to the indignation which was swelling in the public heart, none succeeded so well in striking the responsive chord as our young lawyer. He was soon regarded as the leading spirit of the opposition party; and it was about this time that the title of "THE GREAT COMMONER" was bestowed upon him.

A gentleman, who was present at a meeting where these obnoxious laws were discussed, describes the effect produced by Mr. Clay's eloquence as difficult adequately to describe. The populace had assembled in the fields in the vicinity of Lexington, and were first addressed by Mr. George Nicholas, a distinguished man, and a powerful speaker. The speech of Mr. Nicholas was long and eloquent, and he was greeted by the most enthusiastic cheers as he concluded. Clay being called for, promptly appeared, and made one of the most extraordinary and impressive harangues ever addressed to a popular assembly. A striking

evidence of its thrilling and effective character, may be found in the fact that when he ceased, *there was no shout—no applause.* So eloquently had he interpreted the deep feelings of the multitude, that they forgot the orator in the absorbing emotions he had produced. A higher compliment can hardly be conceived. The theme was a glorious one for a young and generous mind, filled with ardor in behalf of human liberty—and he did it justice. The people took Clay and Nicholas upon their shoulders, and forcing them into a carriage, drew them through the streets, amid shouts of applause. What an incident for an orator, who had not yet completed his twenty-second year!

Four years afterward, when Mr. Clay was absent from the county of Fayette, at the Olympian springs, he was brought forward, without his knowledge or previous consent, as a candidate, and elected to the general assembly of Kentucky. He soon made his influence felt in that body. In 1804, Mr. Felix Grundy, then an adroit and well-known politician, made an attempt in the legislature, to procure the repeal of a law incorporating the Lexington Insurance Office. He was opposed at every step by Mr. Clay; and the war of words between the youthful debaters, drew to the hall of the house throngs of spectators. Grundy had managed to secure beforehand a majority in his favor in the house; but the members of the senate flocked in to hear Clay speak, and so cogently did he present to their understandings the impolicy and unconstitutionality of the measure under discussion, that they refused to sanction it after it had been passed by the other branch, and a virtual triumph was thus obtained.

It is recorded of Mr. Clay, that, in the course of the legislative session of 1805, he made an effort to procure the removal of the seat of government from Frankfort; and his speech on the occasion is said to have been an inimitable specimen of argument and humor. Frankfort is peculiar in its appearance and situation, being sunk, like a huge pit, below the surrounding country, and environed by rough and precipitous ledges. "We have," said Mr. Clay, "the model of an inverted hat; Frankfort is the body of the hat, and the lands adjacent are the brim. To change the figure it is *nature's great penitentiary;* and if the members of

this house would know the bodily condition of the prisoners, let him look at those poor creatures in the gallery."

As he said this, he pointed with his finger to half a dozen figures, that chanced, at that moment, to be moving about in the gallery, more like animated skeletons than respectable compounds of flesh and blood. The objects thus designated, seeing the attention of the whole assembly suddenly directed toward them, dodged, with ludicrous haste, behind the railing, and the assembly was thrown into a convulsion of merriment. This *argumentum ad hominem* proved irresistible. The members of the house agreed that it was expedient to remove the seat of government, but it was subsequently found impossible to decide upon a new location, and the legislature continues to hold its sessions at Frankfort.

It was an early resolution of Mr. Clay, that no litigants, rich or poor, should have occasion to say, that for want of counsel they could not obtain justice at every bar where he could appear for them. Col. Joseph Hamilton Daviess, at that time United States district attorney, and a man of influence and distinction, had committed an assault and battery at Frankfort, on Mr. Bush, a respectable citizen, and a tavern-keeper at that place. The bar of Frankfort declined instituting an action for the latter against Col. D. Bush finally appealed to Henry Clay, who promptly undertook the case, and brought the suit in Lexington. In the argument of a preliminary question, Mr. Clay felt it his duty to animadvert with some severity upon the conduct of Col. Daviess; whereupon the latter, after the adjournment of the court, addressed a note to him, remonstrating against his course, and expressing a wish that it should not be persevered in. Mr. Clay immediately replied that he had undertaken the cause of Mr. Bush from a sense of duty; that he should submit to no dictation as to his management of it, which should be according to his own judgment exclusively; but that he should hold himself responsible for whatever he did or said, in or out of court. A challenge ensued; Mr. Clay accepted it, and proceeded to Frankfort for the hostile meeting. There, by the interposition of mutual friends, the affair was accommodated in a manner honorable to both parties.

In the autumn of 1806, the celebrated Aaron Burr was arrested in Kentucky, on a charge of being engaged in an illegal warlike enterprise. The sagacity and penetration of that extraordinary man were never more clearly evinced than in his application to Mr. Clay to defend him. Mr. Clay believed, and it was generally believed in Kentucky, that the prosecution was groundless, and was instituted by Col. Daviess, whom we have already mentioned, who was a great admirer of Col. Hamilton, and who disliked Burr, because he had killed Hamilton in a duel, and was, moreover, his opponent in politics. Mr. Clay felt a lively sympathy for Col. Burr, on account of his being arrested in a state distant from his own, on account of his misfortunes, and the distinguished stations he had filled. Still he declined appearing for him, until Burr gave him written assurances that he was engaged in no enterprise forbidden by law, and none that was not known and approved by the cabinet at Washington. On receiving these assurances, Mr. Clay appeared for him; and, thinking that Burr ought not to be dealt with as an ordinary culprit, he declined receiving from him any fee, although a liberal one was tendered.

Burr was acquitted. Mr. Clay shortly after proceeded to Washington, and received from Mr. Jefferson an account of the letter in cipher, which had been written by Burr to General Wilkinson, together with other information of the criminal designs of Burr. Mr. Clay handed the written assurances above mentioned, to Mr. Jefferson at the request of the latter.

On his return from Ghent, Mr. Clay made a brief sojourn in the city of New York, and visited, among other places of interest, the federal court, then in session, escorted by his friend, the late Mr. Smith, then marshal, formerly a senator from New York. On entering the court-room, in the city-hall, the eyes of the bench, bar, officers, and attendants upon the court, were turned upon Mr. C., who was invited to take a seat upon the bench, which he politely declined, and took a position in the bar. Shortly after, a small gentleman, apparently advanced in years, and with bushy, gray hair, whom Mr. Clay for an instant did not recognise, approached him. He quickly perceived it was Col. Burr, who tendered his hand to salute Mr. Clay. The latter declined receiving it. The colonel, nevertheless, was not repulsed, but

engaged in conversation with Mr. Clay, remarking, that he had understood, that besides the treaty of peace, the American commissioners had negotiated a good commercial convention with Great Britain. Mr. Clay replied coldly, that such a convention was concluded, and that its terms would be known as soon as it was promulgated by public authority. Col. B. expressed a wish to have an hour's interview with him, and Mr. C. told him where he stopped — but the colonel never called. Thus terminated all the intercourse which ever took place between Henry Clay and Aaron Burr. And yet, even out of materials like these, Detraction has tried to manufacture weapons for its assaults!

II.

HIS COURSE IN CONGRESS—1806 TO 1812.

On the twenty-ninth of December, 1806, Mr. Clay produced his credentials, and took his seat in the senate of the United States. He had been elected by the legislature of the state of Kentucky, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of the Hon. John Adair; and, from the journals of Congress, he seems to have entered at once actively upon the discharge of the duties of his new and exalted position. His first speech was in favor of the erection of a bridge over the Potomac river; and at this period, we perceive the dawning of those views of "internal improvement," which he afterward carried out so ably, and his advocacy of which should alone be sufficient to entitle him to the lasting gratitude of the country. He amused the senate, on this occasion, by quoting a passage from Peter Pindar, as applicable to a senator by whom he had been assailed, and who was remarkable for the expression of superior sagacity which his countenance was wont to assume when he rebuked the younger members of the body. The picture was apt and graphic:—

> "Thus have I seen a magpie in the street,
> A chattering bird, we often meet;
> A bird for curiosity well known,
> With head awry, and cunning eye,
> Peep knowingly into a marrow-bone."

This speech was soon followed by his presentation of a resolution, advocating the expediency of appropriating a quantity of land toward the opening of the canal proposed to be cut around the rapids of the Ohio, on the Kentucky shore.

The subject of appropriations for internal improvements was at that time a novelty. So far as it related to the establishment of post-roads, it had, it is true, been discussed in February, 1795; but no formal opinion of Congress was expressed, so as to be a precedent for future action.

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Clay, Giles, and Baldwin, was now appointed to consider the new resolution, and on the twenty-fourth of February, 1807, Mr. Clay made an able report to the senate, in which we find the following passage: "How far it is the policy of the government to aid in works of this kind when it has no distinct interest; whether, indeed, in such a case, it has the constitutional power of patronage and encouragement, it is not necessary to be decided in the present instance." A few days afterward, he reported a bill providing for the appointment of commissioners to ascertain the practicability of removing the obstructions in the navigation of the Ohio at the rapids. This bill passed the senate by a vote of eighteen to eight.

The following resolution, presented the day of the passage of the bill, shows that Mr. Clay, thus early in his career, was deeply impressed with the importance of a system of internal improvement. He may truly be called the father of that system which has so incalculably advanced the general prosperity of the Republic:—

"*Resolved*, That the secretary of the treasury be directed to prepare and report to the senate at their next session, a plan for the application of such means as are within the power of Congress, to the purposes of opening roads and making canals; together with a statement of undertakings of that nature, which, as objects of public improvement, may require and deserve the aid of government; and, also, a statement of works, of the nature mentioned, which have been commenced, the progress which has been made in them, and the means and prospect of their being completed; and all such information as, in the opinion of the secretary, shall be material in relation to the objects of this resolution."

The resolution was passed with but three dissenting voices.

During this session, an attempt was made to suspend the *habeas corpus* act, for the purpose of enabling the president to

arrest, without going through the forms and delays of the law Col. Burr, of whose evil intentions there was now sufficient proof. Mr. Clay did not speak on the motion, but his vote was recorded against it, not through any tenderness toward Burr, but because of the danger of instituting such a precedent against the liberty of the citizen. The motion was, however, carried in the senate, but defeated in the house of representatives.

Mr. Clay's election to the senate of the United States, had been but for the fraction of a term, amounting to a single session. In the summer of 1807, he was again chosen by the citizens of Fayette to represent them in the Kentucky legislature, and at the next session he was elected speaker of the assembly. In this position, he did not content himself with faithfully discharging the ordinary duties of a speaker. He entered the arena of debate, and took an active part in most of the important discussions before the house. A motion having been made to prohibit the reading, in the courts of Kentucky, of any British decision, or elementary work on law, he opposed it with a vigor and eloquence that could not fail of effect. More than four fifths of the members of the house had evinced a determination to vote for the motion. It was argued that the Americans, as an independent people, ought not to suffer themselves to be governed, in the administration of justice, by the legal decisions of a foreign power. Mr. Clay had to contend against a most formidable array of popular prejudice. To obviate one of the most potent arguments of the friends of the motion, he ingeniously moved to amend it by limiting the exclusion of British decisions from Kentucky, to those only which have taken place since the 4th of July, 1776, the date of American independence, and suffering all which preceded that period to remain in force He maintained that before the declaration of our independence, the British and Americans were the same nation, and the laws of the one people were those of the other. He then entered upon one of the most eloquent harangues that ever fell from his lips. He exposed the barbarity of a measure which would annihilate, for all practical uses in the state, the great body of the common law; which would "wantonly make wreck of a system fraught with the intellectual

wealth of centuries, and whelm its last fragment beneath the wave."

Those who had the good fortune to hear Mr. Clay on this occasion, describe his speech as one of transcendent power, beauty, and pathos. A gentleman, who was a partaker in the effect produced by his eloquence, says: "Every muscle of the orator's face was in motion; his whole body seemed agitated, as if every part were instinct with a separate life; and his small, white hand, with its blue veins apparently distended, almost to bursting, moved gracefully, but with all the energy of rapid and vehement gesture. The appearance of the speaker seemed that of a pure intellect, wrought up to its mightiest energies, and brightly glowing through the thin and transparent veil of flesh that enrobed it."

It is almost needless to add that Mr. Clay prevailed on this occasion in turning the tide in his favor, and the original motion was rejected.

A report drawn up by him in 1809 upon a question of disputed election is worthy of notice in this place. The citizens of Hardin county, who were entitled to two representatives in the general assembly, had given 436 votes for Charles Helm, 350 for Samuel Haycraft, and 271 for John Thomas. The fact being ascertained that Mr. Haycraft held an office of profit under the commonwealth, at the time of the election, a constitutional disqualification attached and excluded him. He was ineligible, and therefore could not be entitled to his seat. It remained to inquire into the pretensions of Mr. Thomas. His claim could only be supported by a total rejection of the votes given by Mr. Haycraft, as void to all intents whatever. Mr. Clay contended that those votes, though void and ineffectual in creating any right in Mr. Haycraft to a seat in the house, could not affect, in any manner, the situation of his competitor. Any other exposition would be subversive of the great principle of free government, that the majority shall prevail. It would operate as a fraud upon the people; for it could not be doubted that the votes given to Mr. Haycraft were bestowed under a full persuasion that he had a right to receive them. It would, in fact, be a declaration that disqualification produced qualification—that the incapacity of one man capacitated another to hold a seat in that house. The

committee, therefore, unanimously decided that neither of the gentlemen was entitled to a seat.

Such were the principles of Mr. Clay's report. It was unanimously adopted by the house; and its doctrines have ever since governed the Kentucky elections.

In December, 1808, Mr. Clay introduced before the legislature of Kentucky a series of resolutions approving the embargo, denouncing the British orders in council, pledging the coöperation of Kentucky to any measures of opposition to British exactions, upon which the general government might determine, and declaring that "THOMAS JEFFERSON *is entitled to the thanks of his country for the ability, uprightness, and intelligence which he has displayed in the management both of our foreign relations and domestic concerns.*"

Mr. Humphrey Marshall opposed these resolutions with extraordinary vehemence, and introduced amendatory resolutions of a directly opposite tendency; but Mr. Marshall was the only one who voted in favor of the latter. Mr. Clay's original resolutions were adopted by a vote of sixty-four to one.

Soon after this event, Mr. Clay introduced a resolution recommending that every member, for the purpose of encouraging the industry of the country, should clothe himself in garments of domestic manufacture. This resolution was at once most emphatically denounced by Mr. Humphrey Marshall, who stigmatized it as the project of a demagogue, and applied a profusion of harsh and ungenerous epithets to the mover. Mr. Clay retorted, and the quarrel went on until it terminated in a hostile encounter. The parties met, and by the first shot Mr. Marshall was slightly wounded. They stood up a second time, and Mr. Clay received a hardly perceptible flesh-wound in the leg. The seconds now interfered, and prevented a continuance of the combat.

Mr. Clay was once again called upon in the course of his political career, by the barbarous exactions of society, to consent to a hostile encounter; but we are confident that no man at heart abominated the custom more sincerely than he. The following passage in relation to this subject occurs in an address, which, in his maturer years, he made to his constituents: "I owe it to the community to say, that whatever heretofore I may have done,

or by inevitable circumstances might be forced to do, no man holds it in deeper abhorrence than I do that pernicious practice. Condemned as it must be by the judgment and philosophy, to say nothing of the religion, of every thinking man, it is an affair of feeling about which we can not, although we should, reason. Its true corrective will be found when all shall unite, as all ought to unite, in its unqualified proscription."

When the bill to suppress duelling in the district of Columbia came before the senate of the United States, in the spring of 1838, Mr. Clay said, no man would be happier than he to see the whole barbarous system for ever eradicated. It was well known, that in certain quarters of the country, public opinion was averse from duelling, and no man could fly in the face of that public opinion, without having his reputation sacrificed; but there were other portions again which exacted obedience to the fatal custom. The man with a high sense of honor, and nice sensibility, when the question is whether he shall fight or have the finger of scorn pointed at him, is unable to resist, and few, very few, are found willing to adopt such an alternative. When public opinion shall be renovated, and chastened by reason, religion, and humanity, the practice of duelling will at once be discountenanced. It is the office of legislation to do all it can to bring about that healthful state of the public mind, and although it may not altogether effect so desirable a result, yet he had no doubt it would do much toward it, and with these views he would give his vote for the bill.

In the winter session of Congress, in 1809–'10, Mr. Clay took his seat a second time in the senate of the United States. He had been elected by the legislature by a handsome majority to supply a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Buckner Thurston, whose term wanted two years of its completion. From this period the public history of Mr. Clay may be found diffused through the annals of the Union. The archives of the republic are the sources from which the materials for his biography may be henceforth derived. When time shall have removed the inducements for interested praise or censure, posterity will point to the records of his civic achievements, glorious though bloodless, no less as furnishing a well-established title to their

admiration and gratitude, than as a perpetual monument of his fame.

The predilections which Mr. Clay had early manifested in behalf of American manufactures and American principles, were unequivocally avowed in his first speech before the senate on being elected a second time to that body as far back as April, 1810. A bill was under discussion appropriating a sum of money for procuring munitions of war, and for other purposes; and an amendment had been proposed, instructing the secretary of the navy, to provide supplies of cordage, sail-cloth, hemp, &c., and to give a preference to those of American growth and manufacture. Mr. Lloyd of Massachusetts moved to strike out this part of the amendment; and a discussion arose concerning the general policy of promoting domestic manufactures, in which Mr. Clay boldly declared himself its advocate.

The fallacious course of reasoning urged by many against domestic manufactures, namely, the distress and servitude produced by those of England, he said would equally indicate the propriety of abandoning agriculture itself. Were we to cast our eyes upon the miserable peasantry of Poland, and revert to the days of feudal vassalage, we might thence draw numerous arguments against the pursuits of the husbandman. In short, take the black side of the picture, and every human occupation will be found pregnant with fatal objections.

The sentiments avowed thus early in our legislative history by Mr. Clay are now current throughout our vast community; and the "American System," as it has been called, is generally admitted to be not only a patriotic, but a politic system. But let it not be forgotten, that it is to the persevering and unremitted exertions of Henry Clay, that we are indebted for the planting and the cherishing of that goodly tree, under the far-spreading branches of which so many find protection and plenty at the present day.

The amendments advocated by Mr. Clay on this occasion were adopted, and the bill was passed. The first step toward the establishment of his magnificent "system" was taken.

Another speech in which he distinguished himself during the session, is that upon the question of the right of the United

States to the territory lying between the rivers Mississippi and Perdido, comprising the greater part of Western Florida. This important region, out of which the states of Alabama and Mississippi have since been formed, was claimed by Spain as a part of her Florida domain. The president, Mr. Madison, had issued a proclamation declaring this region annexed to the Orleans territory, and subject to the laws of the United States. The federalists maintained that we had no claim to the territory—that it belonged to Spain—and that Great Britain, as her ally, would not consent to see her robbed.

Mr. Clay stepped forth as the champion of the democracy and the president, and eloquently vindicated the title of the United States to the land. His arguments evince much research, ingenuity and logical skill; and on this, as on all occasions, he manifested that irrepressible sympathy with the people—the mass—his eloquent expressions of which had gained him in Kentucky the appellation of the GREAT COMMONER. Mr. Horsey, one of the senators from Delaware, had bemoaned the fate of the Spanish king. Mr. Clay said in reply: "I shall leave the honorable gentleman from Delaware to mourn over the fortunes of the fallen Charles. I have no commiseration for princes. MY SYMPATHIES ARE RESERVED FOR THE GREAT MASS of mankind; and I own that the people of Spain have them most sincerely."

With regard to the deprecated wrath of Great Britain, Mr Clay said, with a burst of indignant eloquence, which is but inadequately conveyed in the reported speech:—

"Sir, is the time never to arrive, when we may manage our own affairs, without the fear of insulting his Britannic majesty? Is the rod of British power to be for ever suspended over our heads? Does Congress put on an Embargo to shelter our rightful commerce against the piratical depredations committed upon it on the ocean? We are immediately warned of the indignation of England. Is a law of Non-Intercourse proposed? The whole navy of the haughty mistress of the seas is made to thunder in our ears. Does the president refuse to continue his correspondence with a minister, who violates the decorum belonging to his diplomatic character, by giving, and deliberately repeating an affront to the whole nation? We are instantly menaced with the chastisement which English pride will not fail to inflict. Whether we assert our rights by sea, or attempt their maintenance by land—whithersoever we turn ourselves, this phantom incessantly pursues us!"

The strong American feeling, the genuine democratic dignity, which pervade this speech are characteristic of the man and of the principles, which, throughout a long and trying public career,

ne has steadfastly maintained. And yet we find new-fledged politicians and dainty demagogues of modern fashionable manufacture charging this early and consistent leader of the democracy —this friend and supporter of Jefferson and of Madison—this main pillar of the party, who originated and conducted to a glorious termination the last war—charging him with federalism and aristocracy! Every act of his life—every recorded word that ever fell from his lips gives the lie to the imputation.

Mr. Clay's labors during the session appear to have been arduous and diversified—showing on his part unusual versatility, industry, and powers of application. He was placed on several important committees, and seems to have taken part in all discussions of moment. On the 26th of March, 1810, from the committee to whom was recommitted a bill granting a right of preëmption to purchasers of public lands in certain cases, he reported it with amendments, which were read; and, after undergoing some alterations, it was again recommitted, reported, and finally passed by the senate. Mr. Clay was the early friend of the poor settler on the public lands, and he has always advocated a policy which, while it is extremely liberal toward that class, is consistent with perfect justice to the people at large, who are the legitimate owners of the public domain.

On the 29th of March, Mr. Clay brought in a bill supplementary to an act entitled "An Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes, and to preserve Peace on the Frontier." The bill was referred to a committee, of which he was appointed chairman; and to his intelligent labors in their behalf, the people of the west were indebted for measures of protection of the most efficient character.

The 20th of April succeeding, on motion of Mr. Clay, the bill to enable the people of the Orleans territory, now Louisiana, to form a constitution and government was amended by a provision requiring that the laws, records, and legislative proceedings of the state should be in the English language. On the 27th of the same month, he had leave of absence for the rest of the session, after accomplishing an amount of public business that few men could have despatched with so much promptitude, ability, and advantage to the country.

The third session of the eleventh Congress commenced on the 3d of December, 1810. Mr. Clay was once more in his seat in the senate.

The subject of renewing the charter of the United States bank, was now the great topic before Congress. Mr. Clay had been instructed by the legislature of Kentucky to oppose a recharter and his own convictions at the time accorded with theirs. He addressed the senate at some length in opposition to the proposed measure. He lived to rectify his opinions on this important question; and his reasons for the change must be satisfactory to every candid mind. They are given in an address to his constituents in Lexington, dated the 3d of June, 1816.

In a speech to the same constituents, delivered the 9th of June, 1842, he alludes to the subject in these terms:—

"I never but once changed my opinion on any great measure of national policy, or any great principle of construction of the national constitution. In early life, on deliberate consideration, I adopted the principles of interpreting the federal constitution, which had been so ably developed and enforced by Mr. Madison in his memorable report to the Virginia legislature; and to them, as I understood them, I have constantly adhered. Upon the question coming up in the senate of the United States, to recharter the first Bank of the United States, thirty years ago, I opposed the recharter upon convictions which I honestly entertained. The experience of the war which shortly followed, the condition into which the currency of the country was thrown, without a bank, and, I may now add, later and more disastrous experience, convinced me I was wrong. I publicly stated to my constituents, in a speech at Lexington (that which I had made in the house of representatives not having been reported) my reasons for the change; and they are preserved in the archives of the country. I appeal to that record; and I am willing to be judged now and hereafter by their validity.

"I do not advert to the fact of this solitary instance of change of opinion, as implying any personal merit, but because it is a fact. I will, however, say that I think it very perilous to the utility of any public man, to make frequent changes of opinion, or any change, but upon grounds so sufficient and palpable, that the public can clearly see and approve them."

Many important subjects were discussed by the senate during the session of 1810–'11; and Mr. Clay was in all of them conspicuous. His zeal and efficiency in the public service began to attract the eyes of the whole country. He was not the representative of Kentucky alone. His capacious heart and active mind, uncontracted by sectional jealousies or local bigotry, comprehended the entire union in their embrace.

At the expiration of his second fractional term of service in

the senate of the United States, having returned to Kentucky, he was elected a member of the federal house of representatives Congress convened on the day designated by proclamation, the fourth day of November, 1811 ; and, on the first ballot for speaker, 128 members being present, he was chosen by a majority of 31, over all opposition.

The affairs of the nation were never in a more critical position than at this juncture. The honor of the republic was at stake. A long series of outrages perpetrated against our commerce by England and by France, had reached a height at which farther toleration would have been pusillanimous. Under the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, our ships were seized, and our property confiscated by the French, in a manner to provoke the warmest indignation of a free people. Great Britain vied with France, and finally far surpassed her in her acts of violence and rapine toward us. Each of the belligerent nations sought a pretext in the conduct of the other for her own injustice.

At length France, in answer to our remonstrances, repealed her odious decrees so far as we were concerned, and practically abandoned her system of seizure and oppression. Great Britain did not follow her example.

A year had elapsed since the French decrees were rescinded ; but Great Britain persisted in her course, affecting to deny their extinction. The ships of the United States, laden with the produce of our soil and labor, navigated by our own citizens, and peaceably pursuing a lawful trade, were seized on our coasts, and, at the very mouth of our own harbors, condemned and confiscated. But it was the ruffianly system of impressment—by which American freemen, pursuing a lawful life of hardship and daring on the ocean, were liable to be seized, in violation of the rights of our flag, forced into the naval service of a foreign power, and made, perhaps, the instruments of similar oppression toward their own countrymen—it was this despotic and barbarous system, that principally roused the warlike spirit of Congress and the nation. And posterity will admit, that this cause of itself was an all-sufficient justification for hostile measures. The spirit of that people must have been debased, indeed, which could have tamely submitted to such aggressions.

The feelings of Mr. Clay on this subject, seem to have been of the intensest description. Though coming from a state distant from the seaboard, the wrongs and indignities practised against our mariners by British arrogance and oppression, fired his soul and stirred his whole nature to resistance. To him, the idea of succumbing a moment to such degrading outrages was intolerable. The nation had been injured and insulted. England persisted in her injuries and insults. It was useless to temporize longer. He was for war, prompt, open, and determined war. He communicated to others the electric feelings that animated his own breast. He wreaked all his energies on this great cause.

In appointing the committee on foreign relations, to whom the important question was to be referred, he was careful to select a majority of such members as partook of his own decided views. Peter B. Porter, of New York, was the chairman; and, on the 29th of November, he made a report, in which the committee earnestly recommended, in the words of the president, "that the United States be immediately put into an armor and attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." They submitted appropriate resolutions for the carrying out of this great object.

On the 31st of December, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, Mr. Breckenridge in the chair, on a bill from the senate, providing for the raising of twenty-five thousand troops. Of this measure, Mr. Clay was the warmest, and at the same time most judicious advocate. He addressed the house eloquently in its behalf, and urged it forward, on all occasions, with his best energies.

He contended that the real cause of British aggression was not to distress France, as many maintained, but to destroy a rival. "She saw," continued he, "in your numberless ships, which whitened every sea—in your hundred and twenty thousand gallant tars—the seeds of a naval force, which, in thirty years, would rival her on her own element. *She, therefore, commenced the odious system of impressment, of which no language can paint my execration! She* DARED *to attempt the subversion of the personal freedom of your mariners!*"

In concluding, Mr. Clay said he trusted that he had fully estab-

lished these three positions: That the quantum of the force proposed by the bill was not too great; that its nature was such as the contemplated war called for; and that the object of the war was justified by every consideration of justice, of interest, of honor, and love of country. Unless that object were at once attained by peaceful means, he hoped that war would be waged before the close of the session.

The bill passed the house on the 4th of January succeeding; and, on the 22d of the same month, the report of the committee, to whom that part of the president's message, relating to a naval establishment, was referred, being under discussion, Mr. Clay spoke in favor of an increase of the navy, advocating the building of ten frigates.

In his remarks, on this occasion, he contended that a description of naval force entirely within our means, was that which would be sufficient to prevent any single vessel, of whatever metal, from endangering our whole coasting trade—blocking up our harbors, and laying under contributions our cities—a force competent to punish the insolence of the commander of any single ship, and to preserve in our own jurisdiction, the inviolability of our peace and our laws.

"Is there," he asked, "a reflecting man in the nation, who would not charge Congress with a culpable neglect of its duty, if, for the want of such a force, a single ship were to bombard one of our cities? Would not every honorable member of the committee inflict on himself the bitterest reproaches, if, by failing to make an inconsiderable addition to our little gallant navy, a single British vessel should place New York under contribution."

On the 29th of January, 1812, the bill to increase the navy passed the house by a handsome majority. To Mr. Clay's eloquent advocacy of the measure, the country is largely indebted for the glorious naval successes which afterward shed a new and undying lustre upon our history. But for the gallant and effective navy, which sprang up under such auspices, the main arm of our defence would have been crippled. While we contemplate with pride our achievements upon the sea—the memorable deeds of our Lawrences, Decaturs, Hulls, Bainbridges, and Perrys—let us not forget the statesman, but for whose provident sagacity and intrepid spirit, the opportunity of performing those exploits might never have been afforded.

III.

THE WAR OF 1812—MR. CLAY'S EFFORTS.

THE cause of Mr. Clay's transference from the senate to the house of representatives, was his own preference, at the time, of a seat in the popular branch. His immediate appointment as speaker was, under the circumstances, a rare honor, and one never, before or since, conferred on a new member. Among the qualifications which led to his selection for that high station, was his known firmness, which would check any attempt to domineer over the house; and many members had a special view to a proper restraint upon Mr. John Randolph, of Virginia, who, through the fears of Mr. Varnum, and the partiality entertained for him by Mr. Macon, the two preceding speakers, had exercised a control which, it was believed, was injurious to the deliberations of the body.

On the first of April, 1812, the following confidential communication from the president to Congress was received:—

"Considering it as expedient, under existing circumstances and prospects, that a general embargo be laid on all vessels now in port, or hereafter arriving, for the period of sixty days, I recommend the immediate passage of a law to that effect. "JAMES MADISON."

This proposition was immediately discussed in the house in secret session. Mr. Clay took an active part in the debate. He gave to the measure recommended by the president, his ardent and unqualified support. "I APPROVE OF IT," said he, "BECAUSE IT IS TO BE VIEWED AS A DIRECT PRECURSOR TO WAR."

Among the vehement opponents of the measure were John Randolph, of Virginia, and Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts. Mr. Randolph said that the honorable speaker was mistaken when he said the message was for war. Mr. R. had "too much reliance on the wisdom and virtue of the president, to believe that he would be guilty of such gross and unparalleled treason." He maintained that the proposed embargo was not to be regarded as an initial step to war—but as a subterfuge—a retreat from battle. "What *new* cause of war," he asked, "or of an embargo, has

arisen within the last twelve months? The affair of the Chesapeake is settled: no new principles of blockade have been interpolated in the laws of nations. Every man of candor would ask why we did not, then, go to war twelve months ago."

"What *new* cause of war has been avowed!" said Mr. Clay in reply—"The affair of the Chesapeake is settled, to be sure, but only to paralyze the spirit of the country. Has Great Britain abstained from impressing our seamen—from depredating upon our property? We have complete proof, in her capture of our ships, in her exciting our frontier Indians to hostility, and in her sending an emissary to our cities to excite civil war, that she will do everything to destroy us: our resolution and spirit are our only dependence. Although I feel warmly upon this subject," continued he, "I pride myself upon those feelings, and should despise myself if I were destitute of them."

Mr. Quincy expressed in strong terms his abhorrence of the proposed measure. He said that his objections were, that it was not what it pretended to be; and was what it pretended not to be. That it was not embargo preparatory to war; but that it was embargo as a substitute for the question of declaring war. "I object to it," said he, "because it is no efficient preparation; because it is not a progress toward honorable war, but a subterfuge from the question. If we must perish, let us perish by any hand except our own. Any fate is better than self-slaughter."

Against this storm of opposition Henry Clay presented an undaunted front. As the debate was carried on with closed doors, no ample record of it is in existence. But a member of Congress, who was present, says: "On this occasion Mr. Clay was a flame of fire. He had now brought Congress to the verge of what he conceived to be a war for liberty and honor, and his voice rang through the capitol like a trumpet-tone sounding for the onset. On the subject of the policy of the embargo, his eloquence, like a Roman phalanx, bore down all opposition, and he put to shame those of his opponents, who flouted the government as being unprepared for war."

The message recommending an embargo was referred to the committee on foreign relations, who reported a bill for carrying it into effect, which was adopted by the house. In the senate it underwent a slight alteration in the substitution of ninety for sixty days as the term of the embargo. This amendment was concurred in; and on the fourth of April, Mr. Crawford reported

the presentation of the bill to the president, and that it had received his signature.

Through the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Clay and his associates, the attitude of resistance to aggression was now boldly assumed—the first step was taken toward a definite declaration of war.

On assuming the duties of the speakership, Mr. Clay had foreseen, from the peculiar character and constitution of mind of that remarkable and distinguished man, John Randolph, that it would be extremely difficult to maintain with him relations of civility and friendship. He, therefore, resolved to act on the principle of never giving and never receiving an insult without immediate notice, if he were in a place where it could be noticed. Their mode of intercourse or non-intercourse was most singular. Sometimes weeks, months would pass without their speaking to each other. Then, for an equal space of time, no two gentlemen could treat each other with more courtesy and attention. Mr. Randolph, on entering the house in the morning, while these better feelings prevailed, would frequently approach the chair, bow respectfully to the speaker, and inquire after his health.

But Mr. Randolph was impatient of all restraints, and could not brook those which were sometimes applied to himself by the speaker in the discharge of the duties of the chair. On one occasion he appealed to his constituents, and was answered by Mr. Clay. The case was this: Mr. Clay, in one of his morning rides, passed through Georgetown, where Mr. Randolph, the late Mr. J. Lewis, of Virginia, and other members of Congress, boarded. Meeting with Mr. Lewis, that gentleman inquired of him, if there were any news. Mr. Clay informed him, that on the Monday following, President Madison would send a message to Congress, recommending a declaration of war against Great Britain.

The day after this meeting, Mr. Randolph came to the house, and having addressed the speaker in a very rambling, desultory speech for about an hour, he was reminded from the chair, that there was no question pending before the house. Mr. Randolph said he would present one. He was requested to state it. He stated that he "meant to move a resolution, that it was *not* ex-

pedient to declare war against Great Britain." The speaker, according to a rule of the house, desired him to reduce his resolution to writing, and to send it to the chair; which he accordingly did. And thereupon the speaker informed him, that before he could proceed in his speech, the house must decide that it would now consider his resolution. Upon putting that question to the house, it was decided by a large majority, that it would not consider the resolution; and thus Mr. Randolph was prevented from haranguing the house farther in its support. Of this he complained, and published an address to his constituents.

Some expressions in this address seeming to require notice, Mr. Clay addressed a communication under his own name, to the editor of the National Intelligencer, in which he reviews the questions at issue between him and Mr. Randolph, and vindicates the justice of his recent decisions in the chair.

"Two principles," he says, "are settled by these decisions; the first is, that the house has a right to know, through its organ, the specific motion which a member intends making, before he undertakes to argue it at large; and in the second place, that it reserves to itself the exercise of the power of determining whether it will consider it at the particular time when offered, prior to his thus proceeding to argue it."

Every succeeding Congress has acknowledged the validity of the principles thus established by Mr. Clay. They seem essential to the proper regulation of debate in a large legislative body.

A bill from the committee on foreign relations was reported to the house on the third of June, 1812, declaring *war between Great Britain and her dependencies and the United States.* On the eighteenth it had passed both houses of Congress; and the next day the president's proclamation was issued, declaring the actual existence of war. On the sixth of July, Congress adjourned to the first Monday in November.

Mr. Clay, Mr. Lowndes, Mr. Cheves, and Mr. Calhoun, were the leaders, who sustained and carried through the declaration of war. Mr. Clay, fully impressed with the conviction that the honor and the highest interests of the country demanded the declaration, was ardent, active, and enthusiastic in its support. To him was assigned the responsible duty of appointing all the committees. Mr. Madison's cabinet was not unanimous on the sub-

ject of war. Mr. Madison himself was in favor of it, but seemed to go into it with much repugnance and great apprehension. The character of his mind was one of extreme caution, bordering on timidity, although he acted with vigor and firmness when his resolution was once taken. Mr. Gallatin, the secretary of the treasury, was adverse to the war.

It was the opinion and wish of Mr. Clay, Mr. Cheves, and their friends, that financial as well as military and naval preparations should be made for the conduct of the war, and previous to its declaration. Accordingly, Mr. Gallatin was called upon to report a system of finance appropriate to the occasion. He had enjoyed a high reputation for financial ability: and it was hoped and anticipated that he would display it when he made his required report. But the disappointment was great when his report appeared. Instead of indicating any new source of revenue —instead of suggesting any great plan calling forth the resources of the nation, he reported in favor of all the old odious taxes—excise, stamp duties, &c., which had been laid during previous administrations. It was believed from the offensive nature of the taxes, that his object was to repress the war spirit. But far from being discouraged, Mr. Clay and his friends resolved to impose the duties recommended.

Mr. Cheves was at the head of the committee of ways and means, and went laboriously to work to prepare numerous bills for the collection of taxes as suggested by the secretary. After they were prepared and reported, it was for the first time discovered that the executive, and more especially Mr. Gallatin, were opposed to the imposition of taxes at the same session during which war was declared. This was ascertained by the active exertions of Mr. Smiley, a leading and influential member from Pennsylvania, and the confidential friend of Mr Gallatin. In circles of the members, he would urge in conversation the expediency of postponing the taxes to another session, saying that the people would not take both war and taxes together.

Mr. Clay and his friends were aware that the levying of taxes, always a difficult and up-hill business, could not be effected without the hearty concurrence of the executive, and therefore reluctantly submitted to the postponement—a most unfortunate delay,

the ill effects of which were felt throughout the whole war. Mr Cheves, who had plied the laboring oar, in preparing the various revenue bills, was highly indignant, and especially at the conduct of Mr. Gallatin, of whom he ever afterward thought unfavorably.

The negotiations with Mr. Foster, the British chargé d'affaires at Washington, were protracted up to the period of the declaration of war. The republican party became impatient of the delay. It was determined that an informal deputation should wait upon Mr. Madison to expostulate against longer procrastination; and it was agreed that Mr. Clay should be the spokesman. The gentlemen of the deputation accordingly called on the president, and Mr. Clay stated to him that Congress was impatient for action; that further efforts at negotiation were vain; that an accommodation was impracticable; that the haughty spirit of Britain was unbending and unyielding; that submission to her arrogant pretensions, especially that of a right to impress our seamen, was impossible; that enough had been done by us with a view to conciliation; that the time for decisive action had arrived, and war was inevitable.

By way of illustrating the difference between speaking and writing, and *acting*, Mr. Clay related to Mr. Madison an anecdote of two Kentucky judges. One talked incessantly from the bench. He reasoned everybody to death. He would deliver an opinion, and first try to convince the party that agreed with him, and then the opposite party. The consequence was, that business lagged, the docket accumulated, litigants complained, and the community were dissatisfied. He was succeeded by a judge, who never gave any reasons for his opinion, but decided the case simply, for the plaintiff or the defendant. His decisions were rarely reversed by the appellate court—the docket melted away—litigants were no longer exposed to ruinous delay—and the community were contented. "Surely," said Mr. Clay, "we have exhausted the argument with Great Britain."

Mr. Madison enjoyed the joke, but, in his good-natured, sly way, said, he also had heard an anecdote of a French judge, who after the argument of the cause was over, put the papers of the contending parties into opposite scales, and decided according to the preponderance of weight.

Speaking of the opposition of the federal party, Mr. Clay remarked that they were neither to be conciliated nor silenced—"Let us do what we sincerely believe to be right, and trust to God and the goodness of our cause."

Mr. Madison said, that our institutions were founded upon the principle of the competency of man for self-government, and that we should never be tired of appealing to the reason and judgment of the people.

Such deference did Mr. Madison have, however, for the opinion and advice of his friends, that shortly after this conference, he transmitted his war-message to Congress.

The second session of the twelfth Congress took place at the appointed time. Events of an important character had occurred since it last met. The war had been prosecuted; and we had sustained some reverses. General Hull, to whom had been assigned the defence of the Michigan frontier, had, after an unsuccessful incursion into the neighboring territory of the enemy, surrendered ingloriously the town and fort of Detroit.

An attack was made on the post of the enemy near Niagara, by a detachment of regular and other forces under Major-General Van Rensselaer, and after displaying much gallantry had been compelled to yield, with considerable loss, to reinforcements of savages and British regulars.

But though partially unsuccessful on the land, the Americans had won imperishable trophies on the sea. Our public ships and private cruisers had made the enemy sensible of the difference between a reciprocity of captures, and the long confinement of them to their side. The frigate Constitution, commanded by Captain Hull, after a close and short engagement, had completely disabled the British frigate Guerriere. A vast amount of property had been saved to the country by the course pursued by a squadron of our frigates under the command of Commodore Rodgers.

A strong disposition to adjust existing difficulties with Great Britain had, in the meantime, been manifested by our government. Our chargé d'affaires at London had been authorized to accede to certain terms, by which the war might be arrested, without awaiting the delays of a formal and final pacification.

These terms required substantially, that the British orders in council should be repealed as they affected the United States, without a revival of blockades violating acknowledged rules; that there should be an immediate discharge of American seamen from British ships. On such terms an armistice was proposed by our government.

These advances were declined by Great Britain, *from an avowed repugnance to a suspension of the practice of impressment during the armistice.*

Early in January, 1813, a bill from the military committee of the house, for the raising of an additional force, not exceeding twenty thousand men, underwent a long and animated discussion in committee of the whole. The opposition, on this occasion, rallied all their strength to denounce the measure. Mr. Quincy, to whom we have before alluded, made a most bitter harangue against it and its supporters. "Since the invasion of the buccaneers," said Mr. Q., "there is nothing in history like this war." Alluding to some of the friends of the administration, he stigmatized them as "household troops, who longed for what they could pick up about the government-house—toad-eaters, who lived on eleemosynary, ill-purchased courtesy, upon the palace, who swallowed great men's spittle, got judgeships, and wondered at the fine sights, fine rooms, and fine company, and, most of all, wondered how they themselves got there."

Napoleon Bonaparte and Thomas Jefferson, came in for no small share of the same gentleman's abuse.

On the 8th of January, Mr. Clay rose in defence of the new army bill, and in reply to the violent and personal remarks, which had fallen from the opposition. His effort, on this occasion, was one of the most brilliant in his whole career. It is imperfectly reported; for Mr. Clay has been always too inattentive to the preparation of his speeches for the press. To form an adequate idea of his eloquence we must look to the effect it produced—to the legislation which it swayed.

That portion of Mr. Clay's speech, in which he vindicated his illustrious friend, Thomas Jefferson, from the aspersions of the leader of the federalists, has been deservedly admired as a speci-

men of energetic and indignant eloquence. It must have fallen with crushing effect upon him who called it forth :—

"Next to the notice which the opposition has found itself called upon to bestow upon the French emperor, a distinguished citizen of Virginia, formerly president of the United States, has never, for a moment, failed to receive their kindest and most respectful attention. An honorable gentleman from Massachusetts (of whom, I am sorry to say, it becomes necessary for me, in the course of my remarks, to take some notice) has alluded to him in a remarkable manner. Neither his retirement from the public office, his eminent services, nor his advanced age, can exempt this patriot from the coarse assaults of party malevolence. No, sir; in 1801, he snatched from the rude hands of usurpation the violated constitution of the country, and *that* is his crime. He preserved that instrument in form, and substance, and spirit, a precious inheritance for generations to come, and for *this* he can never be forgiven.

"How vain and impotent is party rage, directed against such a man! He is not more elevated by his lofty residence upon the summit of his own favorite mountain, than he is lifted by the serenity of his mind, and the consciousness of a well-spent life, above the indignant passions and feelings of the day. No! his own beloved Monticello is not less moved by the storms that beat against its sides, than is this illustrious man by the howlings of the whole British pack let loose from the Essex kennel!

"When the gentleman, to whom I have been compelled to allude, shall have mingled his dust with that of his abused ancestors—when he shall have been consigned to oblivion, or, if he live at all, shall live only in the treasonable annals of a certain junto, the name of Jefferson will be hailed with gratitude, his memory honored and cherished as the second founder of the liberties of the people, and the period of his administration will be looked back to as one of the happiest and brightest epochs in American history.

"But I beg the gentleman's pardon. He has indeed secured to himself a more imperishable fame than I had supposed. I think it was about four years ago, that he submitted to the house of representatives, an initiative proposition for an impeachment of Mr. Jefferson. The house condescended to consider it. *The gentleman debated it with his usual temper, moderation, and urbanity.* The house decided upon it in the most solemn manner; and, although the gentleman had somehow obtained a second, the final vote stood, *one for, and one hundred and seventeen against the proposition!* The same historic page that transmitted to posterity the virtue and glory of Henry the Great of France, for their admiration and example, has preserved the infamous name of the fanatic assassin of the excellent monarch. The same sacred pen that portrayed the sufferings and crucifixion of the Savior of mankind, has recorded for universal execration, the name of him who was guilty—not of betraying his country—but—a—kindred crime—of betraying his God!"*

In other parts of his speech, Mr. Clay electrified the house by his impassioned eloquence. The day was intensely cold, and, for the only time in his life, he found it difficult to keep himself warm by the exercise of speaking. But the members crowded

* When the proposition was made to impeach Thomas Jefferson, Mr. Clay is said to have risen, and exclaimed in reference to the mover, "Sir, the gentleman soils the spot he stands upon."

around him in hushed admiration; and there were few among them who did not testify by their streaming tears his mastery over the passions. The subject of impressment was touched upon; and the matchless pathos with which he depicted the consequences of that infernal system—portraying the situation of a supposed victim to its tyrannic outrages—thrilled through every heart. The reported passage can but feebly convey a conception of the impression produced. As well might we attempt to form an adequate idea of one of Raphael's pictures from a written description, as to transcribe the eloquence of Clay on this occasion. Even were his glowing words fully and correctly given, how much of the effect would be lost in the absence of that sweet and silvery voice—that graceful and expressive action—those flashing eyes—which gave life, and potency, and victory to his language! In conclusion, Mr. Clay said:—

"My plan would be to call out the ample resources of the country, give them a judicious direction, prosecute the war with the utmost vigor, strike wherever we can reach the enemy, at sea or on land, and negotiate the terms of a peace at Quebec or at Halifax. We are told that England is a proud and lofty nation, which, disdaining to wait for danger, meets it half way Haughty as she is, we once triumphed over her, and, if we do not listen to the counsels of timidity and despair, we shall again prevail. In such a cause, with the aid of Providence, we must come out crowned with success but if we fail, let us fail like men—lash ourselves to our gallant tars, and expire together in one common struggle—FIGHTING FOR FREE TRADE AND SEAMEN'S RIGHTS!"

The army bill, thus advocated by Mr. Clay, passed the house on the 14th of January, 1813, by a vote of seventy-seven to forty-two.

On the 10th of February, the president of the senate, in the presence of both houses of Congress, proceeded to open the certificates of the votes of the electors of the several states for president and vice president of the United States. The vote stood: *For president*, James Madison, 128: De Witt Clinton, 89. *For vice-president*, Elbridge Gerry, 131: Jared Ingersoll, 86. James Madison and Elbridge Gerry were accordingly elected—the former for a second term. The war policy of the administration was triumphantly sustained by the people.

The first session of the thirteenth Congress, commenced the twenty-fourth of May, 1813. Mr. Clay was again chosen speaker

by a large majority, and his voice of exhortation and encouragement continued to be raised in committee of the whole in vindication of the honor of the country and the conduct of the war. The president, in his message, alluded to the spirit in which the war had been waged by the British, who "were adding to the savage fury of it on one frontier, a system of plunder and conflagration on the other, equally forbidden by respect for national character, and by the established rules of civilized warfare."

Mr. Clay eloquently called attention to this portion of the message, and declared that if the outrages said to have been committed by the British armies and their savage allies, should be found to be as public report had stated them, they called for the indignation of all Christendom, and ought to be embodied in an authentic document, which might perpetuate them on the page of history. Upon this motion, a resolution was adopted, referring this portion of the president's message to a select committee, of which Mr. Macon was chairman. A report was subsequently submitted from this committee, in which an abundance of testimony was brought forward, showing that the most inhuman outrages had been repeatedly perpetrated upon American prisoners by the Indian allies of British troops, and often under the eye of British officers. The report closed with a resolution requesting the president to lay before the house, during the progress of the war, all the instances of departure, by the British, from the ordinary mode of conducting war among civilized nations.

The new Congress had commenced its session at a period of general exultation among all patriotic Americans. Several honorable victories, by sea and land, had shed lustre on our annals. Captain Lawrence, of the Hornet, with but eighteen guns, had captured, after a brisk and gallant action of fifteen minutes, the British sloop-of-war Peacock, Captain Peake, carrying twenty-two guns and one hundred and thirty men—the latter losing her captain and nine men, with thirty wounded, while our loss was but one killed and two wounded. York, the capital of Upper Canada, had been captured by the army of the centre, in connection with a naval force on Lake Ontario, under Gen. Dearborn; while the issue of the siege of Fort Meigs, under Gen

Harrison, had won for that officer an imperishable renown as a brave and skilful soldier.

In September of the preceding year, the emperor Alexander, of Russia, had intimated to Mr. Adams, our minister at St. Petersburgh, his intention of tendering his services as mediator between the United States and Great Britain. The proposition had been favorably received, and assurances had been given to the emperor of the earnest desire of our government that the interest of Russia might remain entirely unaffected by the existing war between us and England, and that no more intimate connections with France would be formed by the United States. With these assurances the emperor had been highly gratified; and in the early part of March, 1813, the Russian minister at Washington, M. Daschkoff, had formally proffered the mediation of his government, which was readily accepted by the president. It was rejected, however, by the British government, to the great surprise of our own, on the ground that their commercial and maritime rights would not thereby be as effectually secured as they deemed necessary; but, accompanying the rejection, was an expression of willingness to treat directly with the United States, either at Gottenburg or at London; and the interposition of the emperor was requested in favor of such an arrangement.

In consequence of the friendly offer of the Russian government, Messrs. Albert Gallatin and James A. Bayard, had been sent to join our resident minister, Mr. Adams, as envoys-extraordinary at St. Petersburgh. The proposal of the British ministry, to treat with us at Gottenburg, was soon after accepted, and Messrs. Clay and Jonathan Russell were appointed, in conjunction with the three plenipotentiaries then in Russia, to conduct the negotiations. On the 19th of January, 1814, Mr. Clay, in an appropriate address, accordingly resigned his station as speaker of the house. The same day a resolution was passed by that body thanking him for the ability and impartiality with which he had presided. The resolution was adopted almost unanimously—only nine members voting in opposition.

Mr. Clay had always asserted that an honorable peace was attainable only by an efficient war. In Congress, he had been the originator and most ardent supporter of nearly all those meas-

ures which had for their object the vigorous prosecution of hostilities against Great Britain. On every occasion, his trumpet-voice was heard, cheering on the house and the country to confidence and victory. No auguries of evil—no croakings of despondency—no suggestions of timidity—no violence of federal opposition—could for a moment, shake his patriotic purposes, diminish his reliance on the justice of our cause, or induce him to hesitate in that policy, which he believed the honor and—what was inseparable from the honor—the interests of the country demanded.

The measure of gratitude due him from his fellow-citizens, for his exertions in this cause alone, is not to be calculated or paid. But on the scroll where Freedom inscribes the names of her worthiest champions, destined to an immortal renown in her annals, the name of HENRY CLAY will be found with those of WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, and MADISON.

Having been the most efficient leader in directing the legislative action which originated and directed to a prosperous termination the war with Great Britain—a war which the voice of an impartial posterity must admit to have elevated and strengthened us as a nation—Mr. Clay was now appropriately selected as one of the commissioners to arrange a treaty of peace.

IV.

TREATY OF GHENT—MR. CLAY'S RETURN.

The commissioners met first at Göttingen, but their meetings were afterward transferred to Ghent. The conferences occupied a space of time of about five months. The American commissioners were in reality negotiating with the whole British ministry; for, whenever they addressed a diplomatic note of any importance to the British commissioners, it was by them transmitted to London, from which place the substance of an answer was returned in the form of instructions. The consequence was that the American commissioners, after having delivered a diplomatic note, had to wait about a week before they received a reply.

In one of these pauses of the negotiation, Mr. Clay made a little excursion to Brussels, and Mr. Goulbourne went there at the same time. The British commissioners had been in the habit of sending their English newspapers to the American commissioners, through which the latter often derived the first intelligence of events occurring in America.

The morning after Mr. Clay's arrival in Brussels, upon his coming down to breakfast, his servant, Frederick Cara, whom he had taken with him from the city of Washington, threw some papers upon the breakfast table, and burst into tears. "What's the matter, Frederick?"—"The British have taken Washington, sir, and Mr. Goulbourne has sent you those papers, which contain the account."—"Is it possible?" exclaimed Mr. Clay. "It is too true, sir," returned Frederick, whining piteously.

The news was by no means agreeable to Mr. Clay; nor was his concern diminished when he thought of the channel through which it had been conveyed to him, although fully persuaded that Mr. Goulbourne had not been actuated by any uncourteous spirit of exultation. Mr. Clay nevertheless resolved to avail himself of the first favorable opportunity for friendly retaliation; and one fortunately soon occurred. A point in the negotiation, which had been very much pressed, was pacification with the

Indians, which the American commissioners assured the British would necessarily follow pacification with Great Britain. The former received some recent American newspapers containing an account of the actual conclusion of peace with some of the Indian tribes, but containing also an account of the splendid naval victory won on Lake Champlain. Mr. Clay proposed to the American commissioners that these newspapers should be sent to the British, ostensibly for the purpose of showing that peace was made with some of the Indians, but in reality to afford them an opportunity of perusing the account of that victory. With the concurrence of his colleagues, he accordingly addressed an official note to the British commissioners transmitting the newspapers.

The mode of transacting business among the American commissioners was, upon the reception of an official note from the other party, to deliberate fully upon its contents, and to discuss them at a board. After that, the paper was placed in the hands of one of the commissioners to prepare an answer. Upon the preparation of that answer, it was carefully examined and considered by the board, every member of which took it to his lodgings to suggest in pencil such alterations as appeared to him proper; and these were again considered and finally adopted or rejected, and the paper handed to the secretary to be copied and recorded.

In the composition of the official notes sent by the American to the British commissioners, the pen of Mr. Gallatin was, perhaps, most frequently employed; then that of Mr. Adams; then that of Mr. Clay. Messrs. Bayard and Russell wrote the least.

During the progress of the negotiation and at a very critical period of it, the official despatches of the American commissioners, giving a full account of the prospects of the negotiation, and expressing very little hope of its successful termination, having been published by the order of the American government, came back to the commissioners at Ghent in the newspapers. They arrived in the evening, just as the American commissioners were dressed to go to a ball given to the commissioners by the authorities of Ghent. The unexpected publication of these despatches excited the surprise and regret of the American commissioners.

Some of them thought that a rupture of the negotiation would be the consequence. Mr. Clay, on account of his open and frank manner, was on terms of more unreserved and free intercourse with the British commissioners than any of his colleagues, and he resolved that evening to sound the former as to the effect of this publication of the despatches. He accordingly addressed himself to the three commissioners severally in succession at the ball, beginning with Lord Gambier, who was the most distinguished for amenity and benevolence of character, and saying: "You perceive, my lord, that our government had published our despatches, and that now the whole world knows what we are doing here."—"Yes," replied his lordship, "I have seen it with infinite surprise, and the proceeding is without example in the civilized world." To which Mr. Clay mildly rejoined: "Why my lord, you must recollect that, at the time of the publication of these despatches, our government had every reason to suppose, from the nature of the pretensions and demands which yours brought forward, that our negotiation would not terminate successfully, and that the publication would not find us here together. I am quite sure, that if our government had anticipated the present favorable aspect of our deliberations, the publication of the despatches would not have been ordered. Then, your lordship must also recollect, that if, as you truly asserted, the publication of despatches pending a negotiation is not according to the custom of European diplomacy, our government itself is organized upon principles totally different from those on which European governments are constituted. With us, the business in which we were here engaged, is the people's business. We are their servants, and they have a right to know how their business is going on. The publication, therefore, was to give the people information of what intimately affected them."

Lord Gambier did not appear to be satisfied with this explanation, although he was silenced by it. Mr. Clay had a similar interview with the two other British commissioners; and their feelings, in consequence of the publication, were marked by the degree of excitability of their respective characters. But the fears which were entertained by some of the American commissioners were not realized. The publication was never spoken

of in conference, and the negotiation proceeded to a successful issue as if it had not happened.

Between the American commissioners, in the conduct of the negotiation at Ghent, no serious difficulty arose, except on one point, and that related to the subject of the fisheries and navigation of the Mississippi. By the third article of the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain concluded in September, 1783, certain rights of fishing, and of drying and curing fish within the limits of British jurisdiction, and upon British soil, were secured to the citizens of the United States. And by the eighth article of the same treaty, it was stipulated that the right to the navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, should remain for ever free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States. The same mutual right of navigation was recognised by Mr. Jay's treaty of 1794.

When the American commissioners were in consultation as to the project of a treaty to be presented to the consideration of the British commissioners, it was proposed that an article should be inserted renewing those rights of taking and curing and drying fish, and of the navigation of the Mississippi. To such a proposal, Mr. Clay was decidedly opposed, and Mr. Russell concurred with him. The other three commissioners were for making the proposal. The argument on that question was long, earnest and ardent. Mr. Clay contended, that the right of catching fish in the open seas and bays, being incontestable, the privilege of taking them and curing and drying them within the exclusive jurisdiction of Great Britain was of little or no importance, especially as it was limited to the time that the British territory should remain unsettled. With respect to the navigation of the Mississippi, he contended, that at the dates both of the definitive treaty of peace of 1783, and of Mr. Jay's treaty of 1794, Spain owned the whole of the right bank of the Mississippi, in all its extent, and both banks of it from the Mexican gulf up to the boundary of the United States; that at both those periods, it was supposed that the British dominions touched on the Upper Mississippi, but it was now known that they did not border at all on that river; that now the whole Mississippi, from its uppermost source to the gulf, was incontestably within the limits of the

United States. He could not, therefore, conceive the propriety of stipulating with Great Britain for a mutual right to the navigation of that river. It was the largest river in the United States; so large as to have acquired the denomination of the Father of rivers. Why select it from among all the rivers of the United States, and subject it to a foreign vassalage? Why do that in respect to the Mississippi which would not be tolerated as respects the North river, the James, or the Potomac? What would Great Britain herself think if a proposal were made that the citizens of the United States and the subjects of Great Britain should have a mutual right to navigate the Thames? To make the proposed concession, was to admit of a British partnership with the United States in the sovereignity of the Mississippi, so far as its navigation was concerned. Then there might be a doubt and a dispute whether the concession did not comprehend the tributaries as well as the principal stream. If the grant of the right to navigate the Mississippi was to be regarded as an equivalent for the concession of the fishing privilege, Mr. Clay denied that there was any affinity between the two subjects. They were as distant in their nature as they were remote from each other in their localities.

On the other side, it was contended that it would occasion regret and dissatisfaction in the United States, if any of the fishing privileges, or other privileges, which had been enjoyed before the breaking out of the war, should not be secured by the treaty of peace; that those fishing privileges were very important and dear to a section of the Union, which had been adverse to the war; that the British right to the navigation of the Mississippi was merely a nominal concession, which would not result in any practical injury to the United States; that foreigners now enjoyed the right to navigate all the rivers up to the ports of entry established upon them, without any prejudice to our interests; that Great Britain had been entitled to this right of navigating the Mississippi from the period of the acquisition of Louisiana to the declaration of war in 1812, without any mischief or inconvenience to the United States.

To all this, Mr. Clay replied that if we lost the fishing privileges within the exclusive jurisdiction, we gained the total ex-

emption of the Mississippi from this foreign participation with us in the right to its navigation; that the uncertainty as to the extent of privileges which the British right to navigate the Mississippi comprised, far from recommending the concession to him, formed an additional objection to it; that the period of about eight years between the acquisition of Louisiana and the declaration of war, was too short for us to ascertain by experience what practical use Great Britain was capable of making of that right of navigation, which might be injurious to us. We knew that a great many of the Indian tribes were situated upon the sources of the Mississippi. The British right to navigate that river might bring her into direct contact with them, and we had sufficient experience of the pernicious use she might make of those Indians.—He was as anxious as any of his colleagues to secure all the rights of fishing, and curing and drying fish, which had hitherto been enjoyed; but he could not consent to the purchase of temporary and uncertain privileges within the British limits, *at the expense of putting a foreign and degrading mark upon the noblest of all our rivers.*

After the argument, which was extended to several sessions of the consultation meetings of the American commissioners, was exhausted, it appeared that the same three commissioners were inclined to make the proposal. In that stage of the proceedings, Mr. Clay said, he felt it due to his colleagues to state to them *that he would affix his signature to no treaty which should make to Great Britain the contemplated concession.* After the announcement of this determination, Mr. Bayard united with Messrs. Clay and Russell, and then formed a majority against tendering the proposal—and it was not made.

But, at a subsequent period of the negotiation, when the British commissioners made their proposition for a treaty, one of the propositions was to renew the British right to navigate the Mississippi simply, without including the fishing privileges in question. On examining this proposal, the American commissioners considered, first, whether they should accept the proposals with or without conditions. All united in agreeing that it ought not to be unconditionally accepted. But the same three commissioners who had been originally in favor of an article which should

include both the Mississippi and the fishing privileges within the British limits, appeared to be now in favor of accepting the British proposal, upon the condition that it should comprehend those fishing privileges. Mr. Clay did not renew the expression of his determination to sign no treaty which should concede to the British the right to the navigation of the Mississippi, although he remained fixed in that purpose; for he apprehended that a repetition of the expression of his determination might be misconceived by his colleagues.

It was accordingly proposed to the British commissioners to accept the proposal with the condition just stated. In a subsequent conference between the two commissions, the British declined accepting the proposed conditions, and it was mutually agreed to leave both subjects out of the treaty. And thus, as Mr. Clay wished from the first, the Mississippi river became liberated from all British pretensions of a right to navigate it from the ocean to its source.

A controversy having arisen between Messrs. Adams and Russell, about the year 1823, in respect to some points in the negotiations at Ghent, an embittered correspondence took place between those two gentlemen. In the course of it, Mr. Clay thought that Mr. Adams had unintentionally fallen into some errors, which Mr. Clay, in a note addressed to the public, stated he would at some future day correct. About the year 1828 or 1829, Mr. Russell, without the previous consent of Mr. Clay, published a confidential letter addressed by Mr. Clay to him, in which he expresses his condemnation of Mr. Russell's course in the alteration of some of his letters, which had been charged and proved upon him by Mr. Adams. In that same letter, Mr. Clay gives his explanation of some of the transactions at Ghent, respecting which he thought Mr. Adams was mistaken. The publication of the confidential letters superseded the necessity of making the corrections which Mr. Clay had intended. In this letter, Mr. Clay in no instance impugns the motives of Mr. Adams, nor does it contain a line from which an unfriendly state of feeling on the part of the writer toward Mr. Adams could be inferred.

Such was Mr. Clay's pride of country that he had resolved not

to go to England until he had heard of the ratification of the treaty of Ghent. After the termination of the negotiations he went to Paris, and accepted the invitation of Mr. Crawford, our minister, to take apartments in his hotel. Mr. Clay remained in Paris during upward of two months. On the night of his arrival in that brilliant metropolis, he found at Mr. Crawford's an invitation to a ball given by the American banker, Mr. Hottinguer, on the occasion of the pacification between the United States and Great Britain. There he met for the first time the celebrated Madame de Stael—was introduced to her, and had with her a long and animated conversation.

"Ah!" said she, "Mr. Clay, I have been in England, and have been battling your cause for you there."—"I know it, madame; we heard of your powerful interposition, and we are grateful and thankful for it."—"They were very much enraged against you," said she: "so much so, that they at one time thought seriously of sending the duke of Wellington to command their armies against you!"—"I am very sorry, madame," replied Mr. Clay, "that they did not send his grace."—"Why?" asked she, surprised.—"Because, madame, if he had beaten us, we should have been in the condition of Europe, without disgrace. But, if we had been so fortunate as to defeat him, we should have greatly added to the renown of our arms."

The next time he met Madame de Stael was at a party at her own house, which was attended by the marshals of France, the duke of Wellington, and other distinguished persons. She introduced Mr. Clay to the duke, and at the same time related the above anecdote. He replied with promptness and politeness, that if he had been sent on that service, and had been so fortunate as to have been successful over a foe so gallant as the Americans, he would have regarded it as the proudest feather in his cap.

During his stay in Paris, Mr. Clay heard of the issue of the battle of New Orleans. "Now," said he to his informant, "I can go to England without mortification." But he expressed himself greatly mortified at the inglorious flight *attributed*, in the despatches of the American general, to a portion of the Kentucky militia, which Mr. Clay pronounced must be a mistake.

Having heard of the ratification of the treaty of Ghent, Mr Clay left Paris for England in March, 1815, just before the arrival of Bonaparte in the French capital. He thus missed the opportunity of seeing the great Corsican. He would have remained in Paris for the purpose, had he supposed the emperor would arrive so soon. It was about this time that Louis XVIII. left Paris, and took up his residence in Ghent, near the hotel which the American commissioners had recently occupied.

On his arrival in England before any of the other American commissioners, Mr. Clay had an interview with Lord Castlereagh, who contracted for him a high esteem, which was frequently manifested during his sojourn in England. Lord Castlereagh offered to present him to the prince-regent. Mr. Clay said he would go through the ceremony, if it were deemed necessary or respectful. Lord Castlereagh said, that, having been recognised in his public character by the British government, it was not necessary, and that he might omit it or not, as he pleased. Mr. Clay's repugnance to the parade of courts prevented his presentation, and he never saw the prince. He met, however, with most of the other members of the royal family.

A few days after his interview with Lord Castlereagh, the keeper of the house at which Mr. Clay lodged, announced a person who wished to speak with him. Mr. Clay directed him to be admitted; and, on his entrance, he perceived an individual, dressed apparently in great splendor, come forward, whom he took to be a peer of the realm. He rose and asked his visiter to be seated, but the latter declined, and observed that he was the first waiter of my Lord Castlereagh! "The first waiter of my Lord Castlereagh!" exclaimed Mr. Clay; "well, what is your pleasure with me?"—"Why, if your excellency pleases," said the man, "it is usual for a foreign minister, when presented to Lord Castlereagh, to make to his first waiter a present, or pay him the customary stipend;" at the same time handing to Mr. Clay a long list of names of foreign ministers, with the sum which every one had paid affixed to his name.

Mr. Clay thinking it a vile extortion, took the paper, and, while reading it, thought how he should repel so exceptionable a demand. He returned it to the servant, telling him that, as it

was the custom of the country, he presumed it was all right; but that he was not the minister to England; Mr. Adams was the minister, and was daily expected from Paris, and, he had no doubt, would do whatever was right. "But," said the servant, very promptly, "if your *excellency* pleases, it makes no difference whether the minister presented be the resident minister or a special minister, as I understand your excellency to be;—it is always paid." Mr. Clay, who had come to England to argue with the master, finding himself in danger of being beaten in argument by the man, concluded it was best to conform to the usage, objectionable as he thought it; and, looking over the paper for the smallest sum paid by any other minister, handed the fellow five guineas, and dismissed him.

Mr. Clay was in London when the battle of Waterloo was fought, and witnessed the illuminations, bonfires, and rejoicings, to which it gave rise. For a day or two, it was a matter of great uncertainty what had become of Napoleon. During this interval of anxious suspense, Mr. Clay dined at Lord Castlereagh's with the American ministers, Messrs. Adams and Gallatin, and the British ministry. Bonaparte's flight and probable place of refuge became the topics of conversation. Among other conjectures, it was suggested that he might have gone to the United States; and Lord Liverpool, addressing Mr. Clay, asked: "If he goes there, will he not give you a good deal of trouble?"—"Not the least, my lord," replied Mr. Clay, with his habitual promptitude —"we shall be very glad to receive him; we would treat him with all hospitality, *and very soon make of him a good democrat.*"

The reply produced a very hearty peal of laughter from the whole company.

Mr. Clay was received in the British circles, both of the ministry and the opposition, with the most friendly consideration. The late Sir James Mackintosh was one of his first acquaintances in London;—and of the lamented Sir Samuel Romilly and his beautiful and accomplished lady, Mr. Clay has been heard to remark, that they presented one of the most beautiful examples of a happy man and wife that he had ever seen. He passed a most agreeable week with his Ghent friend, Lord Gambier, at Iver Grove, near Windsor Castle. Of this pious and excellent noble-

man, Mr. Clay has ever retained a lively and friendly recollection. He visited with him Windsor Castle, Frogmore Lodge, the residence of the descendant of William Penn, and saw the wife of George III and some of the daughters.

In September, 1815, Mr. Clay returned to his own country, arriving in New York, which port he had left in March, 1814. A public dinner was given to him and Mr. Gallatin, soon after their disembarkation. Everywhere, on his route homeward to his adopted state, he was received with continual demonstrations of public gratitude and approbation. In Kentucky he was hailed with every token of affection and respect. The board of trustees of Lexington waited upon him and presented their thanks for his eminent services in behalf of his country.

On the seventh of October, the citizens of the same town gave him a public dinner. In reply to a toast complimentary to the American negotiators, he made some brief and eloquent remarks concerning the circumstances under which the treaty had been concluded, and the general condition of the country, both at the commencement and the close of the war. At the same festival, in reply to a toast highly complimentary to himself, he thanked the company for their kind and affectionate attention. His reception, he said, had been more like that of a brother than a common friend or acquaintance, and he was utterly incapable of finding words to express his gratitude. He compared his situation to that of a Swedish gentleman, at a festival in England, given by the Society for the Relief of Foreigners in Distress. A toast having been given, complimentary to his country, it was expected that he should address the company in reply. Not understanding the English language, he was greatly embarrassed, and said to the chairman: "Sir, I wish you and this society to consider me a *foreigner in distress*." "So," said Mr. Clay, evidently much affected, "I wish you to consider me a *friend* in distress."

In anticipation of his return home, Mr. Clay had been unanimously re-elected a member of Congress from the district he formerly represented. Doubts arising as to the legality of this election, a new one was ordered, and the result was the same.

On the fourth of December, 1815, the fourteenth Congress

met, in its first session. Mr. Clay was again elected speaker of the house of representatives, almost unanimously—receiving, upon the first balloting, eighty-seven out of one hundred and twenty-two votes cast—thirteen being the highest number given for any one of the five opposing candidates. He was, at this time, just recovering from a serious indisposition, but accepted the office in a brief and appropriate speech, acknowledging the honor conferred upon him, and pledging his best efforts for the proper discharge of its duties.

Among the important subjects which came up, that of the new treaty was, of course, among the foremost. John Randolph and the federalists, after having resisted the war, now took frequent occasion to sneer at the mode of its termination. On the 29th of January, 1816, Mr. Clay addressed the committee of the house most eloquently in reply to these cavilers.

"I gave a vote," said he, "for the declaration of war. I exerted all the little influence and talents I could command to make the war. The war was made. It is terminated. And I declare, with perfect sincerity, if it had been permitted to me to lift the veil of futurity, and to have foreseen the precise series of events which has occurred, my vote would have been unchanged. We had been insulted, and outraged, and spoliated upon by almost all Europe—by Great Britain, by France, Spain, Denmark, Naples, and, to cap the climax, by the little contemptible power of Algiers. We had submitted too long and too much. We had become the scorn of foreign powers, and the derision of our own citizens."

It had been objected by the opposition, that no provision had been made in the treaty in regard to the impressment of our seamen by the British. On this subject, Mr. Clay said—and his argument is as conclusive as it is lofty:—

"One of the great causes of the war, and of its continuance, was the practice of impressment exercised by Great Britain—*and if this claim had been admitted by necessary implication or express stipulation, the rights of our seamen would have been abandoned!* It is with utter astonishment that I hear it has been contended in this country, that because our right of exemption from the practice had not been expressly secured in the treaty, it was, therefore, given up! It is impossible that such an argument can be advanced on this floor. No member, who regarded his reputation, would venture to advance such a doctrine!"

In conclusion, Mr. Clay declared, on this occasion, that his policy, in regard to the attitude in which the country should now be placed, was to preserve the present force, naval and military—to provide for the augmentation of the navy—to fortify the weak

and vulnerable points indicated by experience—to construc military roads and canals—and, in short, "TO COMMENCE THE GREAT WORK OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT."

"I would see," he said, "a chain of turnpike roads and canals from Passamaquoddy to New Orleans; *and other similar roads intersecting mountains, to facilitate intercourse between all parts of the country, and to bind and connect us together.* I WOULD ALSO EFFECTUALLY PROTECT OUR MANUFACTORIES. I would afford them protection, not so much for the sake of the manufacturers themselves, as for the general interest."

It was in this patriotic spirit, and impelled by this far-sighted, liberal, and truly American policy, that Mr. Clay resumed his legislative labors in the national counsels. He has lived to carry out those truly great and statesman-like measures of protection and internal improvement, which even then began to gather shape and power in a mind ever active in the cause of his country. May he live to receive a testimonial of that country's gratitude and admiration, in the bestowal upon him of the highest honor in her gift!

V.

THE UNITED STATES BANK—SOUTH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

THE financial condition of the United States, at the close of the war, was extremely depressed. The currency was deranged, public credit impaired, and a heavy debt impending. In his message, at the opening of the session of 1815–'16, President Madison stated the condition of public affairs, and indicated the establishment of a national bank, and of a protective tariff, as the two great measures of relief.

On the 8th of January, 1816, Mr. Calhoun, from the committee on that part of the president's message relating to the currency, reported a bill to incorporate the subscribers to a Bank of the United States.

It will be remembered that Mr. Clay, in 1811, while a member of the senate, had opposed the rechartering of the old bank. His reasons for now advocating the bill before the house have been fully and freely communicated to the public.

When the application was made to renew the old charter of the Bank of the United States, such an institution did not appear to him to be so necessary to the fulfilment of any of the objects specifically enumerated in the constitution, as to justify Congress in assuming, by construction, power to establish it. It was supported mainly upon the ground that it was indispensable to the treasury operations. But the local institutions in the several states, were at that time in prosperous existence, confided in by the community, having confidence in one another, and maintaining an intercourse and connection the most intimate. Many of them were actually employed by the treasury, to aid that department in a part of its fiscal arrangements; and they appeared to him to be fully capable of affording to it all the facilities that it ought to desire in all of them. They superseded, in his judgment, the necessity of a national institution.

But how stood the case in 1816, when he was called upon again to examine the power of the general government to incorporate a national bank? A total change of circumstances was presented. Events of the utmost magnitude had intervened. A suspension of specie payments had taken place. The currency of the country was completely vitiated. The government issued paper bearing an interest of six per cent., which it pledged the faith of the country to redeem. For this paper, guarantied by the honor and faith of the government, there was obtained for every one hundred dollars, eighty dollars from those banks which suspended specie payments. The experience of the war, therefore, showed the necessity of a bank. The country could not get along without it. Mr. Clay had then changed his opinion on the subject, and he had never attempted to disguise the fact. In his position as speaker of the house, he might have locked up his opinion in his own breast. But with that candor and fearlessness which have ever distinguished him, he had come forward, as honest men ought to come forward, and expressed his change of opinion, at the time when President Madison, and other eminent men, changed their course in relation to the bank.

The constitution confers on Congress the power to coin money and to regulate the value of foreign coins: and the states are forbidden to coin money, to emit bills of credit, or to make anything

but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts. The plain inference was, that the subject of the general currency was intended to be submitted exclusively to the general government. In point of fact, however, the regulation of the general currency was in the hands of the state governments, or, what was the same thing, of the banks created by them. Their paper had every quality of money, except that of being made a tender, and even this was imparted to it by some states, in the law by which a creditor must receive it, or submit to a ruinous suspension of the payment of his debt.

It was incumbent upon Congress to recover the control which it had lost over the general currency. The remedy called for was one of caution and moderation, but of firmness. Whether a remedy, directly acting upon the banks and their paper thrown into circulation, was in the power of the general government or not, neither Congress nor the community were prepared for the application of such a remedy.

An indirect remedy of a milder character, seemed to be furnished by a national bank. Going into operation with the powerful aid of the treasury of the United States, Mr. Clay believed it would be highly instrumental in the renewal of specie payments. Coupled with the other measure adopted by Congress for that object, he believed the remedy effectual. The local banks must follow the example which the national bank would set them, of redeeming their notes by the payment of specie, or their notes would be discredited and put down.

If the constitution, then, warranted the establishment of a bank, other considerations, besides those already mentioned, strongly urged it. The want of a general medium was everywhere felt. Exchange varied continually, not only between different parts of the union, but between different parts of the same city. If the paper of a national bank were not redeemed in specie, it would be much better than the current paper, since though its value, in comparison with specie, might fluctuate, it would afford a uniform standard.

During this discussion of 1816, on the bank charter, a collision arose between Messrs. Clay and Randolph, which produced great sensation for the moment, and which, it was apprehended, might

lead to serious consequences. Although Mr. Clay had changed his own opinion in regard to a bank, he did not feel authorized to seek, in private intercourse, to influence that of others, and observed a silence and reserve not usual to him, on the subject. Mr. Randolph commented on this fact, and used language which might bear an offensive interpretation. When he was done, Mr. Clay rose with perfect coolness, but evidently with a firm determination, and adverting to the offensive language, observed that it required explanation, and that he should forbear saying what it became him to say, until he heard the explanation, if any, which the member from Virginia had to make. He sat down. Mr. Randolph rose and made an explanation. Mr. Clay again rose, and said that the explanation was not satisfactory. Whereupon Mr. R. again got up, and disclaimed expressly all intentional offence.

During the transaction of this scene, the most intense anxiety and the most perfect stillness pervaded the house. You might have heard a pin fall in any part of it.

The bill to recharter the bank, was discussed for several weeks in the house. The vote was taken, on its third reading, on the 14th of March, 1816, when it was passed: 80 ayes to 71 nays: and was sent to the senate for concurrence. On the 2d of April, after the bill reported by the financial committee had received a full and thorough discussion, it was finally passed in that body, by a vote of 22 to 12—two members only being absent. The amendments of the senate were speedily adopted by the house, and on the 10th of April, the bill became a law, by the signature of the president. The wisdom of the supporters of the measure was soon made manifest in the fact that the institution more than realized the most sanguine hopes of its friends. During the period of its existence, the United States enjoyed a currency of unexampled purity and uniformity; and the bills of the bank were as acceptable as silver in every quarter of the globe. In another part of this memoir, will be found an outline of such a fiscal institution as Mr. Clay would be in favor of, *whenever the majority of the people of the United States might demand the establishment of a national bank.*

On the 6th of March, 1816, Col. Richard M. Johnson, from a

committee appointed for the purpose, reported a bill changing the mode of compensation to members of Congress. The pay of members, at that time, was six dollars a day—an amount which, from its inadequacy, threatened to place the legislation of the country in the hands of the wealthy. The new bill gave members a salary of fifteeen hundred dollars a year—to the presiding officer twice that amount. It passed both houses without opposition. Mr. Clay preferred the increase of the daily compensation to the institution of a salary, but the majority were against him, and he acquiesced in their decision.

He never canvassed for a seat in the house of representatives but on one occasion, and that was after the passage of this unpalatable bill. It produced very great dissatisfaction throughout the United States, and extended to the district which he represented. Mr. Pope, a gentleman of great abilities, was his competitor. They had several skirmishes at popular meetings, with various success; but having agreed upon a general action, they met at Higbie, a central place, and convenient of access to the three counties composing the district. A vast multitude assembled; and the rival candidates occupied in their addresses the greater part of the day.

Instead of confining himself to a defence of the compensation bill, which he never heartily approved in the form of an annual salary to members of Congress, Mr. Clay carried the war into the enemy's country. He attacked Mr. Pope's vote against the declaration of war with Great Britain, dwelt on the wrongs and injuries which that power had inflicted on the United States, pointed out his inconsistency in opposing the war upon the ground of a want of preparation to prosecute it, and yet having been willing to declare war against both France and Great Britain. Thus he put his competitor on the defensive. The effect of the discussion was powerful and triumphant on the side of Mr. Clay. From that day his success was no longer doubtful, and accordingly, at the election, which shortly after ensued, he was chosen by a majority of six or seven hundred votes.

During the canvass, Mr. Clay encountered an old hunter, who had always before been his warm friend, but now was opposed to his election on account of the compensation bill.

"Have you a good rifle, my friend?" asked Mr. Clay.—"Yes." "Does it ever flash!"—"Once only," he replied.—"What did you do with it—throw it away?"—"No, I picked the flint, tried it again, and brought down the game,"—"Have I ever flashed but upon the compensation bill?"—"No."—"Will you throw me away?"—"No, no!" exclaimed the hunter, with enthusiasm, nearly overpowered by his feelings; "I will pick the flint, and try you again!" He was afterward a warm supporter of Mr. Clay.

This anecdote reminds us of another, which is illustrative of that trait of boldness and self-possession, in the manifestation of which Mr. Clay has never been known to fail during his public career. At the time that he was a candidate for election to the legislature of Kentucky, in 1803, while passing a few weeks at the Olympian springs, a number of huntsmen, old and young, assembled to hear him make a "stump speech." When he had finished, one of the audience, an ancient Nimrod, who had stood leaning upon his rifle for some time, regarding the young orator with keen attention, commenced a conversation with him.

"Young man," said he, "you want to go to the legislature, I see?"

"Why, yes," replied Mr. Clay, "since I have consented to be a candidate, I would prefer not to be defeated."

"Are you a good shot?"

"Try me."

"Very well; I would like to see a specimen of your qualifications for the legislature. Come: we must see you shoot."

"But I have no rifle here."

"No matter: here is old Bess; and she never fails in the hands of a marksman; she has often sent death through a squirrel's head at one hundred yards, and daylight through many a redskin twice that distance; if you can shoot with any gun, you can shoot with old Bess."

"Well, well: put up your mark, put up your mark," said Mr. Clay.

The target was placed at the distance of about eighty yards, when, with all the coolness and steadiness of an experienced marksman, he lifted "old Bess" to his shoulder, fired, and pierced the very centre of the target.

"Oh, a chance shot! a chance shot!" exclaimed several of his political opponents. "He might shoot all day, and not hit the mark again. Let him try it over—let him try it over."

"No; beat that, and then I will," retorted Mr. Clay. But as no one seemed disposed to make the attempt, it was considered that he had given satisfactory proof of his superiority as a marksman; and this felicitous accident gained him the vote of every hunter in the assembly. The most remarkable feature in the transaction remains to be told. "I had never," said Mr. Clay, "fired a rifle before, and never have since." It is needless to add that the election resulted in his favor.

An Irish barber, residing in Lexington, had supported Mr. Clay with great zeal at all elections, when he was a candidate, prior to the passage of the compensation bill. The fellow's unrestrained passions had frequently involved him in scrapes and difficulties, on which occasions Mr. Clay generally defended him and got him out of them. During the canvass, after the compensation bill, the barber was very reserved, took no part in the election, and seemed indifferent to its fate. He was often importuned to state for whom he meant to vote, but declined. At length, a few days before the election, he was addressed by Dr. W——, a gentleman for whom he entertained the highest respect, and pressed to say to whom he meant to give his suffrage. Looking at the inquirer with great earnestness and shrewdness, he said: "I tell you what, docthur, I mane to vote for the man that can put but one hand into the treasury." Mr. Pope had the misfortune to lose, in early life, one of his arms, and here lay the point of the Irishman's reply.

It is due to the memory of Jeremiah Murphy, the barber, to state that he repented of his ingratitude to Mr. Clay, whom he met one day in the streets of Lexington, and, accosting him, burst into tears, and told him that he had wronged him; and that his poor wife had got round him, crying and reproaching him for his conduct, saying: "Don't you remember, Jerry, when you were in jail, Mr. Clay came to you, and made that beast, William B——, the jailer, let you out?"

Having found that the sentiments of his constituents were decidedly opposed to the compensation bill, Mr. Clay, at the ensuing

session, voted for its repeal. A daily allowance of eight dollars to every member, was substituted for the salary of fifteen hundred dollars.

During the month of February, a bill was introduced, setting apart and pledging as a fund for internal improvement, the bonus of the United States' share of the dividends of the national bank. As may be presumed, this measure received the hearty support of Mr. Clay. Without entering at length into a discussion of the subject, he expressed a wish only to say that he "Had long thought there were no two subjects which could engage the attention of the national legislature, more worthy of its deliberate consideration, than those of internal improvement and domestic manufactures." For constitutional reasons, President Madison withheld his signature from this bill, much to the surprise of his friends.

During the administration of Mr. Madison, Mr. Clay was, on two separate occasions, offered a seat in his cabinet, or the mission to Russia, by that distinguished chief magistrate. He declined them both. Mr. Madison appears to have had the highest estimate of his talents and worth. Indeed, so impressed was he with the eminent and versatile abilities of Mr. Clay, that he had selected him, at the commencement of the war, to be *commander-in-chief of the army*. The nomination was not made, solely because Mr. Clay could not be spared from Congress, where his powerful mind and paramount influence, enabled him to render services superior to any that could have been rendered in any other position.

On the 4th of March, 1817, James Monroe took the oath prescribed by the constitution, and entered upon the duties of the presidency of the United States. The first session of the fifteenth Congress commenced the ensuing December. Mr. Clay was again chosen speaker.

It would be impossible, in the brief space we have allotted to ourselves, to present even a brief abstract of his remarks upon the many important topics which now claimed the attention of Congress. We must content ourselves with a succinct account of the leading measures with which his name and his fame have become identified.

In his speech on the state of the union, in January, in 1816 he had expressed his sympathies in behalf of the South American colonists, who were then struggling to throw off the yoke of the mother-country. The supreme Congress of the Mexican republic afterward voted him their thanks "for the disinterested, manly, and generous sentiments he expressed on the floor of the house, for the welfare of the infant republic."

In the debate on the proposition to reduce the direct taxation of the country, he had alluded to the existing peaceful condition of the United States, and had hinted the possibility of hostilities with Spain. He had heard that the minister of that nation had demanded the surrender of a portion of our soil—that part of Florida lying west of the Perdido. Without speaking of it as it deserved—of the impudence of such a demand—he alluded to it as indicative of the disposition of the Spanish government. "Besides," said he, "who can tell with certainty how far it may be proper to aid the people of South America in the establishment of their independence?" The subject, he avowed, had made a deep impression on his mind; and he was not in favor of exhausting, by direct taxes, the country of those funds which might be needed to vindicate its rights at home, or, if necessary, to aid the cause of liberty in South America.

These remarks aroused all the spleen of Mr. Randolph. "As for South America," said he, in his reply to Mr. Clay, "I am not going a-tilting for the liberties of her people; they came not to our aid; let us mind our own business, and not tax our people for the liberties of the people of Spanish America." He went on to ridicule the notion that the people of Caraccas and Mexico were capable either of enjoying or of understanding liberty, and insinuated that Mr. Clay was influenced by a desire of conquest. "The honorable gentleman," he said, "had been sent, on a late occasion, to Europe; he had been near the field of Waterloo, and, he feared, had snuffed the carnage and caught the infection." "What!" said he, "increase our standing army in time of peace, on the suggestion that we are to go on a crusade to South America?" Mr. Clay intimated that he had advocated no such measure. "Do I not understand the gentleman?" said Mr. Randolph, "I am sorry I do not; I labor under two great misfortunes—one

is that I can never understand the honorable speaker—the other is that he can never understand me: on such terms, an argument can never be maintained between us, and I shall, therefore, put an end to it." Mr. Clay simply expressed his surprise that Mr. R. could so have misunderstood his remarks, and deferred the general argument to another occasion.

Soon after, on a proposition to "prevent our citizens from selling vessels-of-war to a foreign power," Mr. Clay opposed the bill, on account of its evident bearing upon the question of South American independence; it would everywhere be understood as a law framed expressly to prevent the offer of the slightest aid to those republics by our citizens. "With respect to the nature of their struggle," he said, "I have not now, for the first time, to express my opinion and wishes. I wish them independence. It is the first step toward improving their condition."

During the summer of 1816, the president had appointed Messrs. Rodney, Graham, and Bland, commissioners to proceed to South America, to ascertain the condition of the country. In March, 1818, the appropriation bill being before the house, Mr. Clay objected to the clause appropriating $30,000 for their compensation, as unconstitutional. He then offered an amendment, appropriating eighteen thousand dollars as the outfit and one year's salary of a minister, to be deputed from the United States to the independent provinces of the River La Plata, in South America. The amendment was lost; but Mr. Clay's speech in support of it was one of his most memorable efforts. Both Congress and the president were opposed to any recognition of the independence of the South American colonists. In rising to promulgate views hostile to theirs, Mr. Clay said that, much as he valued those friends, in and out of the house, from whom he differed, he could not hesitate when reduced to the distressing alternative of conforming his judgment to theirs, or pursuing the deliberate and matured dictates of his own mind.

He maintained that an oppressed people were authorized, whenever they could, to rise and break their fetters. This was the great principle of the English revolution. It was the great principle of our own. Vattel, if authority were wanting, expressly supports this right.

Mr. Clay said he was no propagandist. He would not seek to force upon other nations our principles and our liberty, if they did not want them. He would not disturb the repose even of a detestable despotism. But, if an abused and oppressed people willed their freedom; if they sought to establish it; if, in truth, they *had* established it, we had a right, as a sovereign power, to notice the fact, and to act as circumstances and our interest required.

The opposition had argued that the people of Spanish America were too ignorant and superstitious to appreciate and conduct an independent and free system of government. We believe it is Macaulay, who says of this plea of ignorance as an argument against emancipation, that with just as much propriety might you argue against a person's going into the water until he knew how to swim. Mr. Clay denied the alleged fact of the ignorance of the colonists.

With regard to their superstition, he said: "They worship the same God with us. Their prayers are offered up in their temples to the same Redeemer, whose intercession we expect to save us. *Nor is there anything in the Catholic religion unfavorable to freedom.* All religions united with government are more or less inimical to liberty. All separated from government are compatible with liberty."

Having shown that the cause of the South American patriots was just, Mr. Clay proceeded to inquire what course of policy it became us to adopt. He maintained that a recognition of their independence was compatible with perfect neutrality and with the most pacific relations toward old Spain. Recognition alone, without aid, was no just cause of war. With aid, it was; not because of the recognition, but because of the aid; as aid, without recognition, was cause of war.

After demonstrating that the United States were bound, on their own principles, to acknowledge the independence of the United Provinces of the river Plate, he alluded to the improbability that any of the European monarchies would set the example of recognition. "Are we not bound," he asked, "upon our own principles, to acknowledge this new republic? If WE do not, *who will?*"

The simple words, "*who will?*" are said, by an intelligent observer, who was present, to have been uttered in a tone of such thrilling pathos, as to stir up the deepest sensibilities of the audience. It is by such apparent simple appeals that Mr. Clay, with the aid of his exquisitely modulated voice, often produces the most powerful and lasting effects.

We shall not attempt to present a summary of this magnificent address. "No abstract," says one who heard it, "can furnish an adequate idea of a speech, which, as an example of argumentative oratory, may be safely tried by the test of the most approved models of any age or country. Rich in all the learning connected with the subject; methodized in an order which kept that subject constantly before the hearer, and enabled the meanest capacity to follow the speaker without effort, through a long series of topics, principal and subsidiary; at once breathing sentiments of generous philanthropy and teaching lessons of wisdom; presenting a variety of illustrations which strengthened the doctrines that they embellished; and uttering prophecies, on which, though rejected by the infidelity of the day, time has stamped the seal of truth: this speech will descend to the latest posterity and remain embalmed in the praises of mankind, long after tumults of military ambition and the plots of political profligacy have passed into oblivion."

After repeated efforts and repeated failures to carry his generous measures in behalf of South American liberty, Mr. Clay, on the tenth of February, 1821, submitted for consideration a resolution declaring that the house of representatives participated with the people of the United States, in the deep interest which they felt for the success of the Spanish provinces of South America, which were struggling to establish their liberty and independence; and that it would give its constitutional support to the president of the United States, whenever he might deem it expedient to recognise the sovereignty and independence of those provinces.

On this resolution a debate of nearly four hours ensued, in which Mr. Clay sustained the principal part. Only twelve members voted against the first clause of it; and on the second, the votes were eighty-seven for, and sixty-eight against it. The

question was then taken on the resolution as a whole, and carried in the affirmative ; and Mr. Clay immediately moved that a committee of two members should be appointed, to present it to President Monroe. Although such a course was not very usual, a committee was accordingly ordered, and Mr. Clay was appointed its chairman. It was a great triumph. He had been long and ardently engaged in the cause, and, during a greater part of the time, opposed by the whole weight of Mr. Monroe's administration. And when he was appointed chairman of the committee, to present the resolution, Mr. Monroe's friends regarded it as a personal insult, and Mr. Nelson, of Virginia, one of the warmest of them, retired from the capitol, after the adjournment of the house, denouncing the act in the loudest tones of his remarkable voice, on his way down Pennsylvania avenue, as an unprecedented indignity to the chief magistrate.

On the 8th day of March, 1822, the president sent a message to the house of representatives, recommending the recognition of South American independence. The recommendation was referred to the committee on foreign relations, which, on the 19th of the same month, reported in favor of the recommendation, and of an appropriation to carry it into effect. The vote of recognition was finally passed on the 28th, with but a single dissenting voice.

Such is a brief sketch of Mr. Clay's magnanimous efforts in behalf of South American independence. His zeal in the cause was unalloyed by one selfish impulse, or one personal aim. He could hope to gain no political capital by his course. He appealed to no sectional interest; sustained no party policy; labored for no wealthy client; secured the influence of no man, or set of men, in his championship of a remote, unfriended, and powerless people. Congress and the president were vehemently opposed to his proposition. But in the face of discomfiture, he persevered, till he succeeded in making converts of his opponents, and in effecting the triumph of his measure. Almost single-handed, he sustained it through discouragement and hostility till it was crowned with success.

The effect of his spirit-stirring appeals in cheering the patriots of South America, was most gratifying and decided. His mem

orable plea of March, 1818, was, as one of his most embittered adversaries has told us, read at the head of the South American armies, to exalt their enthusiasm in battle, and quicken the con summation of their triumphs.

The following letter from Bolivar, with Mr. Clay's reply, belongs to this period of his history:—

"BOGOTA, 21*st November*, 1827.

"SIR: I can not omit availing myself of the opportunity offered me by the departure of Col. Watts, chargé d'affaires of the United States, of taking the liberty of addressing your excellency. This desire has long been entertained by me for the purpose of expressing my admiration of your excellency's brilliant talents and ardent love of liberty. All America, Colombia, and myself, owe your excellency our purest gratitude for the incomparable services you have rendered to us, by sustaining our course with a sublime enthusiasm. Accept, therefore, this sincere and cordial testimony which I hasten to offer to your excellency, and to the government of the United States, who have so greatly contributed to the emancipation of your southern brethren.

"I have the honor to offer to your excellency my distinguished consideration.

"Your excellency's obedient servant,

"BOLIVAR."

The following is a characteristic extract from Mr. Clay's reply:—

"WASHINGTON, 27*th October*, 1828.

"SIR: It is very gratifying to me to be assured directly by your excellency, that the course which the government of the United States took on this memorable occasion, and my humble efforts, have excited the gratitude and commanded the approbation of your excellency. I am persuaded that I do not misinterpret the feelings of the people of the United States, as I certainly express my own, in saying, that the interest which was inspired in this country by the arduous struggles of South America, *arose principally from the hope, that, along with its independence, would be established free institutions, insuring all the blessings of civil liberty. To the accomplishment of that object we still anxiously look.* We are aware that great difficulties oppose it, among which, not the least is that which arises out of the existence of a large military force, raised for the purpose of resisting the power of Spain. Standing armies, organized with the most patriotic intentions, are dangerous instruments. They devour the substance, debauch the morals, and too often destroy the liberties of the people. Nothing can be more perilous or unwise than to retain them after the necessity has ceased which led to their formation, especially if their numbers are disproportionate to the revenues of the state.

"But, notwithstanding all these difficulties, we had fondly cherished, and still indulge the hope, that South America would add a new triumph to the cause of human liberty: and, that Providence would bless her, as he had her northern sister, with the genius of some great and virtuous man, to conduct her securely through all her trials. We had even flattered ourselves that we beheld that genius in your excellency. But I should be unworthy of the consideration with which your excellency honors me, and deviate

from the frankness which I have ever endeavored to practise, *if I did not, on this occasion, state, that ambitious designs have been attributed by your enemies to your excellency, which have created in my mind great solicitude.* They have cited late events in Colombia as proofs of these designs. But, slow in the withdrawal of confidence which I have once given, I have been most unwilling to credit the unfavorable accounts which have from time to time reached me. I can not allow myself to believe, that your excellency will abandon the bright and glorious path which lies plainly before you, for the bloody road, passing over the liberties of the human race, on which the vulgar crowds of tyrants and military despots have so often trodden. I will not doubt, that your excellency will, in due time, render a satisfactory explanation to Colombia and the world, of the parts of your public conduct which have excited any distrust; and that, preferring the true glory of our immortal Washington to the ignoble fame of the destroyers of liberty, you have formed the patriotic resolution of ultimately placing the freedom of Colombia upon a firm and sure foundation. That your efforts to that end may be crowned with complete success, I most fervently pray.

"I request that your excellency will accept assurances of my sincere wishes for your happiness and prosperity.

"H. CLAY."

The disinterestedness of Mr. Clay's motives, in his course toward the South American republics, was forcibly displayed in his frank and open appeal to Bolivar. Had his object been to acquire influence and popularity among the people of those countries, he would hardly have addressed such plain reproaches and unpalatable truths to a chief who was all-powerful with them at the time. But in a cause where the freedom of any portion of mankind was implicated, Mr. Clay was never known to hesitate, to reckon his own interests, or to weigh the consequences to himself from an avowal of his own opinions. On all subjects, indeed, he is far above disguise; and though he may sometimes incur the charge of indiscretion by his uncalculating candor and fearless translucency of sentiment, the trait is one which claims for him our affection and confidence. Independent in his opinions as in his actions, no suggestion of self-interest could ever interpose an obstacle to the bold and magnanimous utterance of the former, or to the conscientious discharge of the latter.

VI.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT—PROTECTION.

We have seen that from an early period Mr. Clay was an advocate of the doctrine of internal improvement. His speech in Congress in 1806, had been in vindication of the policy authorizing the erection of a bridge across the Potomac river. In the passages we have quoted from his speech of January, 1816, he declared himself in favor not only of a system of internal improvement, but of protection to our manufactures.

It will be remembered that the bill appropriating for purposes of internal improvement the bonus which was to be paid by the Bank of the United States to the general government, after having been passed by Congress, had been returned by President Madison without his signature, in consequence of constitutional objections to the bill. Mr. Clay had been much surprised at this act; for Mr. Madison, in one of his messages, had said: "I particularly invite again the attention of Congress to the expediency of exercising their existing powers, and, where necessary, of resorting to the prescribed mode of enlarging them, in order to effectuate a comprehensive system of roads and canals, such as will have the effect of drawing more closely together every part of our country, by promoting intercourse and improvements, and by increasing the share of every part in the common stock of national prosperity."

Mr. Monroe, in anticipation of the action of Congress, had expressed an opinion in his message opposed to the right of Congress to establish a system of internal improvement. Mr Jefferson's authority was also cited to show that, under the constitution, roads and canals could not be constructed by the general government without the consent of the state or states through which they were to pass. Thus three successive presidents had opposed the proposition.

Against this weight of precedent, Mr. Clay undertook to persuade Congress of their power under the constitution to appro-

priate money for the construction of military roads, post-roads and canals. A resolution, embodying a clause to this effect, came before the house in March, 1818; and he lent to it his unremitting advocacy.

In regard to the constitutionality of the proposed measure, he contended that the power to *construct* post-roads is expressly granted in the power *to* ESTABLISH *post-roads*. With respect to military roads, the concession that they might be made when called for by the emergency, was admitting that the constitution conveyed the power. "And we may safely appeal," said Mr. Clay, "to the judgment of the candid and enlightened to decide between the wisdom of those two constructions, of which one requires you to wait for the exercise of your power until the arrival of an emergency which may not allow you to exert it; and the other, without denying you the power, if you can exercise it during the emergency, claims the right of providing beforehand against the emergency."

Mr. Clay's motion, recognising in Congress the constitutional power to make appropriations for internal improvements, was finally carried by a vote of ninety to seventy-five. The victory was a most signal one, obtained, as it was, over the transmitted prejudices of two previous administrations, and the active opposition of the one in power.

From that period to his final retirement from the senate he was the ever-vigilant and persevering advocate of internal improvements. He was the father of the system, and has ever been its most efficient upholder. On the 16th of January, 1824, he addressed the house upon a bill authorizing the president to effect certain surveys and estimates of roads and canals.

The opponents of the system, including President Monroe, had claimed that, in respect to post-roads, the general government had no other authority than to use such as had been previously established by the states. They asserted that to repair such roads was not within the constitutional power of government. Mr. Monroe gave his direct sanction to this doctrine, maintaining that the states were at full liberty to alter, and of course to shut up, post-roads at pleasure.

"Is it possible," asked Mr. Clay, "that this construction of

the constitution can be correct—a construction which allows a law of the United States, enacted for the good of the whole, to be obstructed or defeated in its operation by a county court in any one of the twenty-four sovereignties ?"

To Mr. Clay's strenuous and persevering exertions for the continuance of the great Cumberland road across the Alleghenies, the records of Congress will bear ample and constantly-recurring testimony. He himself has said: "We have had to beg, entreat, supplicate you, session after session, to grant the necessary appropriations to complete the road. I have myself toiled until my powers have been exhausted and prostrated, to prevail on you to make the grant." His courageous efforts were at length rewarded; and to him we are indebted for the most magnificent carriage-road in the United States.

At a dinner given to him a few years since by the mechanics of Wheeling, Mr. Clay spoke warmly, and with something like a parental feeling, of this road—expressing a wish that it might be retained, improved, and extended, by the nation. He illustrated its importance by observing that, before it was made, he and his family had expended a whole day of toilsome and fatiguing travel to pass the distance of about nine miles, from Uniontown to Freeman's, on the summit of Laurel hill; adding that eighty miles over that and other mountains were now made in one day by the public stage. He said that the road was the only comfortable pass across the mountains, and that he would not consent to give it up to the keeping of the states through which it happened to run. The people of nine states might thus be interfered with in their communication with the rest of the Union.

The country has not been wholly unmindful of Mr. Clay's preeminent services in behalf of this beneficent measure. On the Cumberland road stands a monument of stone, surmounted by the genius of liberty, and bearing as an inscription the name of "HENRY CLAY."

During the second session of the fifteenth Congress, in January, 1819, the subject of General Andrew Jackson's conduct in his celebrated Florida campaign came up for discussion. That chieftain, after subjecting the vanquished Indians to conditions the most cruel and impracticable, had hung two prisoners-of-war,

Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and concluded his series of outrages by lawlessly seizing the Spanish posts of St. Marks and Pensacola.

Committees of the senate and the house made reports reprobatory of his conduct; and resolutions were presented, containing four propositions. The first asserted the disapprobation of the house of the proceedings in the trial and execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. The second contemplated the passage of a law to prevent the execution hereafter of any captive taken by the army, without the approbation of the president. The third proposition was expressive of the disapproval of the forcible seizure of the Spanish posts, as contrary to orders, and in violation of the constitution. The fourth proposition was that a law should pass to prohibit the march of the army of the United States, or any corps of it, into any foreign territory, without the previous authorization of Congress, except it were in fresh pursuit of a defeated enemy.

We will not attempt an abstract of Mr. Clay's eloquent and argumentative speech in support of these propositions. Far less disposed are we to repeat the discreditable history of the wrongs and usurpations perpetrated by General Jackson. It may be proper to state, however, that Mr. Clay, grateful for the public services of the general, treated him with a forbearance and kindness which rendered the sincerity of his animadversions the more obvious.—' With respect to the purity of his intentions," said Mr. Clay, " I am disposed to allow it in the most extensive degree. Of his *acts* it is my duty to speak with the freedom which belongs to my station."

The speaker then proceeded to expose, in a most forcible point of view, the dangerous and arbitrary character of those acts, and the constitutional violations of which General Jackson had been guilty.—There are many passages in this speech which, when we regard them in connection with the subsequent presidential usurpation of the same military chieftain, seem truly like prophetic glimpses. Take, for example, the concluding para graph :—

"Gentlemen may bear down all opposition; they may even vote the general the public thanks; they may carry him triumphantly through this

house. But, if they do, in my humble judgment, *it will be a triumph of the principle of insubordination*—a triumph of the military over the civil authority—a triumph over the powers of this house—a triumph over the constitution of the land. And I pray most devoutly to Heaven that it may not prove, in its ultimate effects, a triumph over the liberties of the people."

Even at that distant day, Mr. Clay saw in the conduct of General Jackson, the indications of that imperious will—of that spirit of insubordination—which, dangerous as they were in a military commander, were not less pernicious and alarming in a civil chief magistrate. With his keen, instinctive faculty of penetration, he discovered the despotic and impulsive character of the man. Every page of his speech on the Seminole campaign, furnishes evidence of this fact.

How, then, when the question was presented to him of deciding between the qualifications of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson for the presidency of the United States—how could Henry Clay, as a consistent and honorable man, hesitate for a moment in his choice? And yet an amount of obloquy and vituperation, such as never before was heaped upon a public servant, has been lavished on him because of his refusing to vote for General Jackson, on that occasion! Had he done so, he would have been false to his past professions and convictions—false to conscience, to patriotism, and the plainest dictates of duty.

The resolutions of censure, being strenuously opposed by Mr. Monroe and his cabinet, were lost in the house by a small majority. The dispassionate judgment of posterity will inevitably accord with the views so eloquently expressed by Mr. Clay in regard to General Jackson's conduct in Florida.

We come now to one of the most important epochs in Mr. Clay's public history. In the opinion of a large portion of the people of the United States, it is to his long-continued, arduous, and triumphant efforts in the cause of protection to American industry and skill, that he will be indebted for his highest and most enduring fame. We have seen that, as far back as 1810, he laid the foundation-stone of that great and beneficent American system, of which he was the originator and the architect.

To specify and describe all his labors in the establishment and advancement of his noble policy, from that time to the period

of his retirement from the senate, would alone fill more space than we can give to his whole life. The journals of Congress, and the political newspapers of the country, for the last thirty years, will be found to be occupied, to no inconsiderable extent, with the record of his efforts, and arguments, and untiring appeals. We can present but a very imperfect outline of his glorious though peaceful achievements in the cause of human industry, labor, and prosperity.

On the 12th of March, 1816, Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina, from the committee of ways and means, introduced before the house, a bill "to regulate the duties on imports and tonnage, &c." The bill was avowedly favorable to a tariff of protection; and, strange as the record may seem, one of its most ardent supporters was John C. Calhoun. The whole question was debated with reference to the protective policy. It was thoroughly discussed in committee of the whole; and, through the exertions of Mr. Clay, a higher duty was adopted for the important article of woollens. The amendment, however, was unfortunately lost in the house; but the bill, such as it was, passed.

In the spring of 1820, the subject of a tariff again came before Congress; and Mr. Clay made a most interesting and impressive speech in favor of protective duties.

"I frankly own," said he, on this occasion, "that I feel great solicitude for the success of this bill. The entire independence of my country on all foreign states, as it respects the supply of our essential wants, has ever been with me a favorite object. The war of our revolution effected our political emancipation. The last war contributed greatly toward accomplishing our commercial freedom. *But our complete independence will only be consummated after the policy of this bill shall be recognised and adopted.* We have, indeed, great difficulties to contend with—old habits—colonial usages—the enormous profits of a foreign trade, prosecuted under favorable circumstances, which no longer continue. I will not despair. The cause, I verily believe, is the cause of the country. It may be postponed; it may be frustrated for the moment, but it finally must prevail."

And it *was* postponed; it *was* frustrated for the moment; but it finally *did* prevail.

The tariff was remodeled by the house, but their bill was rejected by the senate.

In 1823, the health of Mr. Clay was very poor—so much so, that his life was despaired of by both his friends and himself He had attended the Olympian springs in Kentucky, in the sum

mer, had been placed under a strict regimen, and subjected to a long course of medicine. In spite of all remedies, he felt a gradual decline, and looked forward to a speedy dissolution. In November he was to start for Washington, and fully anticipated, that after reaching that city, if he reached it at all, he should be obliged to hasten to the south as a last resort. He procured a small travelling carriage and a saddle-horse—threw aside all the prescriptions of the physician, and commenced his journey. Daily he walked on foot, drove in his carriage, and rode on horseback. He arrived at Washington quite well, was elected speaker and went through more labor than he ever performed in any other session, excepting, perhaps, the extra session of 1841.

The condition of the country, in 1824, was far from prosperous. The amount of our exports had diminished to an alarming degree, while our imports of foreign goods had greatly increased. The country was thus drained of its currency; and its commerce was crippled. Nor was there any home-market for the staple productions of our soil. Both cotton-planters and wool-growers shared in the general prostration; and even the farmer had to sell his produce at a loss, or keep it on hand till it was ruined. Labor could with difficulty find employment; and its wages were hardly sufficient to supply the bare necessities of life. Money could only be procured at enormous sacrifices. Distress and bankruptcy pervaded every class of the community.

In January, 1824, a tariff bill was reported by the committee on manufactures of the house; and in March following, Mr. Clay made his great and ever-memorable speech in the house, in support of American industry. Many of our readers will vividly remember the deplorable state of the country at that time. It is impressively portrayed in his exordium on this occasion.

The CAUSE of the wide-spread distress which existed, he maintained, was to be found in the fact that, during almost the whole existence of this government, we had shaped our industry, our navigation, and our commerce, in reference to an extraordinary market in Europe, and to foreign markets, which no longer existed; in the fact that we had depended too much upon foreign sources of supply, and excited too little the native.

On this occasion, Mr. Webster, whose views upon the subject

afterward underwent an entire change, opposed the bill with the whole powerful weight of his talents and legal profundity. Mr. Clay took up, one by one, the objections of the opposition, laboriously examined and confuted them. For specimens of pure and strongly-linked argument, the annals of Congress exhibit no speech superior to that of March, 1824. In amplitude and variety of facts, in force and earnestness of language, and cogency of appeal to the reason and patriotism of Congress and the people, it has rarely been equalled. It would have been surprising indeed, if, notwithstanding the strongly-arrayed opposition, such a speech had failed in overcoming it. Experience has amply proved the validity and justice of its arguments. Its prophecies have been all fulfilled.

The tariff bill finally passed the house, the 16th of April, 1824, by a vote of 107 to 102. It soon afterward became a law.

We will leave it to Mr. Clay himself to describe the results of his policy, eight years after it had been adopted as the policy of the country. After recalling the gloomy picture he had presented in 1824, he said :—

"I have now to perform the more pleasing task of exhibiting an imperfect sketch of the existing state—of the unparalleled prosperity of the country. On a general survey, we behold cultivation extending, the arts flourishing, the face of the country improved, our people fully and profitably employed, and the public countenances exhibiting tranquillity, contentment, and happiness. And, if we descend into particulars, we have the agreeable contemplation of a people out of debt; land rising slowly in value, but in a secure and salutary degree; a ready, though not extravagant market, for all the surplus productions of our industry; innumerable flocks and herds browsing and gamboling on ten thousand hills and plains, covered with rich and verdant grasses; our cities expanded, and whole villages springing up, as it were, by enchantment; our exports and imports increased and increasing; our tonnage, foreign and coastwise, swelling and fully occupied; the rivers of our interior animated by the thunder and lightning of countless steamboats; the currency sound and abundant; the public debt of two wars nearly redeemed; and, to crown all, the public treasury overflowing, embarrassing Congress, not to find subjects of taxation, but to select the objects which shall be relieved from the impost. If the term of seven years were to be selected of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824."

Such were the consequences of the benign legislation introduced and carried into operation by Henry Clay. And though the reverse of the picture was soon presented to us, through the

violent executive measures of General Jackson, inflating and then prostrating the currency, and the course afterward pursued, we have the satisfaction of knowing that Mr. Clay has never wavered in his course ; and that, had his warnings been regarded, and his counsels taken, a far different state of things would, in all probability, have existed.

The unanimous voice of the country has accorded to Mr. Clay the merit of having been the father of the system, which has been justly called the American system. To his personal history belong the testimonials of the various state legislatures and conventions, and of the innumerable public meetings, in all parts of the country, which awarded him the praise, and tendered him the grateful acknowledgments of the community. To his individual exertions, the manufacturing industry of the United States is indebted to a degree which it is now difficult to realize. By the magic power of his eloquence, the country was raised from a state of prostration and distress ; cities were called into existence, and the wilderness was truly made to blossom like the rose

Mr. Clay's zealous and laborious efforts in behalf of the tariff, can only be appreciated by a reference to the journal of the house of that period. It seems as if he had been called upon to battle for every item of the bill, inch by inch. The whole power of a large and able opposition was arrayed against him ; and every weapon that argument, rhetoric, and ridicule, could supply, was employed. John Randolph was, as on former occasions, an active and bitter antagonist. Once or twice, he provoked Mr. Clay into replying to his personal taunts.

"Sir," said Mr. C., on one occasion, "the gentleman from Virginia was pleased to say, that in one point, at least, he coincided with me—in an humble estimate of my grammatical and philological acquirements. I know my deficiencies. I was born to no proud patrimonial estate ; from my father I inherited only infancy, ignorance, and indigence. I feel my defects ; but, so far as my situation in early life is concerned, I may, without presumption, say they are more my misfortune than my fault. But, however I deplore my want of ability to furnish to the gentleman a better specimen of powers of verbal criticism, I will venture to say, my regret is not greater than the disappointment of this committee, as to the strength of his argument."

The following is in a different vein. After the passage of the tariff bill, on the 16th of April, 1824, when the house had adjourned, and the speaker was stepping down from his seat, a

gentleman who had voted with the majority, said to him, "We have done pretty well to-day."—"Yes," returned Mr. Clay, "we made a good stand, considering we lost both our *Feet*"—alluding to Mr. Foot of Connecticut, and Mr. Foote of New York, who both voted against the bill, though it was thought, some time before, that they would give it their support.

VII.

MISSOURI—GREECE—LAFAYETTE.

During the session of 1820–'21, the "distracting question," as it was termed, of admitting Missouri into the Union, which had been the subject of many angry and tedious debates, was discussed in both branches of Congress. The controverted point was, whether she should be admitted as a slave state.

Slavery had been expressly excluded from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, by acts of Congress, on their admission into the Union. But that restriction was by virtue of an ordinance of the former Congress, under the confederation, prohibiting the introduction of slavery into the northwest territory, out of which these states were formed. Missouri was part of the Louisiana territory, purchased of France, in 1803. And in various parts of that extensive territory, slavery then existed, and had long been established.

Louisiana had been admitted into the Union without restriction of the kind proposed for Missouri. The states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, had also been admitted as separate states previous to this period; and, as they were taken from states in which slavery existed, they had been made subject to no such restriction. It was contended that, on the same principle, Missouri should also be received, without requiring, as a condition of admission, the exclusion of slavery. And it was also insisted that it would be interfering with the independent character of a state, to enforce any such restriction, which was manifestly a subject of regulation by the state authority.

On the contrary, it was urged that in the old states the subject

was expressly settled by the constitution, and Congress could not justly interfere in those states; but that it was otherwise with new states received into the Union; in which case Congress had the right to impose such restrictions and conditions as it might choose; that it was evidently the intention of the old Congress not to extend slavery, having prohibited its introduction or existence in new states to be formed out of the northwest territory; and that slavery was so great an evil, and so abhorrent to the principles of a free government, that it should be abolished or prohibited wherever it could be constitutionally affected.

The discussion went on from month to month, and from session to session, increasing in fierceness, and diverging farther and farther from the prospect of an amicable settlement. Among the prominent advocates for excluding slavery from Missouri, were Rufus King from New York, Otis of Massachusetts, Dana of Connecticut, Sergeant and Hemphill of Pennsylvania. Of those opposed to restriction, were Holmes of Massachusetts, Vandyke and M'Lane of Delaware, Pinckney of Maryland, Randolph and Barbour of Virginia, Lowndes of South Carolina, Clay and Johnson of Kentucky.

A bill for the admission of Missouri had been defeated during the session of 1818–'19; and the inflammatory subject had, during the vacation of Congress, given rise to incessant contention. The press entered warmly into the controversy. The most violent pamphlets were published on both sides. Public meetings thundered forth their resolutions; and the Union seemed to be fearfully shaken to its centre. It may be imagined, then, with what interest the next session of Congress was looked to by the people.

Many eloquent speeches were made in the house upon the question. Mr. Clay spoke, at one time, nearly four hours against the restriction; but there remains no published sketch of his remarks. The vote in the house of representatives was several times given for excluding slavery; but the senate disagreed, and would not yield to the house.

In 1820, the people of the territory of Missouri, proceeded to ordain and establish a constitution of government for the contemplated state. Among other provisions, it was ordained, in the

twenty-sixth section of the third article, that it should be the duty of the general assembly, *as soon as might be, to pass such laws as were necessary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the state, under any pretext whatever.*" Under this constitution a state government was organized and went into operation.

This clause, for the exclusion of free negroes and mulattoes, fanned into fresh life the flame of excitement which had been partially allayed. The whole country was now thrown into commotion upon the question of admitting Missouri.

In the autumn of 1820, Mr. Clay, who had experienced heavy pecuniary losses by endorsing for a friend, resolved to retire from Congress, and, in the practice of the law, devote himself to the reparation of his private affairs. Accordingly, at the meeting of Congress, the 13th of November, 1820, the clerk, having announced that a quorum was present, said that he had received a letter from the Hon. Henry Clay, which, with the leave of the house, he read as follows:—

"LEXINGTON, Ky., October 28, 1820.

"SIR:—I will thank you to communicate to the house of representatives, that owing to imperious circumstances, I shall not be able to attend upon it until after the Christmas holydays; and to respectfully ask it to allow me to resign the office of its speaker, which I have the honor to hold, and to consider this as the act of my resignation. I beg the house also to permit me to reiterate the expression of my sincere acknowledgments and unaffected gratitude for the distinguished consideration which it has uniformly manifested for me. I have the honor to be, &c., "H. CLAY.

"THOS. DOUGHERTY, Esq., Clerk H. of R."

In view of the agitating question before Congress, Mr. Clay consented, however, to retain his seat as a member of the house till his term of service expired, although no longer its presiding officer. Early in the session the Missouri question came up. Those who now opposed its admission contended, that free citizens and mulattoes were citizens of the states of their residence; that as such, they had a right under the constitution, to remove to Missouri, or any other state of the Union, and there enjoy all the privileges and immunities of other citizens of the United States emigrating to the same place; and, therefore, that the clause in the constitution of Missouri, quoted above, was repugnant to that of the United States, and she ought not to be received into the Union

On the other hand, it was maintained that the African race. whether bond or free, were not parties to our political institutions; that, therefore, free negroes and mulattoes were not citizens, within the meaning of the constitution of the United States; and even if the constitution of Missouri were repugnant to that of the United States, the latter was paramount, and would overrule the conflicting provision of the former, without the interference of Congress.

Such was the perilous and portentous question which now threatened a disruption of the Union. In some shape or other, it was presented almost daily and hourly to Congress; and became, at length, a perfect incubus upon legislation. In this state of things, Mr. Clay arrived in Washington, and took his seat in the house on the sixteenth of January, 1821. On the second of February, he submitted a motion to refer a resolution of the senate on the Missouri question to a committee of thirteen—a number suggested by that of the original states of the Union. The motion was agreed to, and the following gentlemen were appointed a committee accordingly:—

Messrs. Clay of Ky., Eustis of Mass., Smith of Md., Sergeant of Pa., Lowndes of S. C., Ford of N. Y., Campbell of Ohio, Archer of Va., Hackley of N. Y., S. Moore, of Pa., Cobb of Ga., Tomlinson of Ct., and Butler of N. H.

On the tenth of the same month, Mr. Clay made a report, concluding with an amendment to the senate's resolution, by which amendment Missouri was admitted upon the following fundamental condition:—

"It is provided that the said state shall never pass any law preventing any description of persons from coming to and settling in the said state, who now are or hereafter may become citizens of any of the states of this Union; and provided also, that the legislature of the said state, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the said state to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the president of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November next, an authentic copy of the said act; upon the receipt whereof, the president, by proclamation, shall announce the fact; whereupon, and without any further proceedings on the part of Congress, the admission of the said state into the Union shall be considered as complete: And provided, further, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to take from the state of Missouri, when admitted into the Union, the exercise of any right or power which can now be constitutionally exercised by any of the original states."

In defence of his report, Mr. Clay said that, although those

favorable to the admission of Missouri could not succeed entirely in their particular views, yet he was of opinion that they had, as regarded the report of the committee, nothing to complain of. At the same time, the report was calculated to obviate the objections of those who had opposed the admission of Missouri on the ground of the objection to her constitution which had been avowed. Thus consulting the opinions of both sides of the house, in that spirit of compromise which is occasionally necessary to the existence of all societies, he hoped it would receive the countenance of the house: and he earnestly invoked the spirit of harmony and kindred feeling to preside over the deliberations of the house on the subject.

The question being taken in committee of the whole on the amendment proposed by Mr. Clay, it was decided *in the negative* by a vote of 73 to 64. This decision was afterward overruled in the house. On the question, however, of the third reading of the resolution, it was rejected by a vote of 83 to 80, in consequence of the defection of Mr. Randolph of Virginia, who dreaded the increase of popularity which would accrue to Mr. Clay by the success of his proposition. A reconsideration was moved and carried the next day, and the question of the third reading was again brought before the house. Another protracted and bitter debate followed, and was concluded by a speech of an hour's duration from Mr. Clay, who is represented by the cotemporary journals as having "reasoned, remonstrated, and entreated that the house would settle the question."

On the fourteenth of February, the two houses of Congress met in the hall of the house of representatives, to perform the ceremony of counting the votes for president and vice-president of the United States. A scene of great confusion occurred when the votes of the electors for Missouri were announced by the president of the senate, and handed to the tellers. The members of the senate withdrew, and a violent discussion sprang up. By the exertions of Mr. Clay order was at length restored, and, on his motion, a message was sent to the senate that the house was ready to proceed to the completion of the business of counting the votes.

The senate again came in. The votes of Missouri were read,

and the result of all the votes having been read, it was announced by the president of the senate, that the total number of votes for James Monroe as President of the United States, was 231, and, if the votes of Missouri were not counted, was 228; that, in either event, James Monroe had a majority of the whole number of votes given. James Monroe was accordingly re-elected president for four years, commencing on the ensuing fourth of March.

While the proclamation was being made, two members of the house claimed the floor to inquire whether the votes of Missouri were or were not counted. Another scene of confusion hereupon ensued, and the house were finally obliged to adjourn in order to put an end to it.

The rejection of Mr. Clay's report seemed to shut out all prospect of an amicable compromise. He was not disheartened, however. He never despaired of the republic. On the twenty-second of February, he submitted the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed, on the part of this house, jointly with such committee as may be appointed on the part of the senate, to consider and report to the senate and to the house, respectively, whether it be expedient or not to make provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union on the same footing as the original states, and for the due execution of the laws of the United States within Missouri; and if not, whether any other, and what provision, adapted to her actual condition, ought to be made by law."

This resolution was adopted in the house by a vote of 103 to 55. The senate acceded to it by a large majority.

The joint committees of the two houses met on the twenty-fifth of February, 1821; and a plan of accommodation, proposed by Mr. Clay, was adopted, unanimously on the part of the committee of the senate, and nearly so by that of the house. The next day he reported to the house from the committee a resolution, which was the same in effect as that which we have already quoted as having been reported by the former committee of thirteen members. A short discussion ensued, which was checked by a call for the previous question. The resolution was then adopted by a vote of eighty-seven to eighty-one. The senate concurred, and the momentous question, which for three sessions had agitated Congress, was, at length, through the labors of Henry Clay, peaceably settled.

The achievement of this vital compromise must have been one of the most gratifying triumphs of his political career. By his personal influence and abilities, he had saved the republic. He deservedly won on this occasion the appropriate title of "the Great Pacificator;" for to his individual exertions do we owe it, that we were saved from the prospect of a dissolution of the Union. His efforts in and out of Congress were unceasing in accomplishing his object. He made direct personal appeals to those whom he could not influence in public debate, and left no means untried for bringing Congress to that harmonious state, which was essential to the safety of the country.

While the Missouri question was pending, and the excitement of the contending parties was running to a great and alarming height, Mr. Randolph, and perhaps some other gentlemen of the south, conceived the project of the whole delegation from the slaveholding states, in a body, abandoning the house, and leaving its business to be carried on, if at all, by the representatives from the other states. At that time, one of those conditions of non-intercourse, which we have described, existed between him and Mr. Clay; but notwithstanding that, one night when the house was in session by candlelight, Mr. Clay being out of the chair, Mr. Randolph approached him in the most courteous manner, and said: "Mr. Speaker, I wish you would leave the chair. I will follow you to Kentucky, or anywhere else in the world."

Mr. Clay replied: "That is a very serious proposition, Mr. Randolph; we have not time now to discuss it; but if you will come into the speaker's room to-morrow morning, before the house assembles, we will consider it together."

He accordingly attended there with punctuality. They remained in earnest conversation about an hour, Mr. Clay contending that it was wisest to compromise the question, if it could be done without any sacrifice of principle, and Mr. Randolph insisting that the slave states had the right on their side; that matters must come to an extremity; and that there could be no more suitable occasion to bring them to that issue. They maintained their respective opinions firmly but amicably, without coming to any agreement.

When they were about separating, Mr. Clay observed to Mr

Randolph, that he would take that opportunity of saying to him, that he (Mr. Randolph) had used exceptionable language sometimes when the speaker was in the chair and had no opportunity of replying; and that he was often provoked thereat. "Well, Mr. Speaker," said Mr. Randolph, "I think you sometimes neglect me; you won't listen to me when I am addressing the chair, but turn your head away, and ask for a pinch of snuff."

Mr. Clay rejoined: "You are mistaken. I am listening when I may not seem to be; and I can repeat as much of any one of your late speeches as you yourself can, good as I know your memory to be."

"Well," replied Mr. Randolph, "perhaps I am mistaken; and suppose we shake hands and be good friends hereafter."

"Agreed!" said Mr. Clay.

They shook hands accordingly, and never spoke with each other during the residue of the session. It was about the period of Commodore Decatur's death. That event greatly excited Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Clay was informed by two different gentlemen (the late Governor Edwards and Gen. C. F. Mercer) about the same time, without concert, and shortly after the interview described above, that they knew that Mr. Randolph desired a duel, and with him (Mr. Clay). He thanked them for the communication; which was made from friendly motives. It naturally put him upon his guard, and on first meeting Mr. Randolph, thinking that he saw something unfriendly in his deportment, they passed each other without speaking.

Shortly before the interview above-mentioned, Mr. Randolph came to Mr. Clay with an insulting letter containing a threat to horsewhip him (Mr. Randolph), and asked what he should do with it—should he communicate it to the house as a breach of privilege. "How came the writer to address such a letter to you?" asked Mr. Clay.—"Why, sir," said he, "I was in the vestibule of the house, the other day, and he brought up a man and introduced him to me. I asked him what right he had to introduce that man to me, and told him that the man had just as much right to introduce *him* to me. And he said he thought it was an act of great impertinence. It was for that cause he has written me this threatening letter." Mr. Clay asked

him if he thought the man's mind was perfectly sound. "Why," replied Mr. Randolph, "I have some doubts about that."—"If that be the case," said Mr. Clay, "would you not better avoid troubling the house about the affair? And I will give orders to the officers of the house to keep an eye on the man, and if he should attempt to do anything improper to arrest him." Mr. Randolph said, it was perhaps the best course, and nothing more was heard of the matter.

On one occasion, during the agitation of this same Missouri question, Mr. Randolph told Mr. Clay, that he had resolved, by the advice of Chief-Justice Marshall, to abstain from the use of those powerful instruments of irony, sarcasm, and invective, which he used with such cutting effect, and to confine himself to the employment of pure argument, whenever he spoke. He attempted it. He failed. His speech possessed no attraction—commanded no attention. He was mortified, and resumed his ancient style; and listening and admiring audiences returned to him.

When the house sat in what has been called the old capitol (the brick building at the northeast corner of the capitol-square), Mr. Randolph one day came in collision with an able colleague from Virginia, Mr. Sheffey, in argument, in course of which Mr. Sheffey had indulged in some playful remark. Mr. R. replied, and concluded by offering him some advice, which, he said, he hoped would be kindly received: and that was, that logic being his (Mr. Sheffey's) forte, he ought to confine himself to it, and never attempt wit, for which he possessed no talent. Mr. Sheffey rejoined, answered the argument of Mr. Randolph, and thanked him for his advice, but said he did not like to be in debt, and, by way of acquitting himself of it, he begged leave to offer some advice in return. Nature, he said, had been bountiful to Mr. R. in bestowing on him extraordinary wit, but had denied him any powers of argument. Mr. S. would advise him, therefore, to confine himself to the regions of wit, and never attempt to soar into those of logic. Mr. R. immediately followed, and handsomely remarked, that he took back what he had said of his colleague; for he had shown himself to be a man of wit as well as of logic.

It was a pleasant and enlivening incident, and the whole house and both parties appeared to enjoy the joke But Mr. Randolph

returned to the house the next day, and renewed the attack with great bitterness. The parties had various and long passes at each other. Mr. R. was repeatedly called to order by Mr. Clay, and finally stopped. It was on that occasion that, Mr. Sheffey being called to order, Mr. Clay said that he would be out of order in replying, as he was, to any other member but Mr. Randolph.

During the interval of his retirement from Congress, in 1822, Mr. Clay was delegated, in conjunction with Mr. Bibb, to attend the Virginia legislature, for the adjustment of certain land claims in Kentucky. The house of representatives of Virginia appointed a day to receive and hear them at the bar of the house. The subject to be discussed, was what were called the "occupying claimant laws" of Kentucky; in other words, laws passed in behalf of the early settlers, the pioneers of the new state. The vicious system which Virginia had adopted, of disposing of her waste and unappropriated lands, had led to the most frightful confusion and uncertainty of title. No man was sure of his home and lands, no matter how long he had occupied, or how greatly he had improved them. Some dormant adverse title might spring up and evict him from his residence. Those "occupying claimant laws" were passed to secure to him the fruits of his toil and labor, by compelling the successful claimant to pay the value of all permanent improvements. In principle, these laws were right, although they were liable to great abuse, through a sympathy with the actual settler, which often led the assessor to place an extravagant estimate upon the improvements.

The validity of these laws was contested, and the supreme court of the United States had pronounced a decision against them. Whether they were valid or not, depended upon the true interpretation of a compact between the states of Virginia and Kentucky, made at the time the latter was erected into a separate commonwealth. The object of the mission of Messrs. Clay and Bibb, was to prevail on the parent state to consent to the establishment of some impartial tribunal other than the supreme court to be constituted by the joint consent of the two states, to decide the question of validity. It was to accomplish this object, that the negotiators appeared before the legislature.

Their mission had excited much sensation and curiosity. The

city of Richmond was crowded by persons attracted to it by th novelty of the scene. Mr. Clay, who had left it, some twenty five years before, a poor orphan boy, and now found himself amid the remnant of his early associates, trembled lest he should not appear to advantage. The day for his presenting himself before the house at length arrived. The hall was crowded. The judges of the court of appeals, among whom was the eminent Spencer Roane, who, in 1797, had signed Mr. Clay's license—the members of the bar generally, and of the senate, with many distinguished citizens, composed the audience. In the presence of this intellectual multitude, Mr. Clay rose to address the house of delegates. He described the hardships and sufferings of the early adventurers and settlers in Kentucky: how they had encountered and subdued the savages, felled the forests, built for themselves habitations, and, amid the greatest privations, cultivated the earth, with the rifle as near at hand as the spade and the plough. He painted in glowing and pathetic terms the sacrifices they had made in abandoning the homes of their fathers, the tombs of their ancestors, the friends of their youth. Mr. Clay had himself recently been in the neighborhood of the place which gave him birth, and the visit and his early recollections, probably imparted a deeper and more solemn intensity to his feelings and language. The whole assembly was gazing on him with fixed attention. You could have heard a pin drop in the pauses of his speech, such was the stillness. Nearly all his hearers were in tears. At this interesting juncture, Mr. Clay attempted the quotation of a passage from the poems of Sir Walter Scott, now familiar to every schoolboy, but then new to most of his audience. The words had fled from his memory! He stood filled with emotion, and at the same time transfixed with deep, though imperceptible embarrassment, at the treacherous trick which his memory was serving him. He threw his right hand upon his forehead, as if overwhelmed by his feelings, and remained in that posture so long, that he has been heard to say that he was actually meditating upon some mode of escape from his dilemma. Fortunately, however, the words came to his relief, and in his full-toned, melodious voice, he gave them forth:—

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
That never to himself has said,
'This is my own, my native land!'"

The effect upon the audience was electrical and transporting — far transcending what it would have been if his memory had not *balked* at all.

The mission of Messrs. Clay and Bibb, led to the appointment of the Hon. B. W. Leigh on the part of Virginia; and Mr. Clay was subsequently appointed to conduct the negotiation with the latter on the part of Kentucky. They concluded at Ashland a convention, which, though it was ratified by the legislature of Kentucky and the house of delegates of Virginia, was finally rejected in the senate of the latter state.

By an absence of nearly three years from Congress, Mr. Clay was enabled, through his professional labors, to retrieve his private affairs; and, in the summer of 1823, at the earnest and repeated solicitations of his fellow-citizens, he accepted a renomination, and was again chosen, without opposition, to represent his district in the lower house at Washington.

The first session of the eighteenth Congress opened the first Monday in December, 1823. At the first ballot for speaker, in the house of representatives, Mr. Clay was elected. Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, the late speaker, had forty-two votes—Mr. Clay had one hundred and thirty-nine. The following neat *jeu d'esprit* appeared in the National Intelligencer shortly after the election:

"As near the Potomac's broad stream, t' other day,
Fair LIBERTY strolled in solicitous mood,
Deep pondering the future—unheeding her way—
She met goddess NATURE beside a green wood.
'Good mother,' she cried, 'deign to help me at need!
I must make for my guardians a speaker to day:
The first in the world I would give them.'—'Indeed!
When I made the first speaker, I made him of CLAY!'"

On taking the speaker's chair, Mr. Clay made a brief and appropriate address, in which he returned his acknowledgments for the honor conferred. The duties of a speaker are happily enumerated in his remarks on this occasion.

On the 5th of December, Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, sub-

mitted a resolution providing by law for defraying the expense incident to the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece, whenever the president should deem it expedient to make such appointment. He supported this proposition in a most able speech, on the 19th of the ensuing January. Mr. Clay stood side by side with him in defence of the measure. Notwithstanding the advocacy of these gigantic champions, however, it failed in the house.

Mr. Clay's speech on the subject, though brief, was full of fire and point.

"Are we," he exclaimed, "so humbled, so low, so debased, that we dare not express our sympathy for suffering Greece, that we dare not articulate our detestation of the brutal excesses of which she has been the bleeding victim, lest we might offend some one or more of their imperial and royal majesties?"

Although Mr. Clay failed at the moment in procuring the recognition of Greece, he afterward, when secretary of state, accomplished his object. The United States was the first independent power by whom she was recognised.

Mr. Clay's labors, during the session of 1824, would alone have been sufficient to make his name memorable, to the latest posterity, in the annals of the country. The session is signalized by the passage of the tariff bill, and of his measure in behalf of South American independence. In reference to the former, it should not be forgotten that it was through his vigilant and persevering efforts, that the SUGAR DUTY was saved. A member from Louisiana, by his constant and bitter opposition to the protective policy, had greatly incensed its friends. They were provoked by his pertinacity, and, in committee of the whole, struck out the item of sugar from the list of protected articles. Mr. Clay remonstrated with them. He urged that the state ought not to be injured, and that it would be cruel to punish it for the supposed misconduct of one of its representatives. He entreated them, therefore, to restore the protective duty on sugar, and finally prevailed on them, by personal appeals to individual members, to restore it accordingly in the house.

On the 15th of August, 1824, General Lafayette, the nation's guest, arrived at New York, in the Cadmus, accompanied by his son George Washington Lafayette. The following 10th of

December, he was introduced to the house of representatives by a select committee, appointed for the purpose. Mr. Clay, as speaker, received him with a pertinent and elegant address. Lafayette was deeply affected by this address, uttered, as it was, in the speaker's clear, musical, and genial tones; and the hero of two hemispheres replied to it in a manner that betokened much emotion.

This distinguished friend of America and of liberty, maintained, to the end of his days, an unwavering attachment for Mr. Clay; and when the miserable cry of "bargain and corruption" was raised against the latter, at the time of his acceptance of the office of secretary of state, Lafayette gave his conclusive testimony in favor of the integrity, ingenuousness, and public virtue of his friend, and in vindication of him from the charges which partisan hacks had originated.

"THAT IS THE MAN WHOM I HOPE TO SEE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES," said Lafayette, in 1832, pointing to a portrait of Mr. Clay, in presence of an officer of the United States navy, who was entertained by the great and good Frenchman at his country-seat. The anecdote here given, may be found in the "Commonwealth" newspaper published at Frankfort, Kentucky.

We have seen that Mr. Clay was at variance with President Monroe upon the subject of internal improvements, as well as in regard to the mode of recognising the independence of the South American patriots. Notwithstanding these differences of opinion, the personal relations of the speaker and the chief magistrate were friendly. Mr. Clay was offered a seat in the cabinet, and a *carte blanche* of all the foreign missions. Had *place* been his ambition and his object, he might have attained it without any sacrifice of independence—without any loss of position as the acknowledged head of the great republican party. He saw, however, that he could be more useful to his country in Congress. Measures of vital importance were to be carried. The tariff was to be adjusted—the Missouri business to be settled—the constitutionality of internal improvements was to be admitted—South American independence was to be acknowledged—how could he conscientiously quit a post where he wielded an influence more potent than the president's, while such mo

mentous questions remained open? These being disposed of, he would be at liberty to pursue any course which his inclinations might indicate, or which the public interests might sanction.

VIII.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1824.

As Mr. Monroe's second presidential term drew to a close, the question of the next presidency began to be busily agitated. Four prominent candidates were presented by their friends for the suffrages of the people: being John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and William H. Crawford of Georgia.

In November, 1822, Mr. Clay had been nominated as a suitable successor to James Monroe, at a meeting of the members of the legislature of Kentucky. The nomination soon after met with a response from similar meetings in Louisiana, Missouri, and Ohio; and, as the period of the election approached, he was hailed by large bodies of his fellow-citizens in all parts of the country as their favorite candidate.

The campaign of 1824 was one of the most warmly-contested in our annals. Some of the more unscrupulous of the friends of the various candidates resorted to manœuvres unworthy of their cause to advance their ends. Just as the election was commencing, a report was industriously circulated in different quarters of the country that Mr. Clay had withdrawn from the presidential contest. In consequence of this report, General William H. Harrison, and other of Mr. Clay's friends in Ohio, published a declaration, in which it was asserted that he (Mr. Clay) "would not be withdrawn from the contest but by the fiat of his Maker." Our late lamented chief magistrate was at that time, and ever after, his devoted political, as well as personal friend; and he has often been heard to declare his preference for him over all other candidates.

Early in the campaign it was discovered that there would be no election of president by the people. By the constitution, the house of representatives would, therefore, be called upon to choose from the three highest cadidates. In December, 1824, soon after the meeting of Congress, it was known that the three highest candidates were Jackson, Adams, and Crawford, and that Mr. Clay and his friends would have it in their power, when the question came before the house, of turning the balance in favor of any one of the three.

Mr. Clay's position was now an extremely important one. Several weeks were to intervene before the election; and, in the meantime, the partisans of the three candidates looked with intense anxiety to the speaker's course. His preferences were distinctly known to his personal friends, for he had expressed them in his letters and his conversations; but it would have been indelicate and superfluous for him to have electioneered in behalf of any one of the rival candidates—to have given occasion for intrigues and coalitions by deciding the question in advance.

While all parties were in this state of suspense, a gross and unprincipled attempt was made to browbeat Mr. Clay, and drive him from what was rightly supposed to be his position of preference for Mr. Adams. A letter, the authorship of which was afterward avowed by George Kremer, a member of the house from Pennsylvania, appeared in a Philadelphia newspaper called the "Columbian Observer," charging Mr. Clay and his friends with the most flagitious intentions—in short with the design of selling their vote to the highest bidder.

Monstrous as were these intimations, they were calculated to carry some weight with the ignorant and unreflecting. By such persons, it would not be taken into consideration that Mr. Clay had already declined offices of the highest grade under Madison and Monroe—that, if either Jackson or Crawford had been elected through his agency, the first office in the gift of either would indubitably have been offered to him—that, in accepting office under Mr. Adams, it was universally understood at Washington, he was conferring rather than receiving a favor—that he might not inaptly have been accused of acting an ungenerous part if, after bringing the Adams administration into power, he

had refused it the countenance so essential to its success—that he would have neglected the solicitations of all who acted with him from the west had he refused the secretaryship—and, in short, that in order to justify his vote it was incumbent on him to submit to the united voice of the friends of the new administration, and bring to it as much of his western strength as he could lend.

The "Columbian Observer," in which the precious epistle we have alluded to appeared, was a print sustained by Mr. Eaton, the friend, biographer, and colleague in the senate of General Jackson. The position of the writer of the letter, as a member of Congress, gave it a consequence which, utterly contemptible as it is, it would not otherwise, in any degree, have possessed. Mr. Clay deemed it incumbent upon him to notice it; and he published a card in the National Intelligencer, pronouncing the author of the letter, whoever he might be, "a base and infamous calumniator." This was answered by a card from Mr. George Kremer, in which the writer said he held himself ready to prove, to the satisfaction of unprejudiced minds, enough to satisfy them of the accuracy of the statements in the letter, so far as Mr. Clay was concerned.

The calumny having been thus fathered, Mr. Clay rose in his place in the house, and demanded an investigation into the affair

A committee was accordingly appointed by ballot on the 5th of February, 1835. It was composed of some of the leading members of the house, not one of whom was Mr. Clay's political friend. Although Mr. Kremer had declared to the house and to the public his willingness to bring forward his proofs, and his readiness to abide the issue of the inquiry, his fears, or other counsels than his own, prevailed upon him to resort finally to a miserable subterfuge. The committee reported that Mr. Kremer declined appearing before them, alleging *that he could not do so without appearing either as an accuser or a witness, both of which he protested against!*"

And yet, this same Mr. Kremer, a day or two before, when the subject of appointing an investigating committee came up, had risen in his seat in the house, and said: "If, upon an investigation being instituted, it should appear that he had not suf-

ficient reasons to justify the statements he had made, he trusted he should receive the marked reprobation which had been suggested by the speaker. Let it fall where it might, Mr. Kremer said, *he was willing to meet the inquiry, and abide the result.*"

But it is not on Mr. Kremer alone that our indignation should be expended for this miserable attempt to bolster up a profligate calumny just long enough for it to operate on the approaching election. He was merely a tool in the hands of deeper knaves. A thick-headed, illiterate, foolish, good-natured man, he was ready, in his blind attachment to General Jackson, to do any servile deed that might propitiate his idol. He seems to have inwardly repented of the act as soon as it had been committed. He frequently declared his determination to offer an explanation and apology to Mr. Clay; and had gone so far as to draw up a paper for that purpose, which was submitted to the latter. But Mr. Clay replied that the affair had passed from his control into that of the house;—and the rogues, who had taken Mr. Kremer into their keeping, were careful not to allow him to repeat his offer of an apology subsequently when the house chose to let the matter drop.

In 1827–'28, Mr. Clay, in an address to his constituents, gave a full and interesting history of this affair, together with the sequel, at which we shall glance in our next chapter, and in which General Jackson figured conspicuously.

On the 9th of February, 1825, in the presence of both houses of Congress, Mr. Tazewell, from the committee of tellers, reported the votes of the different states for president and vice-president of the United States. The aggregate was as follows: John Quincy Adams had eighty-four votes; William H. Crawford, forty-one; Andrew Jackson, ninety-nine; and Henry Clay, thirty-seven*—the latter having been deprived, by party intrigue

* The vote of Mr. Clay in the primary colleges stood: Ohio, 16; Kentucky, 14; New York, 4; Missouri, 3. It will be seen that Missouri gave her entire vote to Mr. Clay, in 1824, at which time THOMAS H. BENTON took the lead in his support, as the candidate most favorable to Internal Improvements and the Protection of American Industry.

Mr. Crawford, it must be remembered, was the regular nominee of the Democratic Congressional caucus, which, though composed of a decided *minority* of the members belonging to that party, claimed the support of all its adherents as a matter of precedent and principle. The "regular ticket" (electoral) was therefore in most states for Crawford; while Mr. Adams's name in the east and General Jackson's in the south and southwest were generally pitched upon by the contemners of caucus pretensions to form a rallying cry against

and chicanery, of votes in New York and Louisiana—which would have carried him into the house, where he would undoubtedly have been elected president over all other candidates.

The president of the senate rose, and declared that no person had received a majority of the votes given for president of the United States;—that Andrew Jackson, John Q. Adams, and William H. Crawford, were the three persons who had received the highest number of votes, and that the remaining duties in the choice of a president now devolved on the house of representatives. He farther declared, that John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, having received one hundred and eighty-two votes, was duly elected vice-president of the United States, to serve for four years from the ensuing fourth day of March. The members of the senate then retired.

The constitution provides, that "from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list voted for as president, the house of representatives shall CHOOSE immediately, by ballot, a president."

The friends of General Jackson now, as a matter of course, eagerly advanced the doctrine that a *plurality* of votes for any one candidate should be considered as decisive of the will of the people, and should influence the members of the house in their votes. As if a mere plurality, forsooth, ought to swallow up a majority! A more dangerous doctrine, and one more directly opposed to the spirit of the constitution, could not well be imagined. It can not be called democratic, for it does not admit the prevalence of the will of the majority in the election. It was, in fact, a dogma engendered for the occasion by the friends of the candidate who happened to come into the house with a plurality of votes.

Mr. Clay was not to be dragooned into the admission of any such principle. He resolved to be guided by what was plainly the letter and spirit of the constitution, and to give his vote to

those pretensions. Mr. Clay was successful in nearly every state where an electoral ticket was run in his favor; and in New York where the members of the legislature hostile to the caucus candidate finally united on a ticket composed of *twenty-five* Adams and *eleven* Clay electors, a majority of the latter were defeated through bad faith, whereby Mr. Clay was thrown out of the House, and Mr. Crawford sent there in his stead. But for this treachery, Mr. Clay would almost certainly have been elected, as his popularity in the House was unbounded.

that man of the three now eligible, whom he believed to be the most competent to preside over the destinies of the republic. By a personal visit to Mr. Crawford, he had satisfied himself that that gentleman was too broken down in health to discharge with fitting energy the duties of the chief magistracy. His option lay, therefore, between Messrs. Adams and Jackson.

We have seen what were Mr. Clay's views of the character of General Jackson so far back as 1819, when the Seminole question was before the house. Was it possible that he should regard those traits which, in the soldier, had led to conduct at war with the constitution, as qualifications in the president? General Jackson was, furthermore, understood to be hostile to those great systems of internal improvement and protection to home manufactures, which Mr. Clay had spent the best part of his public life in establishing. At least the general's views were vacillating and undecided on these points. Could Mr. Clay be called upon to sacrifice those important interests on the shrine of merely sectional partiality—for the sake of having a western rather than an eastern man to preside over the Union?

No! Henry Clay was not to be influenced by such narrow and unworthy considerations. He has himself said: "Had I voted for General Jackson in opposition to the well-known opinions which I entertained of him, one-tenth part of the ingenuity and zeal which have been employed to excite prejudices against me, would have held me up to universal contempt; *and, what would have been worse, I should have felt that I really deserved it.*" According to the testimony of his friend, General Call, General Jackson himself never expected that he would receive the vote of Mr. Clay.

With Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay had always been on amicable if not on intimate terms. At Ghent, they had differed on a question of public policy, but they both had too much liberality of soul to make their dissimilarity of opinion a cause of personal displeasure and variance. The speaker saw in Mr. Adams, a statesman highly gifted, profoundly learned, and long and greatly experienced in public affairs at home and abroad.

How could he in conscience hesitate when the choice lay between two such men? He did not hesitate. He had never hes-

itated. Long before he left Kentucky, according to the testimony of the Hon. John J. Crittenden, six of the Kentucky delegation in Congress, and some hundreds of respectable citizens, Mr. Clay declared that he could not imagine the contingency in which he would vote for General Jackson. A still more important witness, in the person of the great and good LAFAYETTE, came forward to testify in Mr. Clay's behalf, as the following extract from his letter to Mr. Clay will show:—

"My remembrance concurs with your own on this point: that in the latter end of December, either before or after my visit to Annapolis, you being out of the presidential candidature, and after having expressed my abovementioned motives of forbearance, I by way of confidential exception, allowed myself to put a simple, unqualified question, respecting your electioneering guess, and your intended vote. Your answer was, that in your opinion, *the actual state of health of Mr. Crawford had limited the contest to a choice between Mr. Adams and General Jackson; that a claim founded on military achievements did not meet your preference,* AND THAT YOU HAD CONCLUDED TO VOTE FOR MR. ADAMS."

Notwithstanding the flagitious attempt to influence his vote, Mr. Clay unhesitatingly gave it for Mr. Adams, and decided the election in his favor. He went further. When, after he was seated in the presidential chair, Mr. Adams offered him the secretaryship of state, he had the moral courage to accept it in defiance of the storm of calumny, exasperation, and malignant opposition, which he knew that act would bring down upon him.

This was a critical period in Mr. Clay's public life—a bold, intrepid, and magnanimous movement. We know that he now thinks it was a mistaken one. In his speech of the 9th of June, 1842, at Lexington, he says:—

"My error in accepting the office *arose out of my underrating the power of detraction and the force of ignorance,* and relying with too sure a confidence in the conscious integrity and uprightness of my own motives. Of that ignorance, I had a remarkable and laughable example on an occasion which I will relate. I was travelling, in 1828, through, I believe it was, Spottsylvania in Virginia, on my return to Washington, in company with some young friends. We halted at night at a tavern, kept by an aged gentleman, who, I quickly perceived, from the disorder and confusion which reigned, had not the happiness to have a wife. After a hurried and bad supper, the old gentleman sat down by me, and, without hearing my name, but understanding that I was from Kentucky, remarked that he had four sons in that state, and that he was very sorry they were divided in politics, two being for Adams and two for Jackson; he wished they were all for Jackson. Why? I asked him. Because, he said, that fellow Clay, and Adams, had cheated Jackson out of the presidency. Have you ever seen any evidence, my old friend, said I, of that? No, he replied, none, and he

wanted to see none. But, I observed, looking him directly and steadily in the face, suppose Mr. Clay was to come here and assure you, upon his honor, that it was all a vile calumny, and not a word of truth in it, would you believe him? No, replied the old gentleman promptly and emphatically. I said to him, in conclusion, will you be good enough to show me to bed, and bade him good night. The next morning, having in the interval learned my name, he came to me full of apologies, but I at once put him at his ease by assuring him that I did not feel in the slightest degree hurt or offended with him."

With deference, we must express our dissent from Mr. Clay in regarding his acceptance of office under Mr. Adams as an "error." It may have been, *so far as his personal interests were concerned*, erroneous, and impolitic; but, in reference to his public duties, it was right; it was honest; it was courageous. Both Madison and Monroe had offered him the highest offices in their gift; but the country was at those times in such a state, that he thought he could make himself more useful in Congress; and he refused them. None but the ignorant and base-minded could credit the monstrous assertion, that he had made the promise of the secretaryship the condition of giving his vote for Mr. Adams.

Mr. Clay may have been temporarily injured by the wretched slander; and it will be seen, as we advance in his biography, that after it had been dropped by Kremer, it was revived by General Jackson. But we do not believe that there is at this time a single person of moderate intelligence in the country, who attaches the least credit to the story, thoroughly exploded as it has been by the most abundant and triumphant testimony.

It is, therefore, because we have faith in the ultimate prevalence of truth, that we do not think Mr. Clay was in error, when he so far defied his traducers as to accept the very office which they had previously accused him of bargaining for. The clouds which for the moment hide Truth from our sight only make her shine the brighter when they are dissipated. In the words of Spenser:—

> "It often falls in course of common life,
> That right long time is overborne of wrong,
> Thro' avarice, or power, or guile, or strife:
> But Justice, though her doom she do prolong,
> Yet at the last she will her own cause right."

Mr. Clay may still abide, "with a sure confidence, in the conscious integrity and uprightness of his own motives." Slander

has done her worst. Never before, in the history of our government, was a public man so bitterly assailed by every weapon and engine that unprincipled detraction and malignant party hostility could invent. For years, the opposition, in the face of the most decided and complete refutations of the calumny—and notwithstanding the original inventors had themselves confessed its falsity—continued to thrust it before the public, until at length, they could find none so mean and ignorant as to credit it. The natural reaction has taken place; and every honest heart now visits with indignation any attempt to resuscitate the crushed and obscene lie. Mr. Clay's reputation has come forth whiter and purer from the ordeal. The "most fine gold" is all the more bright because of those who would have dimmed its lustre. The stream of time is fast bearing down to oblivion the frail and unfounded falsehoods of his enemies; but the pillars of his renown. based as they are upon inestimable public services, remain unshaken and unimpaired.

Mr. Clay entered upon the duties of his new post in March, 1825. In him the house of representatives lost the ablest and most efficient speaker that had ever graced the chair. The best proof of his popularity may be found in the eloquent fact, that from the time of his first entry into the house in 1811 to 1825, with the exception of two years when he was voluntarily absent, he was chosen to preside over their deliberations almost without opposition. The period of his speakership will always be regarded as an epoch in the history of our federal legislature. Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of his presidency over the house, was his perfect—his unimpeachable impartiality. Both foes and friends bore testimony to this trait without a dissenting voice. Strong as were his party feelings, they never could induce him, even in the very tempest and whirlwind of debate, to treat an opponent with unfairness or undue neglect. His decisions were always prompt, yet never so hasty as to be reversed by the house. Notwithstanding the many momentous and agitating questions which were discussed while he occupied the chair, he was never known to lose his self-possession, or to fail in preserving the dignity of his position.

During the long period of his service (some twelve or thirteen

years) in the chair, such was the confidence reposed in his impartiality and the rectitude of his judgment, that appeals were rarely taken from his decision—during the last years of his incumbency, scarcely one.

It was under Mr. Clay's administration of the duties of the chair, that the present use of the previous questions in terminating debate was established. In England it is employed to put by or postpone a subject which it is deemed improper to debate, and then, when the house of commons do not choose to hear an unacceptable debater, he is silenced by being shuffled or coughed down. Certainly it is more orderly, and less invidious, for the house itself to determine when a subject shall be put to the question and all debate upon it stopped. And every deliberative body ought necessarily to possess the power of deciding when it will express its judgment or opinion upon any proposition before it, and, consequently, when debate shall close.

It has been seen that Mr. Clay's presiding in the chair did not prevent his taking an active and leading part in all the great measures that came before the house in committee of the whole. His spirits were always buoyant, and his manner in debate generally animated, and sometimes vehement. But he never carried from the floor to the chair the excited feelings arising in debate. There he was still composed, dignified, authoritative, but perfectly impartial. His administration of its duties commanded the undivided praise of all parties.

Uniformly cheerful when on the floor, he sometimes indulged in repartee. The late General Alexander Smyth of Virginia, a man of ability and research, was an excessively tedious speaker, worrying the house and prolonging his speeches by numerous quotations. On one of these occasions, when he had been more than ordinarily tiresome, while hunting up an authority, he observed to Mr. Clay, who was sitting near him, "You, sir, speak for the present generation; but I speak for posterity."—"Yes," said Mr. Clay, "and you seem resolved to speak until the arrival of *your* audience!"

The late Governor Lincoln of Maine was a gentleman of fine feelings, eloquent, but declamatory. On one occasion, when addressing the house of representatives, of which he was a member,

on the revolutionary pension bill, in answer to an argument that it would be a serious charge upon the treasury of long continuance, as many of the officers and soldiers would live a great while, he burst out into the patriotic exclamation, "Soldiers of the revolution, live for ever!" Mr. Clay followed him, inculcating moderation, and concluded by turning to Mr. Lincoln, with an arch smile, and observing, "I hope my worthy friend will not insist upon the very great duration of these pensions, which he has suggested. Will he not consent, by way of a compromise, to a term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years instead of eternity?"

IX.

THE 'BARGAIN' CALUMNY—MR. CLAY AS SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mr. Clay has himself given to the public a history of his intercourse with General Jackson. It may be found in his speech of 1838, in the senate, on the sub-treasury scheme.

"My acquaintance," he says, "with that extraordinary man commenced in this city, in the fall of 1815 or 1816. It was short, but highly respectful and mutually cordial. I beheld in him the gallant and successful general, who, by the glorious victory of New Orleans, had honorably closed the second war of our independence, and I paid him the homage due for that eminent service. A few years after, it became my painful duty to animadvert, in the house of representatives, with the independence which belongs to the representative character, upon some of his proceedings in the conduct of the Seminole war, which I thought illegal, and contrary to the constitution and the law of nations. A non-intercourse between us ensued, which continued until the fall of 1824, when, he being a member of the senate, an accommodation between us was sought to be brought about by the principal part of the delegation from his own state. For that purpose, we were invited to dine with them at Claxton's boarding-house, on Capitol hill, where my venerable friend from Tennessee (Mr. White) and his colleague on the Spanish commission, were both present. I retired early from dinner, and was followed to the door by General Jackson, and the present minister of the United States at the court of Madrid (Mr. Eaton). They pressed me earnestly to take a seat with them in their carriage. My faithful servant and friend, Charles, was standing at the door waiting for me with my own. I yielded to their urgent politeness, directed Charles to follow with my carriage, and they sat me down by my own door. We afterward frequently met, with mutual respect and cordiality; dined several times together, and reciprocated the hospitality of our respective quarters. This friendly intercourse continued until the election, in the house of representatives, of a president

of the United States, came on in February, 1825. I gave the vote which, in the contingency that happened, I told my colleague (Mr. Crittenden), who sits before me, prior to my departure from Kentucky, in November, 1824, and told others, that I should give. All intercourse ceased between General Jackson and myself. We have never since, except once accidentally, exchanged salutations, nor met, except on occasions when we were performing the last offices toward deceased members of Congress, or other officers of government. Immediately after my vote, a rancorous war was commenced against me, and all the barking dogs let loose upon me. I shall not trace it during its ten years' bitter continuance. But I thank my God that I stand here, firm and erect, unbent, unbroken, unsubdued, unawed, and ready to denounce the mischievous measures of this administration, and ready to denounce this, its legitimate offspring, the most pernicious of all."

Directly after the adjournment of the 19th Congress, a letter, dated March 8, 1825, appeared in the newspapers, purporting to relate a conversation of the writer with General Jackson, in which the latter said that Mr. Clay's friends in Congress proposed to his friends (Gen. J.'s) that if they would promise for him that Mr. Adams should not be continued as secretary of state, Mr. Clay and his friends would at once elect General Jackson president; and that he (General Jackson) indignantly rejected the proposition. Mr. Carter Beverley, the author of this letter, wrote to General Jackson, soon after its appearance, for a confirmation of its statements.

General Jackson replied, in a letter dated June 5, 1827—*more than two years after the charge was first made*, but just in season to operate upon approaching elections; and, in his reply, directly charged the friends of Mr. Clay with having proposed to him, (Jackson) through *a distinguished member of Congress*, to vote for him, in case he would declare that Mr. Adams should not be continued as secretary of state; and insinuated that this proposition was made by authority of Mr. Clay; and, to strengthen that insinuation, asserted that immediately after the rejection of the proposition, Mr. Clay came out openly for Mr. Adams.

To this proposition, according to his own account, General Jackson returned for answer, that before he would reach the presidential chair by such means of bargain and corruption, "he would see the earth open, and swallow both Mr. Clay and his friends and himself with them!"—a reply which was, no doubt, literally true, inasmuch as "such means" could never have been used to elevate the hero of New Orleans to the presidency.

General Jackson gave up the name of Mr. Buchanan of Pennsylvania, as "the distinguished member of Congress," to whom he had alluded in his letter to Mr. Beverley. Mr. Buchanan, being thus involved in the controversy, although a personal and political friend of General Jackson, made a statement which entirely exculpated Mr. Clay and his friends from all participation in the alleged proposition. He stated, that in the month of December, a rumor was in circulation at Washington, that General Jackson intended, if elected, to keep Mr. Adams in as secretary of state. Believing that such a belief would cool his friends and inspire his opponents with confidence, and being a supporter of General Jackson himself, he thought that the general ought to contradict the report. He accordingly called on him, and made known his views; to which General Jackson replied, that though he thought well of Mr. Adams, he had never said or intimated that he would or would not, appoint him secretary of state. Mr. Buchanan then asked permission to repeat this answer to any person he thought proper, which was granted, and here the conversation ended. And out of such flimsy materials had General Jackson constructed his rancorous charge against Mr. Clay!

Mr. Buchanan further stated, that he called on General Jackson solely as *his* friend, and upon his own responsibility, and not as an agent for Mr. Clay, or any other person; that he had never been a friend of Mr. Clay during the presidential contest; *and that he had not the most distant idea that General Jackson believed, or suspected, that he came on behalf of Mr. Clay, or of his friends, until the publication of the letter, making that accusation.*

Notwithstanding all grounds for the charge were thus annihilated by the testimony of the "distinguished member of Congress"—himself a warm partisan of General Jackson—the asinine cry of bargain and corruption was still kept up by the opponents of the administration; and the most audacious assertions were substituted for proofs.

At length, although not the slightest shadow of anything resembling evidence had been produced in support of the calumny a body of testimony perfectly overwhelming was produced against it. A circular letter was addressed to the western members (for they alone were accused of being implicated in the alleged trans

action) who voted for Mr. Adams in the election by Congress, in 1825, requesting to know whether there was any foundation for the charge in the letter of General Jackson.

They all (with the exception of Mr. Cook, who was dead), utterly disclaimed the knowledge of any proposition made by Mr. Clay, or his friends, to General Jackson, or to any other person; and also explicitly disclaimed any negotiation with respect to their votes on that occasion. On the contrary, the members from Ohio stated that they had determined upon voting for Mr. Adams *previous to their being informed of Mr. Clay's intention*, and without having ascertained his views.

The members from Kentucky, who voted with Mr. Clay, expressed their ignorance of conditions of any sort having been offered by his friends to any person, on compliance with which their vote was to depend.

The members from Louisiana and Missouri, coincided in these declarations, and they all professed their belief in the falsehood of the charges against Mr. Clay, on account of his conduct on that occasion.

In addition to this testimony, letters were produced from well-known individuals, satisfactorily establishing the fact that Mr. Clay, previous to his leaving his residence in Kentucky for Washington, in the fall of 1824, repeatedly made declarations of his preference for Mr. Adams over General Jackson, through the months of October, November, December, and January, following, until he executed that intention on the 9th of February, 1825, in the house of representatives. We have already quoted from General Lafayette's letter to Mr. Clay, a passage confirming this ample testimony.

Such a mass of evidence effectually crushed the accusation respecting a bargain, and convinced the public, that in voting for Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay and his friends conscientiously discharged their duty; and that they could not have voted otherwise without palpable inconsistency.

When, on the occasion of his speech of June, 1842, at Lexington, Mr. Clay alluded to this calumny, of which we have given a brief history, somebody cried out, that Mr. Carter Beverley, who had been made the organ of announcing it, had recently borne

testimony to its being unfounded. Mr. Clay said it was true tha he had voluntarily borne such testimony. But, with great earnestness and emphasis, Mr. Clay said, "*I want no testimony; here—here*—HERE"—(repeatedly touching his heart, amid tremendous cheers)—"*here is the best of all witnesses of my innocence.*"

Soon after the close of his administration, Mr. Adams, in reply to an address from a committee of gentlemen in New Jersey, spoke in the following terms of Mr. Clay:—

"Upon him [Mr. Clay] the foulest slanders have been showered. Long known and appreciated, as successively a member of both houses of your national legislature, as the unrivaled speaker, and, at the same time, most efficient leader of debates in one of them; as an able and successful negotiator for your interests in war and peace with foreign powers, and as a powerful candidate for the highest of your trusts—the department of state itself was a station, *which, by its bestowal, could confer neither profit nor honor upon him*, but upon which he has shed unfading honor, by the manner in which he has discharged its duties. Prejudice and passion have charged him with obtaining that office by bargain and corruption. *Before you, my fellow-citizens, in the presence of our country and Heaven, I pronounce that charge totally unfounded.* This tribute of justice is due from me to him, and I seize, with pleasure, the opportunity afforded me by your letter, of discharging the obligation.

"As to my motives for tendering to him the department of state when I did, let that man who questions them come forward. Let him look around among statesmen and legislators of this nation and of that day. Let him then select and name the man whom, by his pre-eminent talents, by his splendid services, by his ardent patriotism, by his all-embracing public spirit, by his fervid eloquence in behalf of the rights and liberties of mankind, by his long experience in the affairs of the Union, foreign and domestic, a president of the United States, intent only upon the honor and welfare of his country, ought to have preferred to HENRY CLAY. Let him name that man, and then judge you, my fellow-citizens, of my motives."

During his visit to the West, in the fall of 1843, Mr. Adams confirmed this denial in the strongest terms, which it is possible for the human tongue to employ.

"I thank you, sir," said he, in his speech at Maysville, Ky., "for the opportunity you have given me of speaking of the great statesman who was associated with me in the administration of the general government, at my earnest solicitation—who belongs not to Kentucky alone, but to the whole Union; and is not only an honor to this state and this nation, but to mankind. The charges to which you refer, I have, after my term of service had expired—and it was proper for me to speak—denied before the whole country; and I here *reiterate and reaffirm that denial;* and as I expect shortly to appear before my God, to answer for the conduct of my whole life, *should those charges have found their way to the Throne of Eternal Justice*, I WILL, IN THE PRESENCE OF OMNIPOTENCE, PRONOUNCE THEM FALSE."

In his address at Covington, Ky., Mr. Adams said, in allusion to the hospitalities which he had met with:—

"Not only have I received invitations from public bodies and cities, but also from individuals, among the first of whom was that great man, your own citizen, who, during a very large portion of my public life, and in various public capacities, and, in several instances, in matters relating to your interests, has been my associate and friend, and the recollection of whom brings me to the acknowledgment, before this whole assembly, that in all the various capacities in which I have known him to act, whether as associate, as assistant, or acting independently of me, in his own individual character and capacity, I have ever found him not only one of the ablest men with whom I have ever co-operated, but also one of the most amiable and worthy." *

We have but imperfectly sketched the history of the flagitious measures which were adopted to blast the political reputation of Mr. Clay, and break down the administration, of which he was the main ornament and support. To the future historian, we leave the task of commenting, in adequate terms of reprobation, upon the conduct of those unprincipled men who originated the slander, and continued to circulate it long after it had been proved to be utterly ungrounded. That it answered the purpose for which it was intended; that it was the most efficient instrument employed to trammel and defeat Mr. Adams's administration, there can now be little doubt. The recklessness and audacity with which it was persisted in *until it had served its end*—the conduct of Mr. Kremer, as he vacillated between his good impulses and the party ties by which he was fettered—and subsequent developments, still fresh in the remembrance of many of our readers, showed that the promulgation of the calumny was the result of a regularly-planned conspiracy.

* Mr. Adams, of whom it could be said, "age can not mar, nor custom stale his infinite variety," always retained his exalted estimate of Mr. Clay's patriotism and statesmanship, and was his ardent supporter for the presidency in 1844. A Washington correspondent of that year wrote:—

"I have frequently observed ladies' albums circulating through the house and senate chamber, with the view of collecting the autographs of the members. One, this morning, belonging to a young lady of ——, attracted considerable attention. Upon examination, I found it contained a page of well-written poetry, dated 23d July, 1842, in the tremulous hand-writing of John Q. Adams. This piece was descriptive of the wild chaos at present spread over our political affairs, and anticipated coming events which would bring order out of disorder. The closing verse was follows:—

'Say, for whose brow this laurel crown?
For whom this web of life is spinning?
Turn this, thy Album, upside down,
And take the end for the beginning.'

"The meaning of this was somewhat mystical, but by turning to the back of the book, and inverting it, on its last page a piece was found with the signature of H. CLAY!"

We refer those who would satisfy themselves of this fact, as well as of the sufficiency of the proofs by which this "measureless lie" was overwhelmed, to the proceedings in the house of representatives, instituted at Mr. Clay's instance, in February, 1825—to the subsequent letter of Carter Beverley, detailing a conversation at General Jackson's—to Mr. Clay's letter to the public, challenging his enemy to produce his testimony—to General Jackson's surrender of the name of Mr. Buchanan as the "distinguished member of Congress" upon whose authority the charge of corruption was reiterated against Mr. Clay—to Mr. Buchanan's complete and decided disclaimer of any intention, on his part, of ever giving countenance to the charge—to Mr. Clay's pamphlets, published in 1827–'8, embodying a mass of testimony disproving the charge—to Mr. Buchanan's statements on the floor of the house of representatives and the senate, avowing his disbelief of the charge—and finally to Carter Beverley's letter, published in 1841, repudiating the calumny as destitute of the slightest foundation in truth, and making such atonement as he could for having given currency to it in his letter of 1825.*

We might refer farther to Thomas H. Benton's declaration, who, in a letter dated December 7, 1827, proves not only that Mr. Clay's bitterest opponents considered him innocent of the charge, but that before Congress had convened—before the presidential election took place in that body—Mr. Clay had disclosed his intention to vote for Mr. Adams, not only to Mr. B., but to others.—See National Intelligencer, April 25, 1844.

Rarely has an administration been subjected to an opposition so unrelenting, so vindictive, and so determined as that which assailed the presidency of John Quincy Adams. The motives of that opposition appear to have been purely selfish and mercenary; for the policy of Mr. Adams resembled that of his predecessor, whose secretary of state he had been, and it was little calculated to call down a virulent hostility. In his views of the powers of the general government, he was more liberal than Mr. Monroe. He was friendly to the American system of internal

* All these documents may be found in Niles' Register. We regret that our limits will not permit us to expose, in its full deformity, the whole of this nefarious plot against Mr. Clay. That man must presume greatly upon the ignorance of the public, however, who would, at this day, venture to revive the extinct lie.

improvement and protection, which had been so ably vindicated by Mr. Clay; and all his measures were conceived in a truly generous, republican, and patriotic spirit.

A great clamor was most unjustly raised about the expenses of his administration. At this day, the iniquity of this charge is so apparent, as to render it unworthy a serious confutation. It becomes indeed laughable when placed side by side with the list of presidential expenditures under Mr. Van Buren. In the distribution of his official patronage, Mr. Adams appears to have been actuated by the purest and most honorable motives. Not a single removal from office, on political grounds, was made by his authority; and in no one instance does he seem to have been impelled by considerations of self-interest, or with a view to ultimate personal advantage.

The circumstances under which he came into office, however, were a continual source of uneasiness to the friends of Jackson and Crawford; and his administration, able and honorable to the country as it was, was constantly assailed. John Randolph, who had now a seat in the senate, was especially bitter and personal in his denunciations. The eccentricities of that extraordinary man, induced many persons to believe that he was partially deranged in his intellect. His long, desultory, and immethodical harangues were a serious impediment to legislative business; while his elfish taunts and reckless assaults upon individuals were so frequent, that he seemed at length to have arrived at the conclusion that he enjoyed superior immunities in debate—that he was, in fact, "a chartered libertine." In one of the numerous discussions upon the Panama question, he took occasion to animadvert in the most offensive manner upon the conduct of Mr. Clay, and denounced the harmony existing between the secretary of state and the president, as a "coalition of Blifil and black George;" a combination of "the puritan with the black-leg."

When called upon by Mr. Clay to explain or retract these expressions, he refused. A hostile meeting consequently ensued between them, on the 8th of April, 1826. After two ineffectual fires, it resulted in the reconciliation of the parties—John Randolph having given additional evidence, by his conduct and ap-

pearance on the occasion, that his eccentricity, if it did not border on insanity, was separated from it by a very slight partition.

The last interview between Mr. Clay and Mr. Randolph, was on the second or third of March, 1833, a few weeks before Mr. R.'s death, when he was on his way to Philadelphia, where he died. He came to the senate-chamber, unable to stand or walk without assistance. The senate was in session by candle-light, and Mr. Clay had risen to make some observations on the compromise act. "Help me up," said Mr. Randolph, sitting in a chair, and addressing his half-brother, Mr. B. Tucker; "*I have come here to hear that voice.*" As soon as Mr. Clay had concluded his remarks, he went to Mr. Randolph, and they cordially shook hands and exchanged salutations.

The health of Mr. Clay, during the whole period of his residence at Washington, as secretary of state, was exceedingly unfavorable—so much so, that at one time he had fully determined to resign the office. He was persuaded, however, to remain; and, notwithstanding the depressing influence upon mental and physical exertion of bodily infirmity, he discharged the complicated and laborious duties of the secretaryship with a fidelity and efficiency that have never been surpassed. In the records of his labors, in his instructions to ministers, and his numerous letters upon subjects of foreign and domestic concern, the archives of the state department contain a lasting monument to his transcendent abilities as a statesman, and his indefatigable industry as a public officer.

One of the ablest state papers in the diplomatic annals of the United States, is the letter of instructions of Mr. Clay to the delegation to Panama. The story of this mission may be briefly told. A congress was proposed to be held at Panama or Tacubaya, to be composed of delegates from the republics of Mexico, Colombia, and Central America, to deliberate on subjects of importance to all, and in which the welfare and interest of all might be involved. The threatening aspect of the holy alliance toward the free governments of the new world, had induced the late president Monroe to declare that the United States would not view with indifference any interference on their part in the con-

test between Spain and her former colonies; and the governments of the new republics were naturally led to suppose that our own was friendly to the objects proposed in the contemplated congress. In the spring of 1825, invitations were given the part of Colombia, Mexico, and Central America, to the United States, to send commissioners to Panama.

In reply to this proposition, coming from the ministers of those powers at Washington, Mr. Clay said, that before such a congress met, it appeared to him expedient to adjust, as preliminary matters, the precise objects to which the attention of the congress would be directed, and the substance and the form of the powers of the ministers representing the several republics. This suggestion called forth answers which were not considered as sufficiently precise; but still, to manifest the sensibility of the United States to what concerned the welfare of America, and to the friendly feelings of the Spanish-American states, the president determined to accept their invitations and to send ministers, with the consent of the senate.

In March, 1829, a call having been made in the senate for copies of the instructions given to our ministers at Panama, Mr. Adams transmitted them, and they were soon afterward published, notwithstanding a rancorous attempt on the part of the opposition, to prevent their appearance; so creditable were they to the administration that was going out of power, and to Mr. Clay, their author; and so completely did they refute the slanders which had been propagated in connection with the mission. Few state papers in the archives of the government will compare, in point of ability, with this letter of instructions of Mr. Clay. It was, perhaps, the most elaborate paper prepared by him while in the department of state. The liberal principles of commerce and navigation which it proposed; the securities for neutral and maritime rights which it sought; the whole system of international and American policy which it aimed to establish; and the preparatory measures which it recommended *for uniting the two oceans by a canal*, constitute it one of the boldest, most original, comprehensive, and statesman-like documents on record.

Another masterly paper from the pen of Mr. Clay, is his letter of May, 1825, to our minister at St. Petersburgh, Mr. Middleton

instructing him to engage the Russian government to contribute its best exertions toward terminating the contest then existing between Spain and her colonies. The appeal was not in vain. Through Mr. Clay's exertions, the policy of recognising the independence of Greece, and sending a minister to that country was also at length acquiesced in; and the effect of that recognition—the first she had experienced—in rousing the spirit of the struggling nation, is a matter of history.

The number of treaties negotiated by Mr. Clay at the seat of the general government, is greater than that of all which had ever been previously concluded there from the first adoption of the constitution. His diplomatic experience—his attractive manners—his facile and unceremonious mode of transacting business, rendered him a favorite with the foreign ministers at Washington, and enabled him to procure from them terms the most advantageous to the country. During his incumbency as secretary, he concluded and signed treaties with Colombia, Central America, Denmark, Prussia, and the Hanseatic republic; and effected a negotiation with Russia for the settlement of the claims of American citizens. He also concluded a treaty with Austria, but did not remain in office to see it signed.

His letters to Mr. Gallatin, our minister at London, in relation to the trade between the United States and the British colonies, are documents of extraordinary interest and value, which ably advocate a durable and obligatory arrangement by treaty, in preference to other modes of settlement. His letters to the same functionary, on the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and to our charge at London, relative to the northeastern boundary, exhibit much research, and a sagacious, enlightened, and truly American spirit. Never was the diplomacy of the country so efficiently and creditably conducted, as when under the charge of Henry Clay.

It has been justly said that no policy could be more thoroughly anti-European, and more completely American, than that of Mr. Adams's administration. He would exclude all farther European colonization from the American continent; all interference of European monarchs, especially those of the miscalled holy alliance, in American politics; he would render his own country

essentially independent of European work-shops, by fostering American arts, manufactures, and science, and would strengthen her power, by rendering her force more available through the instrumentality of internal improvements. To these objects his efforts were directed.

Mr. Clay had long been the acknowledged head of the democratic party; the most vigorous, eloquent, and consistent champion of their principles; and we may add, that such he has ever continued. In giving his vote for Mr. Adams, he believed—and events justified his belief—that he would secure to the country an administration attached to the same leading policy that had characterized the administrations of Madison and Monroe, with this additional advantage: *that it would be decidedly friendly to those great measures of protection and internal improvement, of which he had been the early and persevering advocate.* But the elements of opposition, which had remained inactive during the eight years of Mr. Monroe's presidency, began to form and combine against his successor almost before he was "warm in his chair." The character of these elements was somewhat heterogeneous; and the partisan managers were long puzzled to find some principles of cohesion in their opposition. The policy of Mr. Adams upon all important questions coincided with that of the majority, and was sanctioned by the example of his great democratic predecessors. At the commencement of his term of office, he had declared his intention to follow that example in the general outlines. He made it a rule to remove no man from office, except for official misconduct, and to regard in the selection of candidates for vacancies, only their moral and intellectual qualifications. He thus voluntarily relinquished the support which he might have derived from executive patronage, and placed the success of his administration simply upon the merit of its principles and its measures. What possible ground of opposition, therefore, could be discovered or invented? "*No matter: his administration must be put down;*" for an army of aspirants and office-seekers were in the field. In the words of one of the most distinguished of General Jackson's supporters, the administration must be put down, "*though as pure as the angels at the right hand of God.*"

Such being the tone of feeling among the opposition, it is not a matter of surprise that the weapons employed against Mr. Adams and his friends were of a character directly the opposite of "angelic." In the first place, a gross and utterly unfounded charge of corruption was brought against the president and the secretary of state. We have seen how utterly exploded, by the most positive and overwhelming testimony, that miserable slander has been. Charges of extravagance were then made against the government; and a paltry bill for crockery and furniture for the White-House was magnified into an accusation against the plain, frugal, and unassuming Mr. Adams of an intention to ape the extravagance and splendor of European potentates. The ordinary and established expenditures of the government were examined with new and unexampled rigor, for the purpose of producing the belief that they originated with the administration; and an assertion on his part of the president's constitutional right to appoint, in the vacation of Congress, diplomatic agents to transact the foreign business of the country was construed into a new and unconstitutional power.

It having been discovered that the secretary of state had, in some ten or dozen cases, transferred the employment of publishing the laws from one printing establishment to another, a great clamor was raised about an attempt to corrupt the press. The secretary was charged with selecting the papers for political and personal objects; and a resolution was offered, in the house of representatives, requiring him to communicate the changes which had been made, and his reasons therefor. But, on its being discovered that the house had no jurisdiction of the case, the inquiry was dropped. By way of showing the *consistency* of the opposition, at the very time the detachment in the house were arraigning Mr. Clay for changing the publication of the laws from one newspaper to another, their brethren in the senate, under the guidance of Mr. Van Buren, were engaged in an attempt to deprive the National Intelligencer of the printing of that body!

Shortly before the termination of the second session of the nineteenth Congress, Mr. Floyd of Virginia announced to the public that the "*combinations*" for effecting the elevation of General Jackson were nearly complete. During the session, symp-

toms of the coalition began to appear; and on several questions an organized opposition was made manifest. Of these, we need only enumerate the bankrupt act, the bills for the gradual improvement of the navy, authorizing dry docks and a naval school, the appropriations for surveys and internal improvement, the controversy between Georgia and the general government respecting the Creek treaty, the bills to augment the duty on imported woollens, and closing the ports of the United States against British vessels from the colonies, after a limited period.

With regard to the colonial bill, the conduct of the succeeding administration upon the subject of the West India trade may make a brief outline of facts not inappropriate in this place. At the first session of the nineteenth Congress, a bill was introduced into the senate to accept, so far as practicable, the terms proposed by the British acts of 1825, regulating the intercourse of foreign powers with her West India islands. Owing to the long and interminable debates for political effect in that body at that session, the bill was not passed, and in the vacation the British government interdicted the trade. The next session, measures of retaliation were proposed, but no definite steps were taken until the close of the session; and by a disagreement between the two houses, the bill was lost, and the executive was compelled to close our ports abruptly without any conditions. The manner in which Mr. Van Buren afterward, when secretary of state, availed himself of this fact, to disparage the administration of Mr. Adams before the British ministry and nation, is well known: and the mendicant appeals which, in his instructions to our minister at the court of St. James's, he directed to be made to the English negotiators, remain a stigma on the diplomacy of the United States. The West India trade was a fair and proper subject of convention between the two countries, to be settled on the basis of mutual rights and reciprocal interests. The honor of our country forbade any other course. If England would not deign to treat on this subject, it was not for us to coax her haughty ministers into concession by legislative enactments. Such was the elevated and patriotic view of the subject taken by Mr. Clay. Directly opposite were the views afterward taken, and the course adopted by Mr. Van Buren.

As Mr. Adams's administration drew to a close, it began to be apparent that it was not destined to a second term. The strongest appeals were made to the sectional feelings of the western states in behalf of the candidate of the opposition; and these appeals were but too successful. In the various sections of the Union, opposite reasons were urged with effect against the administration. New York and Pennsylvania were operated upon by an assertion, industriously circulated, that General Jackson was the candidate of the democracy of the country, and this impression contributed to create a strong party in the states of Maine and New Hampshire. Nothing could be more untrue than the assertion. Many of the leaders of the old federal party were the most ardent personal opponents of Mr. Adams, and became the most effective enemies of his administration. These men might afterward be heard claiming to be the orthodox democratic party, and denouncing Henry Clay—the early opponent of the alien and sedition laws—the friend and supporter of Jefferson's administration—the main pillar of Madison's—and the most active originator and advocate of the last war—as *a federalist!*

The truth is that it has fared with the principles of federalism as with its men. In the time of Mr. Monroe there was a general blending of parties. A new and distinct formation, on grounds at first purely personal, was made during the administration of General Jackson. As soon as there was a division on *principles*, the worst part of the old federalists—some of the most bitter and envenomed—the black-cockade gentry, who had passed their younger years in writing pasquinades on Mr. Jefferson's breeches, and had been in the habit of thanking Heaven that they had "no democratic blood in their veins"—went over to General Jackson, and carried with them a spirit of ultraism, ay, and of ultra-federalism, which was developed in the protest, and proclamation, and many of the leading measures of his administration. The more moderate, prudent, and patriotic, joined with the democratic party, and formed the great *whig* party of the country. The *ultras* of the old party coalesced, and the combination was naturally *tory*.*

* In one of the skirmishes between Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun, during the sub-treasury discussion, Mr. Clay took up, among other topics, this question of federalism. Mr. Calhoun had alluded to the friends of his opponent as members of the federal party.

"Sir," said Mr. Clay, "I am ready to go into an examination with the honorable senator

Upon the assembling of the twentieth Congress, it was ascertained, by the election of the speaker, that a majority of the house was opposed to the administration; and this victory was soon followed by such an accession from those who were *uncommitted* in the senate as to give a majority to the same party in that body. Thenceforward the administration was not allowed, of course, a fair trial; and every question was discussed with a view to political effect.

At length, in the autumn of 1828, the presidential election took place, and resulted in the choice of Andrew Jackson, by one hundred and seventy-eight votes in the primary electoral colleges, given by sixteen states, including Virginia and Georgia, which, in the previous election, had cast their votes for Mr. Crawford. Mr. Adams was supported by the six New England states; by New Jersey, which had previously voted against him; by Delaware, and sixteen votes from New York, and six from Maryland. Mr. Calhoun obtained the same vote for vice-president, that General Jackson did for president, except seven votes in Georgia, which were thrown away upon William Smith of South Carolina. Mr. Rush received the whole vote of the administration party for vice-president.

Thus ended the administration of John Quincy Adams, during which our domestic and foreign affairs were never more ably and prosperously conducted. The foreign policy of the government had only in view the maintenance of the dignity of the national character, the extension of our commercial relations, and the successful prosecution of the claims of American citizens upon foreign governments.

The domestic policy was no less liberal, active, and decided; and never was there a more groundless political libel than that which impeached the integrity and economy of that administra-

at any time, and then we shall see if there are not more members of that same old federal party among those whom the senator has so recently joined than on our side of the house. *The plain truth is, that it is the old federal party with whom he is now acting.* For all the former grounds of difference which distinguished that party, and were the subjects of contention between them and the republicans, have ceased, from lapse of time and change of circumstances, *with the exception of one, and that is the maintenance and increase of executive power.* This was a leading policy of the federal party. A strong, powerful, and energetic executive was its favorite tenet." * * * "I can tell the gentleman, *that he will find the true old democratic party, who were for resisting the encroachments of power, and limiting executive patronage, on this side of the senate, and not with his new allies, the Jackson-Van-Buren-Democratic party, whose leading principle is to sustain the executive, and deny all power to the legislature: and which does not hold a solitary principle in common with the republican party of* 1798."

tion. As the charge of extravagance was the argument mos vehemently urged against Mr. Adams's administration, it may be well in this place to glance at its plausibility. The aggregate expenditures of the several administrations from 1789 to 1838, exclusive of the public debt, and payments under treaty stipulations, including the expenses and arrearages of the last war with Great Britain, were :—

Washington's administration,	8	years,	.....	$15,890,698 55
John Adams's "	4	"	.....	21,348,356 19
Jefferson's "	8	"	.....	41,100,788 88
Madison's "	8	"	.....	144,684,944 86
Monroe's "	8	"	.....	99,363,509 64
J. Q. Adams's "	4	"	.....	49,725,721 26
Jackson's "	8	"	.....	144,579,847 72
Total.....				$516,693,867 10

From this statement it appears that the reforming, retrenching, economical, *democratic* administration of General Jackson, that expressed such a holy horror at Mr. Adams's extravagance, cost the country as much as the administration of Mr. Madison, including the outlays of an expensive war with Great Britain. Mr. Van Buren retrenched in the same ratio with his predecessor. The first year of his administration cost the people $33,554,341—*about three times the average annual expenditure of Mr. Adams!* During the remainder of his term, the public expenses were in a like proportion. What measure of condemnation should be bestowed upon the political hypocrites whose promised reforms and retrenchments resulted in such gross profligacy and neglect of the public interests!

In March, 1829, General Jackson entered upon the discharge of his official duties as president. On the 14th of the same month, Mr. Clay left Washington for his residence in Kentucky. Before quitting that city, some of the principal residents, as a parting tribute of respect, gave him a public dinner. In his speech on the occasion, he briefly reviewed the events in which he had been an actor, during the preceding four years. He alluded to the serious charge against him, which had been brought by General Jackson, who, after summoning his friend and *only* witness (Mr. Buchanan) to establish it, and hearing that witness promptly and unequivocally deny al. knowledge whatever of any

transaction that could throw the slightest shade upon the character of the accused, maintained a stubborn and persevering silence upon the subject, instead of magnanimously acknowledging his error, and atoning for the gross injustice of which he had been guilty. "But," said Mr. Clay, "my relations to that citizen, by a recent event, are now changed. He is the chief magistrate of my country, invested with large and extensive powers, the administration of which may conduce to its prosperity, or occasion its adversity. Patriotism enjoins, as a duty, that while he is in that exalted station, he should be treated with decorum, and his official acts be judged in a spirit of candor."

Such was the patriotic spirit with which Mr. Clay regarded the elevation of General Jackson, and in which he was prepared to judge of the acts of the new administration.

The political enemies of Mr. Clay were not, however, content with misrepresenting his public course. They lifted, with a rude and ruffianly hand, the veil from his private affairs, and attempted to destroy his private credit, by charging him with bankruptcy. The consequence was the publication of a letter from Mr. Clay to Robert Wickliffe, Esq., dated May 24, 1828, in which the falsehoods of his assailants were fully confuted. He admitted that he had incurred a heavy responsibility, about ten years before, as endorser for his friends, to which cause his temporary retirement from public life, and the renewal of his professional labors, were to be attributed. The mortgages upon his estate did not amount to ten thousand dollars, and, before the expiration of the year, he hoped there would not remain one fifth of that sum.

"I have hitherto," says Mr. Clay, in this letter, "met all my engagements by the simplest of processes: that of living within my income, punctually paying interest when I could not pay principal, and carefully preserving my credit. I am not free absolutely from debt. I am not rich. I never coveted riches. But my estate would, even now, be estimated at not much less than one hundred thousand dollars. Whatever it may be worth, it is a gratification for me to know that it is the produce of my own honest labor—no part of it being hereditary, except one slave, who would oblige me very much if he would accept his freedom. It is sufficient, after paying all my debts, to leave my family above want, if I should be separated from them. It is a matter also of consolation to me to know, that this wanton exposure of my private affairs can do me no pecuniary prejudice. My few creditors will not allow their confidence in me to be shaken by it. It has, indeed, led to one incident, which was at the same time a source of pleasure and of pain. A friend lately called on me, at the instance of other friends, and informed me

that they were apprehensive that my private affairs were embarrassed, and that I allowed their embarrassment to prey upon my mind. He came, therefore, with their authority, to tell me that they would contribute any sum that I might want to relieve me. The emotions which such a proposition excited, can be conceived only by honorable men. I felt most happy to be able to undeceive them, and to decline their benevolent proposition."

X.

RETURN TO KENTUCKY—AGAIN UNITED STATES SENATOR.

THERE are few men who can bear defeat more gracefully, or with more unaffected good humor, than Mr. Clay. Relieved from his official toils as secretary of state, his health rapidly improved, and his fine spirits expanded unchecked. On his journey from the seat of government, previous to his arrival at Uniontown in Pennsylvania, the roads being extremely bad, he sent his private vehicle ahead, and took the stage-coach. Finding it disagreeable within, however, he removed to an outside seat, next the driver, and, in that situation, entered Uniontown. The good people of the place expressed a great deal of surprise at seeing the ex-secretary in that *lofty* and yet *humble* position. "Gentlemen," replied Mr. Clay, "although I am with the *outs*, yet I can assure you that the *ins* behind me have much the worst of it."

On his way to Kentucky, Mr. Clay received continual testimonials of the attachment and esteem of the people. He was invited to innumerable public dinners, but was able to appear only at a few. At Frederick in Maryland, he made an admirable speech at one of these complimentary festivals, on the 18th of March, 1829. On the 31st of the same month, he dined with the mechanics at Wheeling, whom he addressed principally in relation to the American system—manufactures and internal improvements. He reached his home at Ashland, with his family, the 6th of April, having been met at some distance from Lexington by a large number of friends, by whom he was most affectionately received.

On the 16th of May, a great public dinner was given to him at Fowler's garden, by his fellow-townsmen. Three thousand sat

down at the table; and Mr. Clay spoke for the space of one hour and thirty-five minutes; the following appropriate toast having been previously given: "Our distinguished guest, friend, and neighbor, HENRY CLAY—with increased proofs of his worth, we delight to renew the assurance of our confidence in his patriotism, talents, and incorruptibility—may health and happiness attend him in retirement, and a grateful nation do justice to his virtues."

Mr. Clay's speech, on this occasion, is one of the choicest specimens of his eloquence, being pervaded by some of the finest characteristics of his style, although there is, of course, an absence of those impassioned appeals, which would have been out of place. The exordium is full of pathos and beauty. He had been separated for four years from his friends and neighbors. After devoting the best energies of his prime to the service of his country, he had been grossly traduced and injured, and his most conspicuous traducer had been elevated to the presidency. He had returned home once more; and now saw before him, gathered together to do him honor, to renew their assurances of attachment and confidence, sires with whom, for more than thirty years, he had interchanged friendly offices—their sons, grown up during his absence in the public councils, accompanying them—and all prompted by ardent attachment, surrounding and saluting him as if he belonged to their own household.

After alluding, in the happiest manner, to some of these circumstances, Mr. Clay reviewed briefly the course of the past administration—referred to the clamor which had been raised against Mr. Adams for *proscription*—when the fact was, that not a solitary officer of the government, from Maine to Louisiana, was dismissed on account of his political opinions, during the whole of Mr. Adams's administration—contrasted this course with that which President Jackson commenced so soon after his installation—and eloquently pointed out the evil consequences of the introduction of a tenure of public office, which depended upon personal attachment to the chief magistrate.

In concluding his remarks, Mr. Clay touchingly expressed his gratitude to his fellow-citizens of Kentucky, who had "constantly poured upon him a bold and unabated stream of innumerable favors." The closing sentences of the speech are in the genuine

language of the heart which can not be counterfeited, and which none can so eloquently employ as Henry Clay.

"When," said he, "I felt as if I should sink beneath the storm of abuse and detraction, which was violently raging around me, I have found myself upheld and sustained by your encouraging voice and your approving smiles. I have, doubtless, committed many faults and indiscretions, over which you have thrown the broad mantle of your charity. But I can say, and in the presence of my God and of this assembled multitude I will say, that I have honestly and faithfully served my country; that I have never wronged it; and that, however unprepared I lament that I am to appear in the Divine Presence on other accounts, I invoke the stern justice of his judgment on my public conduct, without the smallest apprehension of his displeasure."

During the summer and autumn of 1829, Mr. Clay visited several parts of the state of his adoption, and everywhere he was hailed as a friend and public benefactor. On the 17th of December, he addressed the Kentucky Colonization Society, at Frankfort in a speech, in which he eloquently vindicated the policy and character of that benevolent institution. He had been an early and constant advocate of the system of colonization. In his speech before the American Colonization Society, delivered the 20th of January, 1827, in the hall of the house of representatives at Washington, we find the following impressive passage:—

"It is now a little upward of ten years, since a religious, amiable, and benevolent resident of this city (Mr. Caldwell) first conceived the idea of planting a colony, from the United States, of free people of color, on the western shores of Africa. He is no more, and the noblest eulogy which could be pronounced on him, would be to inscribe upon his tomb the merited epitaph—'Here lies the projector of the American Colonization Society.' Among others, to whom he communicated the project, was the person who now has the honor of addressing you. My first impressions, like those of all who have not fully investigated the subject, were against it. They yielded to his earnest persuasions and my own reflections, and I finally agreed with him that the experiment was worthy a fair trial."

After presenting, in a clear and forcible light, the project of the society for the gradual extinction of slavery, Mr. Clay remarked in regard to it:—

"All, or any one of the states which tolerate slavery may adopt and execute it, by co-operation or separate exertion. If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain upon the character of our country, and removing all cause of reproach on account of it by foreign nations—*If I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered state that gave me birth, or that not less beloved state which kindly adopted me as her son, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy, for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror.*"

To the system of colonization, we believe, Mr. Clay yet looks as a means for diminishing the proportion of the black population to the white in the slave states, until emancipation would be compatible with the security and interests of the latter.

In January, 1830, Mr. Clay made a visit to one of his married daughters at New Orleans. Although appearing there as a private citizen, he found it impossible to escape those attentions which the public gratitude suggested. He was daily visited by crowds of persons, including members of the legislature and judges of the different courts. The ship-masters, who were in port, waited in a body upon him as the champion of *free trade and sailors' rights.* Declining an invitation to a public dinner, he left New Orleans for Natchez, on his way home, the 9th of March. As the boat in which he had embarked, quitted the pier, the scene was of the most animated description. The levee and the tops of the steamboats, a great number of which were in port, exhibited a crowded and almost unbroken mass of spectators, collected to see him and do him honor. The shouting multitude, the elevation of flags, and the roar of cannons, which burst from the crowd of surrounding vessels, as the boat moved off, presented altogether one of the most imposing spectacles that could be imagined. It was a grand civic ovation, as honorable to the subject of it as any triumph which ever greeted a military conqueror.

At Natchez, persons from all parts of Mississippi were waiting to meet him. The press of the crowd into the steamboat containing the illustrious visiter was so great as to excite alarm ; and the mass collected on the wharf was so dense, that much time and exertion were required to make way through it. Soon after his arrival, he accepted a pressing invitation to a public dinner. A vast concourse assembled on the occasion. His speech is described as unusually felicitous. He was several times obliged to stop speaking for some minutes—while the enthusiasm of his hearers exhausted itself in repeated rounds of applause. In the course of his remarks, having occasion to allude to the battle of New Orleans, he paid a generous tribute to Gen. Jackson. Henry Clay never was the man to detract from the merits of even his most unrelenting opponents.

On the 27th of March, Mr. Clay reached Lexington, having declined numerous invitations to public dinners on his route. He had stopped on his way, unpremeditatedly, at Donaldsonville, the new seat of government of Louisiana, to see the public buildings, and pay his respects to some of his old friends and acquaintances. Unexpectedly entering the hall of the house of representatives, he was immediately recognised, and the whole body, including the speaker and members of all parties, simultaneously rose to receive him.

In the summer of 1830, having business in the circuit and district courts of Ohio, he visited Columbus, where he was cordially welcomed by the mechanics, at whose celebration the following appropriate toast was given:—

"Our inestimable guest, HENRY CLAY. An efficient laborer in support of the industry of the country. Farmers and mechanics know how to appreciate his services."

His entry into Cincinnati was quite imposing. All classes assembled to welcome his approach. He here dined with the mechanics, and his speech upon the occasion is an eloquent vindication of the American system, and a just rebuke of the odious doctrine of nullification, which was then beginning to be preached in South Carolina and Georgia.

In the autumn of 1831, Mr. Clay was elected to the senate of the United States by the legislature of Kentucky, by the following vote: In the senate, Henry Clay, 18; Richard M. Johnson, 19; Warden Pope, 1. In the house of delegates, Clay, 55; Johnson, 45.—At the first session of the twenty-second Congress, he presented his credentials, and took his seat once more in a body where, twenty-five years before, he had made his influence felt, and his talents respected.

Contemporaneous with his reappearance in the senate, was the meeting of the National Republican Convention, which assembled at Baltimore, on the twelfth of December, 1831, and unanimously nominated HENRY CLAY to the office of president of the United States, and JOHN SERGEANT to that of vice-president.

The subject of the tariff began to be vehemently agitated in Congress early in the session of 1831–'32. The discontent of

the south was assuming an alarming aspect; and the system of protection, which Mr. Clay had labored so long and incessantly to establish, was threatened with material qualifications, if not a complete overthrow. In that conciliatory spirit, which he had manifested on many critical occasions, he now approached this exciting topic. On the ninth of January, 1832, he introduced a resolution, providing that the existing duties upon articles imported from foreign countries, and not coming into competition with similar articles made or produced within the United States, ought to be forthwith abolished, except the duties upon wines or silks, and that they ought to be reduced; and that the committee on finance be instructed to report a bill accordingly. This resolution he sustained in an admirable speech of about two hours' duration, in which he spoke warmly in favor of the maintenance of the protective policy and that of internal improvement.

Mr. Hayne followed in reply; and on the second of February, the subject being still under discussion before the senate, Mr. Clay commenced his ever-memorable speech *in defence of the American system against the British colonial system.* It was continued on the next day, and finally completed on the sixth of the same month. Such a chain of irrefragable argument as it presents, with facts the most cogent and appropriate, has rarely been forged by human ingenuity. It will be referred to by future statesmen as their political text-book, when the protective policy is called in question.

After an impressive exordium, he alluded to the distress of the country after the war. The period of greatest distress was seven years previous to the year 1824: the period of greatest prosperity the seven years following that act. He then gave a picture of the flourishing condition of the country. He maintained that all the predictions of the enemies of the tariff, in 1824, had been falsified by experience—that all the benefits which he had anticipated had been realized. He alluded to all the interests now protected—all mechanic arts—navigation—agriculture—and manufactures. He argued that the tariff began in 1789, which established the great principle of protection. It was the second act of the first Congress—sanctioned by the Father of his country, and most of the eminent statesmen of that

day. Mr. Clay then traced the history of the subject down to 1816; commented on the tariff of that year, its object, extent, and policy; then the tariff of 1824; the amendment of the system in 1828—*the bill of which year was framed on principles directly adverse to the declared wishes of the friends of the policy of protection*, although the error then perpetrated was corrected by subsequent legislation.

After a graphic description of the beneficial effects of the policy which they were now called upon to subvert, Mr. Clay asked what was the substitute proposed by those whose design was the immediate or gradual destruction of the American system? The reply is as appropriate to the enemies of the system now as it was ten years ago.

"*Free Trade!*—Free Trade!* The call for free trade is as unavailing as the cry of a spoiled child, in his nurse's arms, for the moon or the stars that glitter in the firmament of heaven. It never has existed. It never will exist. Trade implies at least two parties. To be free, it should be fair, equal, and reciprocal. But if we throw our ports wide open to the admission of foreign productions, free of all duty, what ports, of any other foreign nations, shall we find open to the free admission of our surplus produce? We may break down all barriers to free trade, on our part, but they will not be complete until foreign powers shall have removed theirs. There would be freedom on one side, and restrictions, prohibitions, and exclusions, on the other. The bolts, and the bars, and the chains of all other nations will remain undisturbed." * * * * "Gentlemen deceive themselves. It is not free trade that they are recommending to our acceptance. *It is, in effect, the British colonial system that we are invited to adopt; and if their policy prevail, it will lead substantially to the recolonization of these states, under the commercial dominion of Great Britain.*"

In the course of his speech, Mr. Clay had occasion to introduce the following remarks upon the Irish character. They show his high appreciation of the worth of an important class of our adopted fellow-citizens:—

"Of all foreigners, none amalgamate themselves so quickly with our people as the natives of the Emerald Isle. In some of the visions which have passed through my imagination, I have supposed that Ireland was, originally, part and parcel of this continent, and that, by some extraordinary convulsion of nature, it was torn from America, and, drifting across the ocean, was placed in the unfortunate vicinity of Great Britain. The same openheartedness, the same generous hospitality, the same careless and uncalcu-

* "*Fair* Trade and Sailors' Rights," was the toast given by the late Mr. Gilmer, the day of the fatal accident on board the Princeton. The substitution of a single word illuminates the whole subject. A "fair trade" is what Mr. Clay has always aimed to secure for his country.

lating indifference about human life, characterize the inhabitants of both countries. Kentucky has been sometimes called the Ireland of America. And I have no doubt that, if the current of emigration were reversed, and set from America upon the shores of Europe, instead of bearing from Europe to America, every American emigrant to Ireland would there find, as every Irish emigrant here finds, a hearty welcome and a happy home!"

On the 13th of March, Mr. Dickerson, from the committee on manufactures, reported, in conformity with Mr. Clay's resolution, a bill for repealing the duties upon certain specified articles of import. The bill was opposed at the threshold because it did not embrace the whole subject of the tariff; because it made no reduction of duties upon *protected* articles. An animated debate ensued, and the bill was laid upon the table. After undergoing numerous modifications in both houses, it was finally passed by Congress in July, 1832. By this new law, the principles for which Mr. Clay and the rest of the friends of domestic industry had contended, were preserved. The revenue was greatly reduced, but the protective system remained unimpaired. Of Mr. Clay's efforts, in the establishment of that system, no one has more impressively spoken than Thomas Hart Benton, senator in Congress from Missouri, who, in a circular signed by him, and first published in the "Missouri Intelligencer," October 22, 1824, gives utterance to these just and eloquent sentiments:—

"The principles which would govern Mr. Clay's administration, if elected, are well-known to the nation. They have been displayed upon the floor of Congress for the last seventeen years. They constitute a system of AMERICAN POLICY, based on the agriculture and manufactures of his own country—upon interior as well as foreign commerce—upon internal as well as seaboard improvement—upon the independence of the new world, and close commercial alliances with Mexico and South America. It is said that others would pursue the same system; we answer that *the founder* of a system is the natural executor of his own work; that the most efficient protector of American iron, lead, hemp, wool, and cotton would be the triumphant champion of the new tariff; the safest friend to interior commerce would be the statesman who has proclaimed the Mississippi to be the sea of the west; the most zealous promoter of internal improvements would be the president who has triumphed over the president who opposed the construction of national roads and canals; the most successful applicant for treaties with Mexico and South America would be the eloquent advocate of their own independence.

"THOMAS HART BENTON"

XI.

NULLIFICATION—THE TARIFF COMPROMISE.

THE amended tariff was received with little favor, by the south. Nullification grew daily bolder in its denunciation and menaces; and the Union seemed to be greatly in danger. On the 24th of November, 1832, the South Carolina convention passed their ordinance, declaring the revenue laws of the United States null and void; and soon afterward the legislature of the state met, ratified the proceedings of the convention, and passed laws for the organization of the militia and the purchase of munitions and ordnance.

In the midst of these troubles, the presidential contest took place, and resulted in the reëlection of General Jackson over the opposing candidates, Henry Clay, John Floyd of Virginia, and William Wirt.

On the 10th of December, 1832, soon after the meeting of Congress, President Jackson issued his proclamation, announcing his determination to enforce the revenue laws, and exhorting the citizens of South Carolina to pause in their disorganizing career. This remonstrance produced little effect. It was followed, on the 20th of the same month, by a counter-proclamation from Governor Hayne, warning the citizens of South Carolina against the attempt of the president to seduce them from their allegiance, and exhorting them, in disregard of his threats, to be prepared to sustain the state against the arbitrary measures of the federal executive.

The protective system was at this moment in imminent hazard of being destroyed. General Jackson's administration was always inimical to that policy, originated and principally supported as it had been by a hated rival. The tariff became the great question of the session. It was referred to the committee of ways and means, where it was remodelled; and on the 27th of December, a bill was reported, which was understood to embody the views of the administration. It proposed a diminution of the duties on all the protected articles, to take effect immediately,

and a further diminution on the 2d of March, 1834. The subject was discussed from the 8th to the 16th of January, 1833, when a message was received from the president, communicating the South Carolina ordinance and nullifying laws, together with his own views as to what should be done under the existing state of affairs. On the twenty-first of the same month, the judiciary committee of the senate reported a bill *to enforce* the collection of the revenue, where any obstructions were offered to the officers employed in that duty.

The aspect of affairs was now alarming in the extreme. The administration party in the house had shown itself utterly incapable of devising a tariff likely to be accepted by a majority of that body. The session was rapidly drawing to a close. South Carolina had deferred the period of its collision with the general government in the hope that some measure of adjustment would be adopted by Congress. This hope seemed to be daily growing fainter. Should the enforcing bill not be carried into effect against the nullifiers, the tariff was still menaced by the federal administration, insidiously hostile to the protective system.

At this juncture, Henry Clay, deeply impressed with the importance of the crisis, stepped forward to reconcile conflicting interests and to avert the dire consequences which would result from the further delay of an adjustment. On the eleventh of February, he introduced his celebrated COMPROMISE BILL, providing for a gradual reduction of duties until 1842, when twenty per cent. at a *home* valuation should be the rate, "until otherwise regulated by law."

Mr. Clay introduced this bill with some pertinent and impressive remarks, in which he deplored the distracted and portentous condition of the country, and appealed strongly to the patriotism and good sense of Congress to apply a remedy. The bill underwent a long and vehement discussion. None could deny the purity and loftiness of the motives which had led to its presentation; but it was vehemently opposed by many. Mr. Smith, of Maryland, opposed it, because "it contained nothing but protection from beginning to end." Mr. Forsyth exulted over the admission, which had been made by Mr. Clay, that "the tariff was in danger."—"It is," said Mr. F., "at its last gasp—no helle-

bore can cure it." The southern members opposed the bill mainly because it provided for a home valuation.

Toward the close of the debate, a personal difficulty arose be tween Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi, and Mr. Webster. The former, in the course of his reply to a very powerful attack from Mr. Webster upon the compromise bill of Mr. Clay, made reference to the course of Mr. W., during the war of 1812. Mr. Webster declined all explanation, and Mr. Poindexter immediately declared that he "felt the most perfect contempt for the senator from Massachusetts." Mr. Clay interfered, with his usual generosity, and in a few remarks, complimentary alike to both senators, effected a mutually satisfactory explanation.

Mr. Clay had conceived the idea of the compromise in Philadelphia in December, 1832, when he was passing a few weeks with his brother-in-law, the late James Brown, Esq., who had fixed his residence in that city, after his mission to France. The re-election of General Jackson to the presidency had been made known the month before, and Mr. Clay had commenced his journey from Ashland to Washington not in the best spirits but resolved to do his duty. Jackson's power was then at its zenith. He had vetoed the charter of the bank of the United States. He was triumphantly re-elected. His power seemed resistless. Nevertheless, Mr. Clay was resolved to fight on, and to fight to the last.

He believed the president insincere in his profession of attachment to the protective policy; that, under the delusive name of a judicious tariff, he concealed the most deadly and determined hostility to the protection of American industry. Mr. Clay saw the partisans of "free trade" supporting General Jackson, with the greatest zeal; and *knew* that some of them counted upon subverting the whole system through the power and influence of that arbitrary chief magistrate. He saw many of the members of Congress from states known to be friendly to the preservation of that policy, yet willing to go secretly, if not openly, as far as they dared go in asserting the overthrow of that policy.

In the meantime, nullification had assumed a threatening aspect. The supporters of that heresy had gone so far that, if no change in the tariff took place, they must fight or be for ever dis-

graced. Mr. Clay thought that if a civil war were once begun it might extend itself to all the southern states, which, although they did not approve of nullification, would probably not be willing to stand by and see South Carolina crushed for extreme zeal in a cause, which was common to them all.

Such were the circumstances, under which, during the leisure Mr. Clay enjoyed with his friend, Mr. Brown, in Philadelphia, he directed his mind to the consideration of some healing scheme for the existing public troubles.

The terms of the compromise act substantially as it passed, were the result of Mr. Clay's reflections at that time. He communicated them to his friend, the lamented Senator Johnston, from Lousiana, who concurred with him heartily. A committee of manufactures, consisting of Messrs. Bovie, Dupont, Richards, and others, waited on Mr. Clay in Philadelphia, to consult with him on the impending dangers to the protective policy. To them he broached his scheme, and they approved it. He mentioned it to Mr. Webster in Philadelphia, but that distinguished senator did not agree with him. On reaching Washington, Mr. Clay communicated it to many practical manufacturers, to Hezekiah Niles, Mr. Simmons of the senate, from Rhode Island, and others.

They agreed with him, and every practical manufacturer of that day with whom he conversed (except Mr. Ellicott, of Maryland), assented to the project. Most of their friends in Congress, especially in the senate, followed their example. The chief opposition, it was thought, was to be traced to Mr. Webster and gentlemen who had a great deference for the opinion of the Massachusetts senator.

Mr. Clay's own convictions being thus strengthened by the opinions of practical men, he resolved to proceed. He had no interviews with southern members on the subject of the contemplated proposal, until he had prepared and was about to submit the bill; at which time, he had one or two interviews with Mr. Calhoun, at Mr. Clay's lodgings. But through his friend, Governor Letcher of Kentucky, who was intimate with Mr. McDuffie and other southern gentlemen, Mr. Clay ascertained their views. He found one highly favorable state of feeling—that they were so indignant with General Jackson for his procla-

mation, and his determination to put down the nullifiers by force if necessary, *that they greatly preferred the difficulty should be settled by Mr. Clay rather than by the administration.*

Mr. J. M. Clayton of Delaware entered with great zeal into the views of Mr. Clay, and seconded his exertions with untiring able, constant, and strenuous endeavors. Often he would say to him, looking at Mr. Calhoun and other members from South Carolina, " Well, Clay, these are clever fellows, and it won't do to let old Jackson hang them. We must save them if possible." Mr. Clayton belonged to a *mess* of seven or eight senators, every one of whom was interested in the preservation of the protective policy. Without their votes, it was impossible that the compromise should pass. They, through Mr. Clayton, insisted upon the home valuation, as a *sine qua non*, from which they would never depart. Mr. Clay told them that he would not give it up; and the compromise bill never could have passed without that feature of it.

The southern senators had declared that they would be content with whatever would satisfy the South Carolina senators. Mr. Calhoun had manifested strong objections to the home valuation. Mr. Clay told him that he must concur in it, or the measure would be defeated. Mr. Calhoun appeared very reluctant to do so; and Mr. Clay went to the senate on the day when the bill was to be decided, uncertain as to what its fate would be When the bill was taken up, Mr. Calhoun rose in his place and agreed to the home valuation, evidently, however, with reluctance.

Two great leading motives operated with Mr. Clay in bringing forward and supporting his measure of compromise. The first was, that he believed the whole protective policy to be in the most imminent peril from the influence of General Jackson and the dominion of his party. He believed that it could not possibly survive that session of Congress or the next, which would open with a vast increase of that influence and power. He had seen the gradual but insidious efforts to undermine the policy, sometimes openly avowed, frequently craftily concealed. He had seen that a bill was actually introduced by Mr. Verplanck, and then pending in the house of representatives, which would

have utterly subverted the whole policy. He knew, or believed, that there was a majority in the house, willing, though afraid, to pass the bill. Witnessing the progress of that party, he did not doubt that at the next session at least, they would acquire strength and courage sufficient to pass the bill. He could not contemplate the ruin, distress, destruction, which would ensue from its passage, without feelings of horror. He believed that the compromise would avert these disasters, and secure adequate protection until the 30th June, 1842. And he hoped, that in the meantime the public mind would become enlightened, and reconciled to a policy, which he had ever believed essential to the national prosperity. *But for the partial experiments, which were made upon the currency of the country, leading to the utmost disorder in the exchanges, and the business of society, it is yet the belief of Mr. Clay and his friends, that the measure of protection secured by the compromise act up to the* 31*st December*, 1841, *would have enabled our manufactures to have flourished and prospered.*

Another leading motive with Mr. Clay, in proposing the compromise, was *to restore harmony, and preserve the Union from danger; to arrest a civil war, which beginning with South Carolina, he feared might spread throughout all the southern states.*

It may be added, that a third and powerful motive, which he felt intensely, although he did not always avow it, was *an invincible repugnance to placing under the command of General Jackson such a vast military power as might be necessary to enforce the laws and put down any resistance to them in South Carolina, and which might extend he knew not where.* He could not think, without the most serious apprehensions, of intrusting a man of his vehement passions with such an immense power. He could not think without feelings of indescribable dread, of the effusion of blood, the danger to the Union, and the danger to the liberties of all of us, which might arise from the application of such a force in the hands of a man already too powerful, and flushed with recent victory.

It may be farther added, that Mr. Clay thought he perceived, *with some, a desire to push matters to extremity.* He thought he beheld a disposition to see South Carolina and the south punished. Indeed, the sentiment was more than once expressed to

him: "Let them put down the tariff—let them bring ruin, embarrassment, and distress, on the country—the country will rise with renewed vigor. We shall have the policy, which we wish to prevail, firmly and inviolably fixed." He thought even that he perceived a willingness that the effect produced by the memorable Hartford convention at the north, should be neutralized by the effect, which might arise out of putting down by force the nullification of South Carolina. He could not sympathize in these feelings and sentiments. He was for peace, for harmony, for union, and for the preservation too of the protective system. He no more believed then than now, that government was instituted to make great and perilous experiments upon the happiness of a free people—still less experiments of blood and civil war.

After the introduction of the bill of compromise and its reference to the committee, predictions of the failure of the measure were confidently put forth. Even in the committee-room it was asserted, that there was no chance for its passage; and members rose from their places with the intention of leaving the room, without agreeing upon any report. Mr. Clay said to them, with decision and firmness: "Gentlemen, this bill has been referred to us, and it is our duty to report it, in some form or other, to the senate—and it *shall* be reported." Some slight amendments were agreed upon, and the bill *was* reported. Its subsequent fate is known.

In bringing about the adoption of the measure, Messrs. Clayton and Letcher are entitled to the most liberal praise, as the efficient coadjutors of its author.

The private history of the compromise act remains yet to be written. Should it ever be given to the world, it will throw new lustre upon the patriotic and self-sacrificing character of Mr. Clay. It will exhibit, in a still stronger light, his disinterestedness—his devotion to country—his elevation above all selfish impulses and personal ends—his magnanimity, and his generous intrepidity of spirit.

The compromise bill passed the house February 26, 1833, by a vote of 120 to 84. It passed the senate, the ensuing 1st of March, by a vote of 29 to 16—Mr. Webster voting against it. Mr. Clay was now once more hailed as the preserver of the re-

public—as the great pacificator. The dark, portentous cloud big with civil discord and disunion, which had been hanging over the country, rolled away and was scattered. The south and the north were reconciled; and confidence and prosperity were restored. Is not such a civic triumph worth all the pæans ever shouted in the ears of a military conqueror? It placed Mr. Clay in a commanding and elevated position—and drew upon him the eyes of the whole nation, as a liberal, sound, and true-hearted statesman, in whose hands the interests of all sections would be safe.

The act was characteristic of his whole public career. The only horizon which bounds his political vision is the horizon of his country. There is nothing small, narrow, sectional, in his views, interests, or hopes. North, south, east, and west—they are all equally dear to him. Kentucky—noble Kentucky—where he is cherished and honored as such a statesman and patriot ought to be cherished and honored by such a gallant and generous constituency—he regards with the attachment and devotion with which no generous nature can fail to be inspired for the soil where his first honors were won, the early theatre of his fame and its fruition—the home of his hopes and his heart. But he looks abroad from the state of his adoption, and down from the pinnacle of his elevation—and there lie Massachusetts, and New York, and the Old Dominion, proud of the blended honors of their Lexington, Saratoga, and Yorktown, radiant with the common glories of their Adamses, Hamiltons, and Washingtons—and he feels that in these glories and honors—in those traditions and records of achievements—in the fame of those illustrious men, he has himself an equal inheritance with any of their children. The influence of this noble, national spirit, pervades the whole of Mr. Clay's public career, and is stamped upon all those great measures by which, in moments of exigency and darkness, he has revived the desponding hopes and retrieved the sinking fortunes of the Union." *

* The following passage is an extract from a speech delivered by *John Tyler*, in the Virginia house of delegates, in 1839, in favor of the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, as recommended by the Kentucky statesman:—

"In my deliberate opinion, there was but one man who could have arrested the then course of things—the tendency of nullification to dissolve the Union—and that man was

In the autumn of 1833, Mr. Clay, accompanied by his lady, fulfilled a design which he had long contemplated, of visiting the eastern cities. His journey was one continued ovation. Arriving at Baltimore, early in October, he was waited upon by thousands of citizens, who came to pay their tribute of gratitude and respect. At Philadelphia, he was received at the Chestnut-street wharf by an immense concourse of people with enthusiastic huzzas, and conducted to the United States hotel by his friend, John Sergeant. Arriving at New York, he was escorted to his lodgings by a large procession of gentlemen on horseback; and all parties seemed to unite in their testimonials of welcome. A special meeting of the board of aldermen was held, and the governor's room, in the city-hall, appropriated to his use, where he was visited by a constant succession of citizens. At Newport and Providence, he was greeted with every possible demonstration of welcome and admiration; and, on reaching Boston, he was met and conducted to the Tremont house by a very numerous cavalcade.

At all these cities, and many others on his route, he received pressing invitations to public dinners; but, being accompanied by his family, he had, on leaving Kentucky, prescribed to himself the rule, to which he rigidly adhered, of declining all such invitations. By all classes in New England, and particularly by the manufacturing population, Mr. Clay was received as a friend and benefactor. The cordiality of his welcome, showed that his motives in originating the compromise act, had been duly appreciated by those most deeply interested in the preservation of the American system. He visited many of the manufacturing towns, and, on all occasions, met with a reception which indicated how strongly the affections of the people were enlisted in his favor. At Faneuil hall, and on Bunker hill, he received addresses from committees, to which he replied in his usual felicitous manner. While at Boston, a pair of elegant silver pitchers, weighing nine

HENRY CLAY. It rarely happens, Mr. Speaker, to the most gifted, and talented, and patriotic, to record their names upon the page of history, in characters indelible and enduring. But, sir, if to have rescued his country from civil war—*if to have preserved the constitution and Union from hazard and total wreck*, constitute any ground for an immortal and undying name among men, then I do believe that he has won for himself that high renown. I speak what I do know, for I was an actor in the scenes of that perilous period. When he rose in that senate-chamber, and held in his hand the olive-branch of peace, I, who had not known what envy was before, *envied him*. I was proud of him as my fellow-countryman, and still prouder that the *slashes of Hanover*, within the limits of my old district gave him birth."

and a half pounds, were presented to him by the young men. A great crowd was present; and Mr. Clay, though taken by surprise, spoke for about half an hour, in a manner to enchant his hearers. The following apposite toast was offered by one of the young men on the occasion: "Our Guest and Gift—our Friend and Pitcher!"

While at Salem, Mr. Clay attended a lecture at the Lyceum, when the audience, numbering about twelve hundred persons, spontaneously rose, and loudly greeted him on his entrance. On the 4th of November, he left Boston with his family on his return journey. He took the route through Massachusetts to Albany, passing through Worcester, Hartford, Springfield, Northampton, Pittsfield, &c., and being everywhere hailed by a grateful people with every demonstration of heartfelt attachment and reverence.

At Troy and Albany, the manifestations of popular attachment were not less marked than in Massachusetts. In both places the people rose up, as one man, to do him honor; and at both places he made replies to the addresses presented to him, which are excellent specimens of his familiar style of eloquence. The multitudes of citizens who met, followed, and waited upon him at every point, in rapid succession, indicated how large a space he occupied in the public heart. As he said in one of the numerous speeches which he was called upon to make, during his tour, "he had been taken into custody, made captive of, but placed withal in such delightful bondage, that he could find no strength and no desire to break away from it."

The popular enthusiasm did not seem to have abated as he returned through those cities which he had but recently visited. On his way to Washington, he was met at New York, Newark, Trenton, Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore, by delegations of citizens, whose attentions rendered his progress one of triumphal interest. He reached the seat of government in season to be present at the opening of Congress.

XII.

THE PUBLIC LANDS—REJECTION OF MR. VAN BUREN.

Mr. Clay's course in regard to the public lands, presents a striking illustration of his patriotic disinterestedness, and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of justice. The characteristic traits which he displayed upon this question, remind us of an anecdote of him, related, a few years since, by that eminent statesman and high-minded whig, William C. Preston, in a speech at Philadelphia. "On one occasion," said Mr. P., "he did me the honor to send for and consult with me. It was in reference to a step* he was about to take, and which will, perhaps, come to your minds without more direct allusions. After stating what he proposed, I suggested whether there would not be danger in it—whether such a course would not injure his own prospects, as well as those of the whig party in general? His reply was—'I did not send for you to ask what might be the effects of the proposed movement *on my prospects, but whether it is right.* I WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN BE PRESIDENT.'"

On March 22, 1832, Mr. Bibb, of Kentucky moved an inquiry into the expediency of reducing the price of the public lands. Mr. Robinson of Illinois, moved a further inquiry into the expediency of transferring the public territory to the states within which it lies, upon reasonable terms. With the view of embarrassing Mr. Clay, these topics were inappropriately referred, by the administration party, to the committee on manufactures, of which he was a member. It was supposed by his enemies, that he would make a "bid for the presidency," by favoring the interested states at the expense of justice and sound policy. But he did not stop to calculate the consequences to himself. He did not attempt to evade or defer the question. He met it promptly. He expressed his opinions firmly and boldly: and those opinions, thus expressed, wise, equitable, conclusive, were immediately seized upon for the purpose of breaking him down in the new states. The design had been to embarrass him, by holding out the alternative of baffling

* His speech on slavery and the reception of abolition petitions.

the cupidity of a portion of the people of the west, or shocking the sense of justice and invading the rights of the old states—to injuriously affect his popularity either with the old or new states, or with both. But when was Henry Clay known to shrink from the responsibility of an avowal of opinion upon a question of public moment? In about three weeks after the matter was referred to the committee, he presented to Congress a most luminous, able, and conclusive report, and in the bill appended to it, arranged the details of a wise and equitable plan, which no subsequent legislation was able to improve.

Mr. Clay regarded the national domain in the light of a "common fund," to be managed and disposed of for the "common benefit of all the states." This property, he thought, should be prudently and providently administered; that it should not be wantonly sacrificed at inadequate prices, and that it should not be unjustly abandoned, in violation of the trust under which it was held, to a favored section of the country. These principles were the basis of his bill, which provided—

I. That after the thirty-first day of December, 1832, twelve and a half per cent. of the net proceeds of the public lands, sold within their limits, should be paid to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, and Mississippi, over and above what these states were severally entitled to by the compacts of their admission into the Union; to be applied to internal improvements and purposes of education within those states, under the direction of their legislatures—independently of the provisions for the construction and maintenance of the Cumberland road.

II. After this deduction, the net proceeds were to be distributed among the (then) twenty-four states, according to their respective federal representative population; to be applied to such objects of internal improvement, education, or colonization, as might be designated by their respective legislatures, or the reimbursement of any previous debt contracted for internal improvements.

III. The act to continue in force for five years, except in the event of a war with any foreign power; and additional provisions to be made for any new state that might be meanwhile admitted to the Union.

IV. The minimum price of the public lands not to be increased; and not less than $80,000 per annum to be applied to complete the public surveys.

V. Land offices to be discontinued in districts where, for two successive years, the proceeds of sales should be insufficient to pay the salaries of the officers employed.

VI. That certain designated quantities of land should be granted to six of the new states, not to be sold at a less price than the minimum price of lands sold by the United States, to be applied to internal improvements.

Such were the simple and just provisions of the land bill of Mr. Clay. To the new states they were abundantly liberal,

without violating the erms of the original cession by the old states; for the money laid out in the new states for internal improvements, subject to the use of the United States, may be justly regarded as for the "common benefit" of the Union.

The introduction of the report and bill, created no little surprise and excitement in the senate. It was hardly expected of a candidate for the presidency, that he should have so promptly and peremptorily rejected the opportunity, thus temptingly presented, of bidding for the votes of the new states, by holding out the prospect, at least, of aggrandizement. But on this subject, as on all others, Mr. Clay took the broad national ground. He looked at the question as a statesman, not as a politician. He suffered no individual inducements to influence his opinions or his policy. His paramount sense of duty; his habitual sense of the sacredness of compacts; his superiority to local, sectional, and personal considerations, were never more conspicuously and more honorably manifested than on this occasion.

The land bill was made the special order for the 20th of June, when it was taken up by Mr. Clay, and advocated with his usual eloquence and ability. Mr. Benton replied. His policy was to reduce the price of a portion of the public lands, and to surrender the residue to the states in which they lie. It would have given to the state of Missouri 25,000,000 of acres, or about 160 acres to every individual in the state, black and white; while the state of New York, by whose blood and treasure, in part, this great domain was acquired, would have been cut off without an acre! Various motions were made in the senate for the postponement and amendment of Mr. Clay's bill. The policy of reducing the price, was urged with great pertinacity by the friends of the administration; but the objections of the report to this policy, were justly regarded as unanswerable and insurmountable; and, on the 3d of July, the bill, essentially in the same form as reported received its final passage in the senate, by a vote of 20 yeas to 18 nays. The late period of the session at which it was sent to the house, and the conflict of opinion in that body, in respect to some of its provisions, enabled the administration to effect its postponement to the first Monday of the following December, by a vote of 91 yeas to 88 nays.

This, of course, was equivalent to its rejection. But such were the wisdom and obvious equity of its provisions, and so highly did it commend itself to the good sense of the people, that the administration party were compelled to yield to the uncontrollable force of public opinion. At the next session, therefore, of Congress, the bill was again taken up, and passed the senate by a vote of 24 to 20, and the popular branch by a vote of 96 to 40. It was sent to the president for his approval.

Notwithstanding the unprecedented favor which it had found among the immediate representatives of the people, it was "trampled," as Mr. Benton subsequently boasted, under the "big foot of President Jackson." The dissolution of Congress, before the expiration of the constitutional term for which he was authorized to retain the bill, enabled that self-willed and despotic chief magistrate to defeat the obvious will of the people. If it had been returned to Congress at the session of its passage, it would have become a law by a two-third vote. It was therefore withheld, and, at the next session, on the 5th of December, 1833, was sent back with the veto of the president; and the veto, as we have every reason to believe, sprang from the personal hostility of General Jackson toward the author of the land bill, and an apprehension that it would augment the popularity of a rival, whom he feared and hated.

The principles of the veto message accorded with those which had been already promulgated by Mr. Benton. General Jackson declared himself in favor of reducing the price of a portion of the public lands, and of surrendering the residue to the states in which they lie; and withdrawing the machinery of our land system. He objected to Mr. Clay's plan of giving an extra 12½ per cent. of the proceeds of the sales within their own limits to the new states, as an "indirect and undisguised violation of the pledge given by Congress to the states before a single cession was made; abrogating the condition on which some of the states came into the Union; and setting at naught the terms of cession spread upon the face of every grant under which the title of that portion of the public lands are held by the federal government." Such were the shocking violations of principle and compact, involved in the limited and equitable grant to the new states, con-

templated by the bill of Mr. Clay; and yet we were gravely told by General Jackson, in the same breath, that to sell the lands for a nominal price—to withdraw the land machinery of the government altogether—to abandon the lands—to surrender the lands—to *give* them to the states in which they lie—"impaired no principle and violated no compact." It was a gross violation of compact—it was a flagrant outrage upon principle, to surrender a *part*—but the outrage was repaired, and the compact kept inviolate by an abandonment of the *whole!* Such was the reasoning of the veto message!

General Jackson had been obliged to change his grounds on this question, in order to thwart the views of Mr. Clay. In his annual message of December 4, 1832, he had recommended a measure fundamentally similar. But the measure now presented to him, though it had passed Congress by triumphant majorities, had been suggested, although not voluntarily, by an individual who shared no part in his counsels or his affections—by one, whom he had ungenerously injured, and whom he therefore disliked. He preferred the gratification of his malevolence to the preservation of his consistency. The consequence was his arbitrary retention of the bill, by an irregular and unprecedented proceeding, and his subsequent veto.

The right of the old states to the public domain is the right of conquest and of compact. Those lands were won by the blood and treasure of the thirteen provinces. Their title-deeds were signed, sealed, and delivered on the plains of Yorktown. When the clouds of the revolution had rolled away, and the discordant elements of the confederation were taking the shape and system of our present glorious constitution—the sages and soldiers of liberty assembled for the establishment of a more perfect union. To realize this grand end of their labors, they recommended to the thirteen states to make a common cession of their territories to the federal government; that they might be administered for their common benefit, and stand as a pledge for the redemption of the public debt. Patriotic Virginia, following the wise counsels of her Washington, Henrys, and Jeffersons, surrendered without a murmur her bloodless domain—now the seat of numerous new states, and still stretching hundreds of leagues

into the unsurveyed and uninhabited wilderness. Her sister states, though they had less to surrender, surrendered all they possessed; and in return for this liberal and patriotic abandonment of local advantages for the common good, the Congress of the United States pledged itself by the most solemn compact to administer this vast domain for the common benefit of its original proprietors, and of such new states as should thereafter be admitted into the Union.

The second of May, 1834, Mr. Clay made a report from the committee on public lands, in relation to the president's return of the land bill. In this paper he exposes with great ability the inconclusiveness of the president's reasons. For some ten years Mr. Clay was the vigilant, laborious, and finally successful opponent of the monstrous project of the administration for squandering the public domain and robbing the old states. To his unremitted exertions we shall have been indebted for the successive defeats of the advocates of the plunder system, and for the final adjustment of the question according to his own equitable propositions. By this adjustment, all sections of the country are treated with rigid impartiality. The interest of no one state is sacrificed to that of the others. The west, the north, the south, and east, all fare alike. A more wise and provident system could not have been devised. It will stand as a perpetual monument of the enlarged patriotism, unerring sagacity, and uncompromising justice of its author.

The question of confirming Mr. Van Buren's nomination as minister to England, came before the senate during the session of 1831–'32. The conduct of that gentleman while secretary of state, in his *instructions* to Mr. M'Lane, had excited general displeasure. Not content with exerting his ingenuity to put his own country in the wrong and the British government in the right, Mr. Van Buren had endeavored to attach to Mr. Adams's administration the discredit of bringing forward unfounded "pretensions," and by himself disclaiming those pretensions, to propitiate the favor of the British king. Upon the subject of the colonial trade, he said: "*To set up the acts of the late administration, as the cause of a forfeiture of privileges which would otherwise be extended to the people of the United States*, would, under

existing circumstances, be unjust in itself, and could not fail *to excite their deepest* SENSIBILITY."

The parasitical, anti-American spirit displayed throughout these celebrated instructions constituted a sufficient ground for the rejection of Mr. Van Buren's nomination. Mr. Clay's personal relation toward that gentleman had always been of a friendly character, but he did not allow them to influence his sense of public justice. He addressed the senate emphatically against the nomination, declaring that his main objection arose out of the instructions; the offensive passages in which he quoted.

"On our side," said he, "according to Mr. Van Buren, all was wrong; on the British side, all was right. We brought forward nothing but *claims and pretensions;* the British government asserted on the other hand a clear and incontestable *right.* We erred in too tenaciously and too long insisting upon our *pretensions,* and not yielding at once to their *just* demands. And Mr. M'Lane was commanded to avail himself of all the circumstances in his power to *mitigate* our *offence,* and to dissuade the British government from allowing their feelings justly incurred by the past conduct of the party driven from power to have an adverse influence toward the American party now in power. Sir, was this becoming language from one independent nation to another? Was it proper in the mouth of an American minister? Was it in conformity with the high, unsullied, and dignified character of our previous diplomacy? Was it not, on the contrary, the language of an humble vassal to a proud and haughty lord? Was it not prostrating and degrading the American eagle before the British lion?"

The nomination of Mr. Van Buren was rejected in the senate by the casting vote of the vice-president, Mr. Calhoun. It has been said that this act was a blunder in policy on the part of the opposition in the senate — that it made a political martyr of a wily and intriguing antagonist, and commended him to the sympathy and vindicatory favor of his party. All this may be true; but it does not affect the principle of the measure. Mr. Clay did not lack the sagacity to foresee its probable consequences; but, where the honor of his country was concerned, expediency was with him always an inferior consideration.

XIII.

THE BANK STRUGGLE.

For twelve years, the country was kept in a fever of perpetual excitement, or in a state of alternate paralysis and convulsion, by the agitation of the currency question. General Jackson found us in 1829 in a condition of general prosperity. The government was administered with republican economy. The legislature, the judiciary, and the executive, every one wielding its constitutional powers, moved on harmoniously in their respective spheres; and the result was a system that secured the happiness of the people and challenged the admiration of the civilized world. Commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, flourished; lending mutual aid, and enjoying a common prosperity, fostered by the government, and diffusing blessings among the community. The banking system was sound throughout the states. Our currency was uniform in value, and the local banks were compelled to restrict their issues to their ability of redemption in specie. There was no wild speculation. Industrious enterprise was the only source of fortune. Labor was amply employed, abundantly compensated, and safe in the enjoyment of its wages. The habits of the people were simple and democratic. Our foreign credit was without a stain, and the whole machinery of government, trade, and currency, had been brought to a state approaching the utmost limit to be attained by human ingenuity and human wisdom.

In 1830, General Jackson commenced his "humble efforts" for improving our condition. He advised, in his message of that year, the establishment of a treasury-bank, with the view, among other things, of "strengthening the states," by leaving in their hands "the means of furnishing the local paper currency through their own banks." This was his original plan, and in this message we hear nothing of a better currency, or the substitution of the precious metals for bank paper. In the following year he again brought the subject before Congress, and left it to the "investigation of an enlightened people and their represen-

tatives." The investigation took place; and Congress passed a bill for the recharter of the United States Bank. This bill was peremptorily *vetoed* by General Jackson, who condemned it as premature, and modestly remarked in regard to a bank, "Had the executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an institution as would be constitutional, the duty would have been cheerfully performed."

Mr. Clay was one of the foremost in denouncing the extraordinary doctrines of this veto message. On the 12th of July, 1832, he addressed the senate upon the subject. We have already given an exposition of his views upon the question of a bank. They are too well-known to the country to require reiteration in this place. They have been frankly avowed on all fitting occasions. Touching the veto power, that monarchical feature in our constitution, his opinions were such as might have been expected from the leader of the democratic party of 1815. He considered it irreconcilable with the genius of a representative government; and cited the constitution of Kentucky, by which, if after the rejection of a bill by the governor, it shall be passed by a majority of all the members elected to both houses, it becomes a law notwithstanding the governor's objection.

The abuses to which this power has been subjected under the administrations of Jackson and Tyler, call loudly for an amendment of the federal constitution. The veto of a single magistrate on a bill passed by a numerous body of popular representatives, immediately expressing the opinion of all classes of the community, and all sections of the country, indicates obviously an enormous prerogative. It must so strike every one who has ever reasoned on government. When the people of Paris called upon Mirabeau to save them from the grant of such a power, telling him that, if granted, all was lost, they spoke a sentiment that is as universal as the sense and spirit of liberty. When we reflect that no king of England has dared to exercise this power since the year 1692, we can not but feel that there must have been good reason in the jealousy of the people, and in the apprehension of the crown. Mr. Burke, in his celebrated letter to the sheriff of Bristol, observes, in reference to the exercise of this power by the king, that it is "wisely forborne. Its *repose* may

be the preservation of its *existence*, and its existence may be the means of *saving the constitution itself*, on an *occasion worthy of bringing it forth*." So high a power was it considered by Mr. Jefferson, that he was at one time decidedly in favor of associating the judiciary with the executive in its exercise.

It is in this light that the veto power should be considered—as a most serious and sacred one, to be exercised only on emergencies worthy to call it forth. On all questions of mere opinion, mere expediency, the representatives of the people are the best, as they are the legitimate judges.

The monstrous doctrine had been advanced by General Jackson, in his veto message, that every public officer may interpret the constitution as he pleases. On this point Mr. Clay said, with great cogency:—

"I conceive, with great deference, that the president has mistaken the purport of the oath to support the constitution of the United States. No one swears to support it *as he understands it*, but to support it simply as it is in truth. All men are bound to obey the laws, of which the constitution is the supreme; but must they obey them as they are, or *as they understand them?* If the obligation of obedience is limited and controlled by the measure of information; in other words, if the party is bound to obey the constitution only as he understands it, what would be the consequence? There would be general disorder and confusion throughout every branch of administration, from the highest to the lowest officers—universal nullification."

During the session of 1832–'33, General Jackson declared that the public deposites were not safe in the vaults of the United States bank, and called upon Congress to look into the subject, and to augment what he then considered the "limited powers" of the secretary of the treasury over the public money. Congress made the desired investigation, and the house of representatives, by a vote of 109 to 46, declared the deposites to be perfectly safe. Resolved on gratifying his feelings of personal animosity toward the friends of the bank, General Jackson did not allow this explicit declaration on the part of the immediate agents of the people, to shake his despotic purpose. During the autumn of 1833, he resolved upon that most arbitrary of arbitrary measures, the removal of the deposites. The cabinet council, to whom he originally proposed this measure, are said to have disapproved of it in the most decided terms. Mr. McLane, the secretary of the treasury, refused to lend it his assistance. He was accordingly

translated to the office of secretary of state, made vacant by the appointment of Mr. Livingston to the French mission; and William J. Duane, of Philadelphia, took his place at the head of the treasury department. Mr. Duane, however, did not turn out to be the pliable tool which the president had expected to find him. On the 20th of September, 1833, it was authoritatively announced to the public that the deposites would be removed. The next day, Mr. Duane made known to the president his resolution, neither voluntarily to withdraw from his post, nor to be made the instrument of illegally removing the public treasures. The consequence was, the rude dismission of the independent secretary from office, on the 23d of September. Mr. Taney, who had sustained the views of the president, was made his successor; and the people's money was removed from the depository where the law had placed it, and scattered among irresponsible state institutions under the control of greedy partisans.

The congressional session of 1833–'34, was one of extraordinary interest, in consequence of the discussion of this high-handed measure.

In his message to Congress, the president said: "Since the adjournment of Congress, the secretary of the treasury has directed the money of the United States to be deposited in certain state banks designated by him; and he will immediately lay before you his reasons for this direction. I concur with him entirely in the view he has taken of the subject; and, some months before the removal, I urged upon the department the propriety of taking the step." The "reasons" adduced by Mr. Taney for lending his aid to the seizure of the public money, were such as might have been expected from an adroit lawyer. However satisfactory they might have been to General Jackson and his party, they were utterly insufficient to justify the act in the eyes of dispassionate and clear-minded men. Mr. Taney undertook to sustain his position by a precedent which he assumed to find in a letter addressed by Mr. Crawford, when secretary of the treasury, to the president of the Mechanics' bank of New York. On the 19th of December, Mr. Clay introduced resolutions into the senate, calling upon Mr. Taney for a copy of the letter, an extract from which he had cited in his report.

In his remarks upon the occasion of presenting these resolutions, Mr. Clay made some observations in regard to his own personal relations toward the bank. An individual high in office, had allowed himself to assert that a dishonorable connection had subsisted between him (Mr. C.) and that institution. Mr. Clay said that when the charter, then existing, was granted, he voted for it; and, having done so, he did not feel himself at liberty to subscribe, and he did not subscribe, for a single share in the stock of the bank, although he confidently anticipated a great rise in its value. A few years afterward, during the presidency of Mr. Jones, it was thought by some of his friends at Philadelphia, expedient to make him (Mr. C.) a director of the Bank of the United States; and he was made a director, without any consultation with him. For that purpose, five shares were purchased for him by a friend, for which he (Mr. C.) afterward paid. When he ceased to be a director, a short time subsequently, he disposed of those shares; since which time he has never been proprietor of a single share.

When Mr. Cheves was appointed president of the bank, its affairs, in the states of Kentucky and Ohio, were in great disorder; and Mr. Clay's professional services were engaged during several years for the bank in those states. He brought a vast number of suits, and transacted a great amount of professional business for the bank. Among other suits, was one for the recovery of $100,000, seized under the authority of a law in Ohio which he carried through the inferior and supreme courts. He was paid by the bank the usual compensation for these services and no more. No professional fees were ever more honestly and fairly earned. For upward of eight years past, however, he had not been the counsel for the bank. He did not owe the bank, or any of its branches, a solitary cent. Some twelve or fifteen years before, owing to the failure of a friend, a large amount of debt had been thrown upon Mr. Clay, as his endorser; and it was principally due to the Bank of the United States. Mr. Clay commenced a system of rigid economy—established for himself *a sinking fund*—worked hard, and paid off the debt without receiving from the bank the slightest favor.

The resolutions, of Mr. Clay, calling upon the secretary of the

treasury for a copy of the letter said to have been written by Mr Crawford, passed the senate; and on the 13th of December, a communication was received from Mr. Taney, the character of which was evasive and unsatisfactory. The senate had asked for documents, and he gave them arguments. In reference to Mr. Crawford's opinions, Mr. Clay said, that although there was plausibility in the construction which the secretary had given to them, yet he (Mr. Clay) would undertake to show that the opinions ascribed to Mr. Crawford in reference to the bank charter, were never asserted by him.

On the 26th of December, 1833, Mr. Clay laid the following resolutions before the senate:—

"1. *Resolved*, That, by dismissing the late secretary of the treasury, because he would not, contrary to his sense of his own duty, remove the money of the United States in deposite with the Bank of the United States and branches, in conformity with the president's opinion, and by appointing his successor to effect such removal, which has been done, the president has assumed the exercise of a power over the treasury of the United States, not granted by the constitution and laws, and dangerous to the liberties of the people.

"2. *Resolved*, That the reasons assigned by the secretary of the treasury, for the removal of the money of the United States from the United States bank and its branches, communicated to Congress on the third day of December, 1833, are unsatisfactory and insufficient."

Mr. Clay's speech in support of the resolutions, was delivered partly on the 26th, and partly on the 30th of December; and it is one of the most masterly efforts of eloquence ever heard within the walls of the capitol. In force and amplitude of argument, variety and appropriateness of illustration, and energy of diction, it is equalled by few oratorical productions in the English language. During its delivery, the lower house was almost deserted; and the galleries of the senate-chamber were filled by a mutely attentive audience, whose enthusiasm occasionally broke forth in unparliamentary bursts of applause—a demonstration, which is rarely elicited except when the feelings are aroused to an extraordinary degree.

In his exordium, Mr. Clay briefly glanced at some of the principal usurpations and abuses of the administration.

"We are," said he, "in the midst of a revolution, hitherto bloodless, but rapidly tending toward a total change of the pure republican character of the government, and to the concentration of all power in the hands of one

man. The powers of Congress are paralyzed, except when exerted in conformity with his will, by a frequent and extraordinary exercise of the executive veto, not anticipated by the founders of the constitution, and not practised by any of the predecessors of the present chief magistrate. And, to cramp them still more, a new expedient is springing into use, of withholding altogether bills which have received the sanction of both houses of Congress, thereby cutting off all opportunity of passing them, even if, after their return, the members should be unanimous in their favor. The constitutional participation of the senate in the appointing power, is virtually abolished by the constant use of the power of removal from office, without any known cause, and by the appointment of the same individual to the same office, after his rejection by the senate. How often have we, senators, felt that the check of the senate, instead of being, as the constitution intended, a salutary control, was an idle ceremony? * * * *

"The judiciary has not been exempted from the prevailing rage for innovation. Decisions of the tribunals deliberately pronounced, have been contemptuously disregarded, and the sanctity of numerous treaties openly violated. Our Indian relations, coeval with the existence of the government, and recognised and established by numerous laws and treaties, have been subverted; the rights of the helpless and unfortunate aborigines trampled in the dust, and they brought under subjection to unknown laws, in which they have no voice, promulgated in an unknown language. The most extensive and most valuable public domain that ever fell to the lot of one nation, is threatened with a total sacrifice. The general currency of the country—the life-blood of all its business—is in the most imminent danger of universal disorder and confusion. The power of internal improvement lies crushed beneath the veto. The system of protection to American industry was snatched from impending destruction at the last session; but we are now coolly told by the secretary of the treasury, without a blush, 'that it is understood to be *conceded on all hands*, that a tariff for protection merely is to be finally abandoned.' By the 3d of March, 1837, if the progress of innovation continue, there will be scarcely a vestige remaining of the government and its policy, as it existed prior to the 3d of March, 1829."

In the paper read to his cabinet on the 18th of September, 1833, and afterward published in the newspapers, but which he refused to communicate to the senate, when called upon by them so to do, President Jackson is made to employ terms of blandishment toward his new secretary of the treasury, as if to gild the shackles of dictation imposed by executive power in regard to the removal of the deposites. He says, he trusts that the secretary will see in his remarks, "only the frank and respectful declarations of the opinions which the president has formed on a measure of great national interest, deeply affecting the character and usefulness of his administration, and not a spirit of dictation, which the president would be as careful to avoid, as ready to resist."

Mr. Clay very happily illustrates the hypocrisy of this defer

ential language. "Sir, it reminds me of an historical anecdote related of one of the most remarkable characters which our species has ever produced. When Oliver Cromwell was contending for the mastery of Great Britain or Ireland (I do not now remember which), he besieged a certain catholic town. The place made a stout resistance; but at length the town being likely to be taken, the poor catholics proposed terms of capitulation, stipulating therein for the toleration of their religion. The paper containing the terms was brought to Oliver, who, putting on his spectacles to read it, cried out: 'Oh, granted, granted! certainly!' He, however, added—'but if one of them shall dare be found attending mass, he shall be hanged!'—(under which section is not mentioned—whether under a *second, or any other section of any particular law*, we are not told.")

After proving, what is now notorious to the whole country, that the removal of the deposites was the act of General Jackson and of him alone, and that the secretary of the treasury was merely the *cat's-paw* in the accomplishment of the seizure, Mr. Clay proceeded to show that it was in violation of the constitution and laws of the United States. His argument on this point is faithful and conclusive.

We regret that our limited space prevents us from quoting freely from this interesting speech. It contains a succinct history of all the financial exploits of General Jackson and his subservient secretary up to the period of its delivery; and is as valuable for its documentary facts as it is interesting for the vigor and animation of its style and the impregnability of its arguments.

The resolution declaring the insufficiency of the reasons assigned by the secretary of the treasury for the removal of the deposites, having been referred to the committee on finance, at the head of which was Mr. Webster, was reported with a recommendation that it be adopted. The question upon the resolution was not taken till the 28th of March, when it was passed by the senate, 28 to 18. At the instance of some of his friends, Mr. Clay then modified his other resolution, so as to read as follows:—

"*Resolved*, That the president in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both."

The resolution was adopted by the following vote:—

YEAS.—Messrs. Bibb, Black, Calhoun, Clay, Clayton, Ewing, Frelinghuysen, Kent, Knight, Leigh, Mangum, Naudain, Poindexter, Porter, Prentiss, Preston, Robbins, Silsbee, Smith, Southard, Sprague, Swift, Tomlinson, Tyler, Waggaman, Webster—26.

NAYS.—Messrs. Benton, Brown, Forsyth, Grundy, Hendricks, Hill, Kane, King of Alabama, King of Georgia, Linn, M'Kean, Moore, Morris, Robinson, Shepley, Tallmadge, Tipton, White, Wilkins, Wright—20.

The passage of Mr. Clay's resolution drew forth from the president the celebrated protest, which was communicated to the senate, the 17th of April, 1833. This document was of a most novel and unprecedented character, and gave rise to debates, which will always be memorable in our legislative annals. The assumptions of the president were truly of a kind to excite alarm among the friends of our republican system. In this extraordinary paper he maintains, that he is responsible for the acts of every executive officer, and that *all* the powers given by law are vested in him as the head and fountain of all. He alludes to the secretary of the treasury as *his* secretary, and says that Congress can not take from the executive the control of the public money. His doctrine is, that the president should, under his oath of office, sustain the constitution *as he understands it;* not as the judiciary may expound, or Congress declare it. From these principles, he infers that all subordinate officers are merely the executors of his supreme will, and that he has the right to discharge them whenever he may please.

These monstrous and despotic assumptions, transcending as they do the prerogatives claimed by most of the monarchs of Europe, afforded a theme for eloquent discussion, which was not neglected by the opposition, who then constituted the majority in the senate. Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi, protested against the reception of such a paper from the president; and moved that it be not received. Mr. Sprague, of Maine, exposed its fallacies, and denounced its doctrines in spirited and indignant terms. The senators from New Jersey, Messrs. Frelinghuysen and Southard, expressed their astonishment and indignation in strong and decided language. Mr. Benton, "solitary and alone," stood forth as the champion of the president and the protest.

The next day (April 18th) the consideration of Mr. Poindex-

ter's motion was resumed; and Mr. Leigh, of Virginia, addressed the senate for about two hours in a speech of rare ability. Toward its conclusion an unusual incident occurred. Mr. King, of Alabama, had claimed for the president the merit of adjusting the tariff question. He might, with quite as much truth, have claimed for him the merit of writing the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Leigh, in reply to this assumption, spoke as follows:—

"Sir, I can not but remember that, during the anxious winter of 1832–'33, when South Carolina, under a deep sense of injustice and oppression (whether well or ill-founded, it is immaterial now to inquire), was exerting her utmost efforts (no matter now whether wisely or not) to bring about a relaxation of the system—when all men were trembling under the apprehension of civil war—*trembling from the conviction, that if such a contest should arise, let it terminate how it might, it would put our present institutions in jeopardy, and end either in consolidation or disunion—for, I am persuaded that the first drop of blood which shall be shed in a civil strife between the federal government and any state, will flow from an immedicable wound, that none may hope ever to see healed*—I can not but remember that the president, though wielding such vast power and influence, *never contributed the least aid to bring about the compromise* that saved us from the evils which all men, I believe, and I certainly, so much dreaded. The men are not present to whom we are chiefly indebted for that compromise; and I am glad they are absent, since it enables me to speak of their conduct as I feel, without restraint from a sense of delicacy—I raise my humble voice in gratitude for that service to Henry Clay of the senate, and Robert P. Letcher of the house of representatives——"

Here Mr. Leigh was interrupted by loud and prolonged plaudits in the gallery. The vice-president suspended the discussion, and ordered the galleries to be cleared. While the sergeant-at-arms was in the act of fulfilling this order, the applause was repeated. Mr. Benton moved that the persons applauding should be taken into custody; but, before the motion could be considered, the galleries were vacated and order was restored.

On the 21st of April, another message was received from the president, being a sort of codicil to the protest, in which he undertook to explain certain passages, which he feared had been misapprehended. Mr. Poindexter withdrew his original motion, and substituted four resolutions in which it was embodied. These resolutions were modified by Mr. Clay, and an amendment suggested by Mr. Calhoun was adopted. Messrs. Clayton, Webster, Preston, Ewing, Mangum, and others, addressed the senate eloquently on various occasions upon the subject of the

protest; and, on the 30th of April, Mr. Clay, the resolution of Mr. Poindexter still pending, made his well-known speech. Although the subject seemed to have been exhausted by the accomplished speakers who had preceded him, it was at once reinvested with the charms of novelty in his hands. The speech contains the most complete and faithful picture of Jacksonism ever presented to the country.

The resolutions of Mr. Poindexter passed the senate by a vote of 27 to 16 on the 7th of May. They exclude the protest from the journals, and declare that the president of the United States has no right to send a protest to the senate against any of its proceedings.

On the 28th of May, 1834, Mr. Clay introduced two joint resolutions, reasserting what had been already declared by resolutions of the senate, that the reasons assigned by the secretary of the treasury to Congress, for the removal of the public deposites, were insufficient and unsatisfactory; and providing that, from and after the first day of July ensuing, all deposites which might accrue from the public revenue, subsequent to that period, should be placed in the Bank of the United States and its branches, pursuant to the 16th section of the act to incorporate the subscribers to the United States bank.

In presenting these resolutions, Mr. Clay remarked that, whatever might be their fate at the other end of the capitol, or in another building, that consideration ought to have no influence on the course of the senate. The resolutions were adopted and sent to the house, where they were laid upon the table, and, as was anticipated, never acted upon.

The labors of Mr. Clay during the celebrated session of 1833–'34, appear to have been arduous and incessant. On every important question that came before the senate, he spoke, showing himself the ever-vigilant and active opponent of executive usurpation. Immediately after the withdrawal of the public money from the United States bank, and before the "pet banks," to which the treasure had been transferred, had created an unhealthy plethora in the currency by their consequent expansions, the distress among the people began to manifest itself in numerous memorials to Congress, protesting against the president's

financial experiments, and calling for relief. Many of thes memorials were communicated to the senate through Mr. Clay, and he generally accompanied their presentation with a brief but pertinent speech. His remarks, on presenting a memorial from Kentucky, on the 26th of February, 1834—and from Troy, the fourteenth of April—are eloquent expositions of the financial condition of the country at those periods. In his speech of the 5th of February, on a motion to print additional copies of the report of the committee on finance, to which had been referred the report of the secretary of the treasury in regard to the removal of the deposites, we find the following just and forcible image:—

"The idea of uniting thirty or forty local banks for the establishment and security of an equal currency could never be realized. As well might the crew of a national vessel be put on board thirty or forty bark canoes, tied together by a grape-vine, and sent out upon the troubled ocean, while the billows were rising mountain-high, and the tempest was exhausting its rage on the foaming element, in the hope that they might weather the storm, and reach their distant destination in safety. The people would be contented with no such fleet of bark canoes, with Admiral Taney in their command. They would be heard again calling out for old Ironsides, which had never failed them in the hour of trial, whether amidst the ocean's storm, or in the hour of battle."

This session, generally known as the "panic session," was one of the most remarkable that have ever occurred in the progress of our government. Never was there collected in the senate a greater amount of eminent ability. For weeks together the whigs poured forth a torrent of eloquent denunciations, in every form, against that high-handed measure, the removal of the deposites. This was most generally done on the occasion of presenting petitions or memorials from the people against it. Go into the senate-chamber any morning during this interesting period, and you would find some whig on his feet, expatiating on the pernicious consequences of that most disastrous proceeding. It was then that they predicted the evil effects of it, since so fatally and exactly realized.

Mr. Clay was among the most active and eloquent of these distinguished champions of the people. No one exhibited so great a variety of weapons of attack upon the administration, or so consummate a skill in the use of them. Early in March

1834, a committee from Philadelphia arrived in Washington with a memorial from a large body of mechanics, depicting the state of prostration and distress produced among all the laboring classes, by the high-handed and pernicious measures of the administration. In presenting this memorial, Mr. Clay took occasion o deviate somewhat from the beaten track of debate. He made a direct appeal to the vice-president, Mr. Van Buren, charging him with the delivery of a message to the executive. After glancing at the gloomy condition of the country, he remarked that it was in the power of the chief magistrate to adopt a measure which, in twenty-four hours, would afford an efficacious and substantial remedy, and reëstablish confidence; and those who, in that chamber, supported the administration, could not render a better service than to repair to the executive mansion, and, placing before the chief magistrate the naked and undisguised truth, prevail upon him to retrace his steps and abandon his fatal experiment.

"No one, sir," continued Mr. Clay, turning to the vice-president, "can perform that duty with more propriety than yourself. You can, if you will, induce him to change his course. To you, then, sir, in no unfriendly spirit, but with feelings softened and subdued by the deep distress which pervades every class of our countrymen, I make the appeal. By your official and personal relations with the president, you maintain with him an intercourse which I neither enjoy nor covet. Go to him and tell him without exaggeration, but in the language of truth and sincerity, the actual condition of his bleeding country. Tell him it is nearly ruined and undone by the measures which he has been induced to put in operation. Tell him that his experiment is operating on the nation like the philosopher's experiment upon a convulsed animal in an exhausted receiver; and that it must expire in agony if he does not pause, give it fresh and sound circulation, and suffer the energies of the people to be revived and restored. Tell him that in a single city, more than sixty bankruptcies, involving a loss of more than fifteen millions of dollars, have occurred. Depict to him, if you can find language for the task, the heart-rending wretchedness of thousands of the working classes. Tell him him how much more true glory is to be won by retracing false steps than by blindly rushing on until the country is overwhelmed in bankruptcy and ruin. Entreat him to pause."

In this strain, Mr. Clay proceeded for nearly twenty minutes. Nothing could be more eloquent, touching, and unanswerable, than the appeal, although, of course, it failed of effect. "Well, Mr. Van Buren, did you deliver the message I charged you with?" asked Mr. Clay, as he met the vice-president in the senate-chamber the next morning before the day's session had commenced.

The reply of Mr. Van Buren is not recorded. That gentleman, however, was never celebrated for his powers of repartee During the period of his vice-presidency, Mr. Clay dined with him on one occasion in company with the judges of the United States court, the heads of departments, and others. Conversation at dinner glanced at the fact, that tory ministers, both in England and in France, were more disposed than whig ministers to do justice to the United States, and deal liberally with them in all international negotiations. All the parties present agreed as to the fact; and turning suddenly to Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Clay said: "If you will permit me, I will propose a toast." "With great pleasure," returned the vice-president. "I propose," said Mr. Clay, "*Tory ministers in England and France, and a whig ministry in the United States.*" The toast was drunk with great cordiality by the company, Mr. Van Buren affecting to laugh, but blushing at the same time up to the eyes, and evidently nonplused for a retort.

The message addressed by Mr. Clay to the vice-president recalls to mind another, which he requested the late Mr. Grundy to deliver to President Jackson. It was the last of February, 1833, when the land bill was pending. "Tell General Jackson," said Mr. Clay, "that if he will sign that bill, I will pledge myself to retire from Congress, and never enter public life again." Mr. Grundy, who was an amiable and remarkably good-natured person, said: "No, I can't deliver that message; for we may have use for you hereafter." This was, it will be remembered, at the session when the compromise passed.

The first session of the twenty-third Congress terminated the 30th of June, 1834, and Mr. Clay, after his prolonged and laborious exertions in behalf of the constitution and the laws, set out immediately on his journey home. As the stage-coach, in which he was proceeding from Charlestown toward Winchester, in Virginia, was descending a hill, it was overturned, and a worthy young gentleman, Mr. Humrickhouse, son of the contractor, was instantly killed by being crushed by the vehicle. He was seated by the side of the driver. Mr. Clay was slightly injured. The accident happened in consequence of a defect in the breast-chain, which gave way. On his arrival at Winchester, Mr. Clay

was invited to a public dinner, which he declined, as well on account of his desire to reach home, as because of this melancholy accident, which disqualified him for immediate enjoyment at the festive board.

XIV.

DIFFICULTY WITH FRANCE—INDIAN WRONGS.

THE most important question which came before Congress at its second session, in 1834–'35, was that of our relations with France. The claims of our citizens upon that government for aggressions upon our commerce between the years 1800 and 1817, had been repeatedly admitted; but no decided steps toward a settlement had been taken until the 4th of July, 1831, when a treaty was ratified, by which it was agreed, on the part of the French, that the sum of twenty-five millions of francs should be paid to the United States as an indemnity. By the terms of the treaty, the first instalment was to be paid at the expiration of one year after the exchange of the ratifications.

The French government having failed in the performance of this stipulation—the draft of the United States for the first instalment having been dishonored by the minister of finance—President Jackson, in his message of December, 1834, to Congress, recommended that, in case provision should not be made for the payment of the debt at the approaching session of the French chambers, a law should be passed authorizing reprisals upon French property. This was a step not to be precipitately taken; and, to insure its patriotic, dispassionate, and statemanlike consideration, the senate placed Mr. Clay at the head of the committee on foreign relations, to which committee that part of the president's message relating to our affairs with France was referred.

On the 6th of January, 1835, Mr. Clay made his celebrated report to the senate. It was read by him from his seat, its reading occupying an hour and a half; the senate-chamber being

thronged during its delivery by members of the house, and the galleries filled to overflowing. The ability displayed in this extraordinary document, the firmness and moderation of its tone, the perspicuous arrangements of facts which it presents, the lucidity and strength of its style, and the inevitable weight of its conclusions, called forth the admiration and concurrence of all parties. It would seem to have been, under Providence, the means of averting a war with France. In the preparation of it, Mr. Clay had a difficult and delicate task to perform; and it was accomplished with great ingenuity and success. Not a word that could lower the national tone and spirit was indulged in. He eloquently maintained that the right lay on our side, but admitted that the French king had not been so far in the wrong that all hopes of the execution of the treaty were extinct, nor did he consider that hostile measures were yet justifiable. This temperate, judicious, firm, and statesman-like language, while it removed all cause of offence on the part of the French, imparted new renown to our own diplomacy. While it was all that the most chivalrous champions of their country's honor could ask, it breathed a spirit which called forth the full approbation of the friends of peace.

As soon as Mr. Clay had finished the reading of his report, a discussion arose in the senate as to the number which should be printed. Mr. Poindexter moved the printing of twenty thousand extra copies. Mr. Clay thought that number too large, and suggested five thousand. Mr. Calhoun said he should vote for the largest number proposed. He had heard the report read with the greatest pleasure. It contained the whole grounds which ought to be laid before the people. Of all the calamities that could befall the country, he most deplored a French war at that time. Under these considerations he should vote for twenty thousand copies.

Mr. Ewing and Mr. Porter would vote for the largest number, and the latter would have preferred thirty or forty thousand.

Mr. Preston said he was strongly impressed by the views taken by the committee, and considered them sufficient to satisfy the people that we could honorably and justly avoid war with France. Concurring in the sentiments of the committee, and

entertaining a profound respect for the wisdom exhibited in the report, he was anxious that the document should be spread through the country as widely as possible.

The senate finally ordered twenty thousand copies of this admirable report to be printed, and it was soon scattered to the remotest corners of the Union. Its effect in reviving the confidence and allaying the fears of our mercantile community must be fresh in the remembrance of many. The rates of insurance were at once diminished, Commerce spread her white wings to the gale, and swept the ocean once more unchecked by the liabilities of a hostile encounter. The depression in business produced by the president's belligerent recommendation was at once removed.

The report showed conclusively that the president's recommendation in regard to reprisals was premature, and unauthorized by the circumstances of the case; and that there had been a constant manifestation on the part of the executive branch of the French government of a disposition to carry the treaty of indemnification into effect. The committee expressed their agreement with the president, that the fulfilment of the treaty should be insisted upon at all hazards; but they considered that a rash and precipitate course on our part should be seduously avoided. They would not anticipate the possibility of a final breach by France of her solemn engagements. They limited themselves to a consideration of the posture of things as they then existed. At the same time, they observed that it could not be doubted that the United States were abundantly able to sustain themselves in any vicissitudes to which they might be exposed. The patriotism of the people had been, hitherto, equal to all emergencies, and if their courage and constancy, when they were young and comparatively weak, bore them safely through all past struggles, the hope might be confidently entertained now, when their numbers, their strength, and their resources, were greatly increased, that they would, whenever the occasion might arise, triumphantly maintain the honor, the rights, and the interests of their country. The committee concluded by recommending to the senate the adoption of the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, That it is inexpedient at this time to pass any law vesting in the

president authority for making reprisals upon French property, in the contingency of provision not being made for paying to the United States the indemnity stipulated by the treaty of 1831, during the present sessions of the French chambers."

On the 14th of January, Mr. Clay, pursuant to previous notice called for the consideration of the report of the committee on foreign relations, and its accompanying resolution. It being expected that he would address the senate, a large audience was in attendance, and, as soon as he was up, the other house was without a quorum. The question being upon agreeing to the resolution as reported, he spoke for nearly an hour, and his remarks were in the same moderate, magnanimous and truly American strain, which characterized his report.

Mr. King, of Georgia, one of the administration members of the committee on foreign relations, after bearing the strongest testimony to the candid and temperate character of Mr. Clay's report, moved to give the resolution such a modification as, without changing its substance, would obtain for it a unanimous vote. Mr. Clay accepted in part Mr. King's amendment, and also one that was offered by Mr. Webster; and the following resolution was at length UNANIMOUSLY PASSED by the senate.

"*Resolved*, That it is inexpedient at present to adopt any legislative measure in regard to the state of affairs between the United States and France."

The unanimous passage of this resolution, was a result as gratifying as it was unexpected; and its effect upon the French chambers, in neutralizing the harsh language of the president and hastening the execution of the treaty, was most auspicious. The praises of Congress and of the country, were liberally awarded to Mr. Clay, for his judicious and conclusive report in behalf of a pacific course.

The effect of the president's message recommending reprisals and conveying an imputation upon the good faith of Louis Philippe, was such as might have been anticipated. The French king was justly offended. The French minister was at once recalled from Washington, and a *chargé d'affaires* substituted. Passports were tendered to our minister at Paris. In consequence of these developments, Mr. Clay, on the last day of the session, made another and a briefer report from the committee on foreign rela-

tions, in which the committee expressed the opinion that the senate ought to adhere to the resolution, adopted the 14th of January, to await the result of another appeal to the French chambers; and, in the meantime, to intimate no ulterior purpose, but to hold itself in reserve for whatever exigencies might arise. The senate concurred in the advice of the committee, who were then discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

On the 4th of February, 1835, Mr. Clay made a brilliant and impressive speech in the senate, upon the subject of a memorial, which he presented from certain Indians of the Cherokee tribe. The memorial set forth, in eloquent and becoming terms, the condition of the tribe, their grievances and their wants. It seemed that of the remnant of this people then in Georgia, one portion were desirous of being aided to remove beyond the Mississippi, and the other wished to remain where they were, and to be removed from the rigid restrictions which the state of Georgia had imposed upon them. In his remarks, Mr. Clay eloquently alluded to the solemn treaties by which the possession of their lands had been secured to these Indians by our government. The faith of the United States had been pledged that they should continue unmolested in the enjoyment of their hunting-grounds. In defiance of these sacred stipulations, Georgia had claimed jurisdiction over the tribe—had parcelled out their lands, and disposed of them by lottery—degraded the Cherokees to the condition of serfs—denied them all the privileges of freedom, and rendered their condition infinitely worse than that of the African slave. It was the interest, as well as the pride of the master, to provide for the health and comfort of his slave; but what human being was there to care for these unfortunate Indians?

As Mr. Clay warmed in his remarks, and dwelt, more in sorrow than in anger, upon the wrongs and outrages perpetrated in Georgia upon the unoffending aborigines within her borders, many of his hearers were affected to tears, and he himself was obviously deeply moved. The occasion was rendered still more interesting by the presence of a Cherokee chief and a female of the tribe, who seemed to listen to the orator with a painfully eager attention. In conclusion, Mr. Clay submitted a resolution, directing the committee on the judiciary to inquire into the expediency

of making farther provision by law to enable Indian tribes, to whom lands had been secured by treaty, to defend and maintain their rights to such lands in the courts of the United States; also, a resolution directing the committee on Indian affairs to inquire into the expediency of setting apart a district of country, west of the Mississippi, for such of the Cherokee nation as were disposed to emigrate, and for securing in perpetuity their peaceful enjoyment thereof to themselves and their descendants.

The oppressed aboriginal tribes have always found in Mr. Clay a friend and a champion. Although coming from a state which, in consequence of the numerous Indian massacres of which it has been the theatre, has received the appellation of "the dark and bloody ground," he has never suffered any unphilosophical prejudice against the unfortunate red men, to blind his sense of justice or check the promptings of humanity. He has constantly been among the most active vindicators of their cause—the most efficient advocates of a liberal policy toward them.

To General Jackson's administration, we are indebted for the system which makes the offices of the federal government the rewards of political partisanship, and proscribes all incumbents who may entertain opinions at variance with those of the executive. The government of the United States disposes of an annual patronage of nearly forty millions of dollars. By the corrupt use of this immense fund, the Jackson dynasty sustained and perpetuated itself in spite of the people. Here was the secret of its strength. Commit what violence, outrage what principle, assail what interests he might, President Jackson threw himself back upon his patronage and found protection. The patronage of the press, the patronage of the postoffice, the patronage of the customhouse, with its salaries, commissions, and fees—the patronage of the land-office, with its opportunities of successful speculation—these formed the stronghold and citadel of corrupt power.

On the eighteenth of February, 1835, Mr. Clay addressed the senate in support of the bill for the abatement of executive patronage. His speech contains a striking exposition of the evils resulting from the selfish and despotic exercise, on the part of the chief magistrate, of the appointing and removing power; and

is pervaded by that truly democratic spirit which has characterized all the public acts of the author.

A bill making an appropriation for the Cumberland road, was discussed in the senate early in February. Mr. Clay spoke in favor of the appropriation, but adversely to the policy of surrendering the road to the states through which it runs.

XV.

PUBLIC LANDS—SPECIE CIRCULAR—EXPUNGING RESOLVE.

Our affairs with France, occupied a considerable portion of President Jackson's message to the 24th Congress at its first session. Mr. Clay was again placed at the head of the committee on foreign relations; and, on the 11th of January, 1836, he introduced a resolution to the senate, calling upon the president for information with regard to our affairs with France, and for the communication of certain overtures made by the French government. An additional resolution was presented by him two or three weeks afterward, calling for the communication of the expose which accompanied the French bill of indemnity of the 27th of April, 1835; and also, copies of certain notes which passed between the Duc de Broglie and our charge, Mr. Barton; together with those addressed by our minister, Mr. Livingston, to the French minister of foreign affairs, or to the secretary of state of the United States. These resolutions were adopted, with amendments.

On the 8th of February, 1836, a message from the president was received, announcing that the government of Great Britain had offered its mediation for the adjustment of the dispute between the United States and France. The message was referred to the committee on foreign affairs; and on the 22d of February, a correspondence between the secretary of state and Mr. Bankhead, on the subject of British mediation, was submitted. This gave occasion for some remarks from Mr. Clay, who said that he could not withhold the expression of his congratulation to the senate,

for the agency it had in pruducing the happy termination of our difficulties with France. If the senate had not, by its unanimous vote of last September, declared that it was inexpedient to adopt any legislative action upon the subject of our relations with France; if it had yielded to the recommendations of the executive in ordering reprisals against that power, it could not be doubted but that war would have existed at that moment in its most serious state.

Mr. Clay renewed his exertions in behalf of his land bill, during this session. On the 14th of April, it was taken up in the senate as the special order, and discussed nearly every day for a period of two weeks, during which he was frequently called upon to defend and explain its provisions. His speech of April 26, is remarkable for the vigor of its arguments and the force of its appeals. Of this effort, the National Intelligencer said: "We thought, after hearing the able and comprehensive arguments of Messrs. Ewing, Southard, and White, in favor of this beneficent measure, that the subject was exhausted; that, at any rate, but little new could be urged in its defence. Mr. Clay, however, in one of the most luminous and forcible arguments which we have ever heard him deliver, placed the subject in new lights, and gave to it new claims to favor. The whole train of his reasoning appeared to us a series of demonstrations."

The land bill, essentially the same as that vetoed by General Jackson, passed the senate the 4th of May, 1836, by a vote of twenty-five to twenty, and was sent to the house. But the influence of the executive was too potent here yet to admit of the passage of a measure which, though approved by the majority, was opposed by the president because of its having originated with Mr. Clay.

The question of the right of petition came before the senate early in the session. On the 11th of January, Mr. Buchanan presented a memorial from a religious society of friends in Pennsylvania, requesting Congress to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. He moved that the memorial should be read, and the prayer of the memorialists be rejected. Mr. Calhoun demanded that the question should be first taken whether the petition be received or not; and a debate, which was

prolonged at various intervals till the 9th of March, sprang up on this preliminary question. Before the question was taken, Mr. Clay briefly explained his views. On the subject of the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the district, he was inclined to think, and candor required the avowal. that the *right did exist;* though he should take a future opportunity of expressing his views in opposition to the expediency of the exercise of that power. He expressed his disapprobation of the motion to receive and immediately reject, made by the senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan). He thought that the right of petition required of the servants of the people to examine, deliberate, and decide, either to grant or refuse the prayer of a petition, giving the reasons for such decision; and that such was the best mode of putting an end to the agitation of the public on the subject.

The question "Shall the petition be received?" being taken, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 36; nays 10.

Mr. Clay then offered an amendment to Mr. Buchanan's motion to reject, in which amendment the principal reasons why the prayer of the memorialists could not be granted, are succinctly given. The amendment, not meeting the views of some of his southern friends, was subsequently withdrawn by Mr. Clay, who maintained, however, that he could not assent that Congress had no constitutional power to legislate on the prayer of the petition. The subject was at length laid on the table by a vote of twenty-four to twenty; but the friends of the *sacred, unqualified right of petition*, should not forget that Mr. Clay has ever upheld their cause with his best energies and his warmest zeal.

A report from the secretary of the treasury, showing the condition of the deposite banks, came before the senate for consideration, the 17th of March, 1836. Mr. Clay forcibly depicted, on this occasion, the total insecurity of the vast public treasure in the keeping of these banks. What was then prophecy became history soon afterward. "Suppose," said he, "a great deficiency of southern crops, or any other crisis creating a necessity for the exportation of specie to Europe, instead of the ordinary shipments. *These banks would be compelled to call in their issues. This would compel other banks to call in, in like manner, and a panic and general want of confidence would ensue.* Then what

would become of the public money ?" It is unnecessary to point to the fulfilment of these predictions. Soon after the deposites were removed to the pet banks, they became the basis of vast land speculations, into which all who could obtain a share of the government money, plunged at once heels over head ; postmasters, custom-house officers, navy agents, pet-bank directors, cashiers and presidents, district attorneys, government printers, secretaries of state, postmasters-general, attorneys-general, president's secretaries, and all the innumerable stipendiaries of the administration. It was this wild speculation, fostered and conducted by the facilities of the deposite banks, that filled the treasury with unavailable funds. The experiment terminated, as Mr. Clay prophesied it would terminate, in universal bankruptcy.

On the 8th of June, Mr. Clay, from the committee on foreign relations, introduced a report with a resolution, for recognising the independence of Texas whenever satisfactory information should be received that it had a civil government in successful operation. Mr. Preston expressed a hope that the executive was by that time in possession of such information as would enable the senate to adopt stronger measures than that recommended by the committee ; and he submitted a resolution calling on the president for such information. Mr. Clay wished that the resolution might be taken up and acted on, as he would be extremely glad to receive information that would authorize stronger measures in favor of Texas. The report of the committee was concurred in ; and Mr. Preston's resolution was adopted. The result of the call upon the president, and of the discussion that ensued, was the unanimous adoption, by the senate, on the 1st of July, of the resolution reported by Mr. Clay with an amendment by Mr. Preston, adding a clause expressing the satisfaction of the senate at the president's having taken measures for obtaining accurate information as to the civil, military, and political condition of Texas. Similar resolutions passed the house July 4th

Mr. Clay spoke on a variety of questions in addition to those we have alluded to, during the session of 1834–'35 ; on the motion to admit the senators from Michigan on the floor, and the recognition of that clause in the constitution of Michigan, which he conceived to give to aliens the right to vote ; on the resolution

of Mr. Calhoun to inquire into the expediency of such a reduction of duties as would not affect the manufacturing interest; on the fortification bill, &c. Congress adjourned the 4th of July, 1836.

On his return to Kentucky, a dinner was given to Mr. Clay by his fellow-citizens of Woodford county. During his absence from home, he had experienced heavy afflictions in the death of a beloved daughter and of his only sister. On rising to speak, he was so overcome by the recollection of these losses, added to an allusion which had been made to the remains of his mother being buried in Woodford, that he was obliged to resume his seat. He soon rallied, however, and addressed the company for about two hours, in an animated and powerful strain. He reviewed the recent acts of the administration—their constant tampering with the currency—the treasury order, directing that all payments for lands should be made in specie—the injustice practised toward the Indian tribes—and the disgracefully protracted Seminole war. In conclusion, Mr. Clay alluded to his intended retirement from the senate of the United States—an intention which, at that time, he fondly cherished.

So fixed was his wish to withdraw from public life, that he had, at one period, in 1836, made up his mind to resign. It is certain, that he looked forward with confidence to declining a re-election; and he expressed a hope at the Woodford dinner that the state would turn its attention to some other citizen.

In the autumn of 1836, Mr. Clay narrowly escaped a violent death. He was riding on horseback in one of his fields, surveying his cattle, when a furious bull, maddened from some cause or other, rushed toward him, and plunging his horns with tremendous force into the horse on which Mr. Clay was seated, killed the poor animal on the spot. The distinguished rider was thrown to the distance of several feet from his horse, but, though somewhat hurt by the fall, escaped without material injury.

We have already given an exposition of Mr. Clay's views in behalf of colonization. In 1836, he was unanimously elected president of the American Colonization Society, in the room of the illustrious ex-president Madison, deceased. He accepted the appointment.

During the winter of 1836, Mr. Clay was re-elected a senator

from Kentucky for six years from the ensuing 4th of March. The vote stood; for Henry Clay, 76; for James Guthrie, the administration candidate, 54. Eight members were absent, four of whom, it is said, would have voted for Mr. Clay.

The state of the republic, toward the termination of General Jackson's second presidential term, is yet vividly in the recollection of all our citizens. He had found the country, in 1829, in a condition of unexampled prosperity. The government was administered with economy strictly republican. Congress was the dominant power in the land. Commerce, manufactures, agriculture, flourished. The banking system was in a state of remarkable soundness. There was no disposition to multiply local banks. There was neither temptation nor ability for these banks to expand their issues. The failure of a bank was an occurrence as unusual as an earthquake. Labor was sure of employment, and sure of its reward. There were few brokers, usurers, and money-lenders, by profession. There were no speculators by profession. There were no immense operations in fancy stocks and land schemes. There was but one way of growing rich—hard labor—assiduous industry—early rising—late retiring—and anxious, devoted, and persevering attention to business. Our habits, as a people, were simple and democratic. Our FOREIGN CREDIT WAS WITHOUT A STAIN. The debts which we contracted abroad were such as we could pay—and paid they were, with scrupulous and honorable punctuality. OUR CURRENCY WAS, WITHOUT EXCEPTION, THE MOST PERFECT ON THE FACE OF THE GLOBE. No man ever lost a cent by it. It was abundant, safe, and well accredited in every part of the world. All pecuniary operations of trade and commerce were conducted with the most wonderful facility and regularity. Gold and silver were in free circulation, and there was, at all times, an abundant supply of the smaller coins. Millions on millions of exchanges were negotiated in every quarter of the country, and at an average rate of one half of one per cent.—a charge merely nominal in comparison with the subsequent rates. The whole machinery of society, government, trade, and currency, was in a state as nearly approaching perfection as human wisdom and ingenuity could compass.

Such was the condition of the republic in 1829. Then the destroyer came—and all was blasted. For eight years he managed the affairs of the country in his own way; and HIS WILL WAS THE LAW OF THE LAND.

During those eight years, what a change came over our affairs! The whole machinery of currency, trade, and government, was deranged. The land was flooded with three or four hundred millions of irredeemable paper. The smaller coins disappeared. Specie payments were universally suspended; and gold and silver were no more a currency than amethysts and diamonds. In trade, everything ran into speculation. Banks sprang up like mushrooms on every side. Any two men who could write their names so as to sign and endorse a piece of paper, were enabled to procure "facilities," which generally turned out to be facilities for their own destruction. Brokers, usurers, money-lenders, speculators, multiplied till their name was legion. Everything was unnaturally distended, until, at length, trade came to a dead stand. No one wanted to buy, and everybody was afraid to sell. There was an utter stagnation, paralysis, extinction, of business. Thousands on thousands declared themselves individually bankrupt. As a nation, we were notoriously and miserably bankrupt—and we had hardly foreign credit enough to make it either safe or decent for any American to cross the Atlantic.

In government, a revolution no less pernicious was accomplished. Congress became a mere stepping-stone to lucrative appointments, and the session was merely a convenient *reunion* of its members for the better arrangement of their land speculations, and the more convenient distribution of the government deposites among the most accommodating banks. The heart of our government was rotten to the core—and, like our currency and our trade, it presented but a miserable contrast to the condition of 1829. And all these revolutions were brought about by the uncontrolled ascendency of Jacksonism, and by no other agency under heaven!

Notwithstanding these deplorable issues, the end was not yet. The Jackson dynasty was to be perpetuated still another term in the hands of him who was proud to follow in the footsteps of his "illustrious predecessor." The presidential election of 1836,

terminated in the choice of Martin Van Buren. But we are anticipating matters. We have yet the short session of Congress of 1836–'37 to review, before we take leave of the "Hero of New Orleans."

The administration had now a majority in the senate. That noble phalanx of whigs, who had so undauntedly withstood the usurpations of the executive, could now only operate as a minority. One of the first acts of Mr. Clay, was to reintroduce his land bill. On the 19th of December, in pursuance of previous notice, he presented it with modifications suited to the changes in public affairs. It was read twice, and referred to the committee on public lands, at the head of which was Mr. Walker of Mississippi, who, on the 3d of January, gave notice that he was instructed by the committee to move for the *indefinite postponement* of the bill, when it should come up for consideration. Some days afterward, Mr. Walker introduced his bill to limit the sales of the public lands, except to actual settlers, and in limited quantities; and on the 9th of February, 1837, Mr. Calhoun's extraordinary bill, nominally *selling*, but in reality *giving* to the new states *all the public domain*, came before the senate.

Mr. Clay took ground at once against this scheme. He said that four or five years before, contrary to his earnest desire, this subject of the public lands was forced upon him, and he had, with great labor, devised a plan fraught with equity to all the states. It received the votes of a majority of both houses, and was rejected by the president. He had always considered the public domain a sacred trust for the country and for posterity. He was opposed to any measure giving away this property for the benefit of speculators; and he was therefore opposed to this bill, as well as to the other (Mr. Walker's) before the senate. He had hitherto labored in vain — but he should continue to oppose all these schemes for robbing the old states of their rightful possessions. He besought the senate to abstain from these appeals to the cupidity of the new states from party inducements; and he appealed to the senator from South Carolina whether, if he offered them higher and better boons than the party in power, he did not risk the imputation of being actuated by such induce ments.

Fortunately for the country, the rash project of Mr Calhoun did not reach the maturity of a third reading.

On the 25th of February, the bill from the committee on finance, to alter and amend the several acts imposing duties on imports, being before the senate, Mr. Clay spoke against the measure at some length. His principal objection arose from what he conceived to be the interference of some of the provisions of the bill with the compromise act of 1833. In the course of his remarks, he gave an interesting account of his own connection with that important measure.

He then went on to draw a striking parallel between the compromise act of 1833 as to the protective system, and that other compromise act which settled the much-agitated Missouri question, and by which the latitude of 36 degrees 30 minutes, was established as the extreme boundary for the existence of slavery in that state. Had not Congress a right to repeal that law? But what would those southern gentlemen, who now so strenuously urged a violation of our implied faith in regard to the act of 1833, say if a measure like that should be attempted?

Mr. Clay concluded with a motion to re-commit the bill for the reduction of duties to the committee on finance, with instructions to strike out all those articles comprised in the bill, which then paid a duty of 20 per cent. and upward, embraced in the compromise act. The motion was lost—25 nays to 24 yeas; and the bill was the same day passed by a vote 27 to 18.

Early in the session, Mr. Ewing had introduced a joint resolution rescinding the treasury order by which all payments for public lands were to be made in specie. On the 11th of January, Mr. Clay addressed the senate in a speech replete with arguments and facts in support of the resolution, and in opposition to an amendment, which had been offered by Mr. Rives. The resolution was referred to the committee on public lands, who instructed their chairman to lay it on the table when it should come up. On the 18th of January, a bill rescinding the specie circular was reported by Mr. Walker. It subsequently passed the senate, with some slight amendments, by a vote of 41 to 5; and he received the sanction of the other house; but notwithstanding this fact, and the additional well-known fact, that

the order had been originally promulgated in defiance of the opinion of Congress and the wishes of the people, the bill, "instead of being returned to the house in which it originated, according to the requirement of the constitution, was sent to one of the pigeon-holes of the department of state, to be filed away with an opinion of a convenient attorney-general, always ready to prepare one in support of executive encroachment."

Mr. Van Buren manifested the same contempt for the will of the people, expressed by Congress, as had been shown by his "illustrious predecessor," and refused to interfere until the specie circular repealed itself in the catastrophe of a universal suspension.

On the 12th of January, a resolution, offered by Mr. Benton to *expunge* from the journals of the senate for 1833–'34, Mr. Clay's resolution censuring President Jackson for his unauthorized removal of the public deposites, came before the senate for consideration; and on the 16th Mr. Clay discussed the question at considerable length. His speech was in a strain of mingled sarcasm and indignant invective, which made the subservient majority writhe under its scorching power. Never was a measure placed in a more contemptible light than was the *expunging* proposal by Mr. Clay. Those who heard him, can never forget the look and tone, varying from an expression of majestic scorn to one of good-humored satire, with which he gave utterance to the following eloquent passages:—

"What patriotic purpose is to be accomplished by this expunging resolution? Can you make that not to be which has been? Can you eradicate from memory and from history the fact that in March, 1834, a majority of the senate of the United States passed a resolution which excites your enmity? Is it your vain and wicked object to arrogate to yourself the power of annihilating the past which has been denied to Omnipotence itself? Do you intend to thrust your hands into our hearts, and pluck out the deeply rooted convictions which are there? Or is it your design merely to stigmatize us? You cannot stigmatize us:—

"'Ne'er yet did base dishonor blur our name.'

"Standing securely upon our conscious rectitude, and bearing aloft the shield of the constitution of our country, your puny efforts are impotent, and we defy all your power. Put the majority of 1834 in one scale, and that by which this expunging resolution is to be carried in the other, and let truth and justice, in heaven above, and on earth below, and liberty and patriotism, decide the preponderance.

"What patriotic purpose is to be accomplished by this expunging resolu-

tion? Is it to appease the wrath and to heal the wounded pride of the chief magistrate? If he be really the hero that his friends represent him, he must despise all mean condescension, all grovelling sycophancy, all self degradation, and self-abasement. He would reject, with scorn and contempt, as unworthy of his fame, your black scratches, and your baby lines in the fair records of his country."

This expunging resolution was passed; but no one will envy the immortality to which the "knights of the black lines" have been consigned.

Mr. Clay addressed the senate upon several other important questions during the session of 1836–'37. Among them were that upon the fortification bill, which were returned to the senate after the house had insisted on the clause for a second distribution of the surplus revenue; and the resolution from the committee on foreign relations, on the subject of our affairs with Mexico.

XVI.

THE SUB-TREASURY—NORTHERN TOUR.

Mr. Clay had uniformly discouraged the attempts of his friends to induce him to become a candidate for the presidency in the campaign of 1836. He saw the unhappy diversity in the ranks of the opposition; and he saw, perhaps, the inevitable ability of the Jackson dynasty to perpetuate itself in the elevation of Mr. Van Buren. So potent had the executive become, through usurpation and the abuse of patronage!

On the 8th of February, that being the day appointed by statute for opening the electoral returns for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States, the result was proclaimed in the presence of both houses of Congress. The following was ascertained to be the state of the vote:—

For President.		*Vice-President.*	
Van Buren	170	Johnson	147
Harrison	73	Granger	77
White	26	Tyler	47
Webster	14	Smith	23
Mangum	11		
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It was then declared that it appeared that Martin Van Buren had been duly elected president of the United States, for four years from the 4th of March, 1837; and that no person had a majority of all the votes for the vice-presidency, and that Mr. Johnson and Mr. Granger had the largest number of votes of all the candidates. Mr. Johnson was afterward duly chosen.

It had been hoped by many that under Mr. Van Buren a less destructive policy would be adopted than that which had signalized the *reign* of the "hero of New Orleans." For the last eight years the country had been governed by executive edicts. Congress had always been disposed to do right, but it had been thwarted by a domineering and usurping executive. The will of the people, constitutionally avowed, had been constantly defeated by the imperious and impetuous objections of *one* fallible and passionate old man.

Congress passed Mr. Clay's land bill; but the executive destroyed it.

Congress said that the deposites were safe in the Bank of the United States; the executive removed them.

Congress refused to issue a specie circular; it was issued by the executive.

Congress rescinded the specie circular; and the executive defeated that rescission.

Now the doctrine of Thomas Jefferson, as adopted and always acted upon by Henry Clay, is, that THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY HONESTLY EXPRESSED, SHALL GIVE LAW. But Congress had no influence in the government during the pernicious ascendency of Jacksonism. It came together to pass appropriation bills, and register the decrees of the chief magistrate. The noble majority in the senate, for a while, prevented much mischief, but they could originate and prosecute no settled policy, in consequence of the administration majority in the other branch. We lived literally under executive legislation. Where the president could not vote, he could do some act of violence, and compel Congress either to leave the country without law, or to adapt its legislation to the existing exigencies. Thus he could not prevail on Congress to remove the deposites—but when they were removed, to "furnish an instrument of power to himself and of plunder to his

partisans"—Congress was compelled either to leave them without law, or to pass laws for the regulation of the new depositories.

The hopes that had been entertained of a reform under Mr. Van Buren had proved fallacious; but his attempt to march in the "seven-leagued boots" of his predecessor speedily resulted in a ridiculous failure. He was tripped up at the very start.

The disastrous condition in which the country was left by the "hero of New Orleans," whose "humble efforts" to improve the currency had resulted in the universal prostration of business, and a suspension of specie payments, called upon his successor in the presidential chair for some immediate measure of relief. On the 15th of May, 1837, Mr. Van Buren issued his proclamation ordering an extraordinary session of Congress, to commence the first Monday in September. In accordance with that proclamation, both houses of Congress met at the capitol on the day appointed; and the message recommending the SUB-TREASURY SYSTEM for the deposite, transfer, and disbursement of the public revenue, was transmitted by the president. The consequence was an instantaneous loss of his majority in the house of representatives.

In the election of speaker, at the commencement of the extra session, 224 members voted, making 113 necessary to a choice. Mr. Polk received 116 votes, and was elected. Then came the sub-treasury message, and the vote on the election of printer indicated a sudden disaffection in the ranks, and a general breaking up of the administration party. On the twelfth and final balloting, Thomas Allen, editor of the Madisonian, was elected over the Van Buren candidates, Blair and Rives. A decided majority of the house had been elected as friends of Mr. Van Buren: but so alarming seemed his sub-treasury plan, which was, in other words, a scheme for placing the public purse under the control of the president, that he was defeated in the very first party vote after the election of speaker.

The leading topic of the session was of course the new sub treasury project; and it was discussed in the senate with grea. ability on both sides. By this bill, the treasury of the United States, the treasures of the mint and its branches, collectors, receivers, postmasters, and other office-holders, were commissioned

to receive in specie, and keep, subject to the draft of the proper department, all public moneys, coming into their hands, instead of depositing them, as heretofore, in banks. Among the earliest and most prominent advocates of this measure was Mr. Calhoun, who suddenly found himself one of the leaders of a party, which for the last five or six years he had been denouncing as the most corrupt that had ever cursed a country.

The bill was taken up in the senate, the 20th of September; and on the 25th, Mr. Clay spoke in opposition to this audacious and anti-republican scheme. In this admirable speech he went at length into an examination of the causes that had led to the existing disastrous state of public affairs. To the financial experiments of General Jackson, he traced back unerringly the consequent inflation of the currency—the wild speculations, which had risen to their height when they began to be checked by the preparations of the local banks, necessary to meet the deposite law of June, 1836—the final suspension of specie payments—and all the disorders in the currency, commerce, and general business of the country, that ensued. He then gave his objections to the scheme before the senate. It proposed one currency for the government and another for the people. As well might it be attempted to make the government breathe a different air, be lit and warmed by a different sun, from the people! A hard-money government, and a paper-money people! A government, an official corps—the servants of the people—glittering in gold, and the people themselves—their masters—buried in ruin, and surrounded by rags! By the proposed substitution of an exclusive metallic currency for the mixed medium, all property would be reduced in value to one third of its present nominal amount; and every debtor would in effect have to pay three times as much as he had contracted for. Then there was the security of the system—the liability to favoritism in the fiscal negotiations—the fearful increase of executive patronage—the absolute and complete union of the purse and the sword in the hands of the president! All these objections were most powerfully elucidated and enforced by Mr. Clay.

He then proceeded to declare what he believed to be the only efficient measure for restoring a sound and uniform currency,

which was a United States bank, established under such restrictions, as the lights of recent experience might suggest. "But," said Mr. Clay, "if a national bank be established, its stability and its utility will depend upon the general conviction which is felt of its necessity. *And until such a conviction is deeply impressed upon the people, and clearly manifested by them, it would, in my judgment, be unwise even to propose a bank.*"

On the 4th of October, the sub-treasury bill, after undergoing various amendments, was read a third time and passed by the senate by a vote of 25 to 20. It was taken up in the house on the 10th of October, and, on the 14th, *laid on the table* by a vote of 120 to 107.

The defeat of this measure, in the teeth of the executive recommendation, in spite of executive blandishment and terrors—the triumph of the majority without doors over the majority within, and of both over patronage and power—revived the dying hopes of the patriot, and infused new life into our constitution. The sceptre of misrule had crumbled. The dynasty, which for nearly nine years had misruled the country, received, on that occasion, its immedicable wound.

A resolution, reported by Mr. Wright from the committee on finance, in relation to the petitions for a national bank, was called up in the senate, the 26th of September. The resolution declared that the prayer of the memorialists ought not to be granted. In his remarks upon this subject, Mr. Clay alluded to the case in which Mr. Randolph moved, in the house of representatives, a similiar negative resolution—"That it is inexpedient to declare war against Great Britain." Mr. Clay said, that if Mr. W. persisted in his resolution, he should move to strike out all after the word *Resolved*, and substitute: "That it will be expedient to establish a bank of the United States *whenever it shall be manifest that a clear majority of the people of the United States desire such an institution.*" The motion was subsequently made and lost; and Mr. Wright's resolution was adopted. The party then in power seem to have had but little reverence for the wishes of a "clear majority of the people of the United States."

The extra-session lasted six weeks—Congress adjourning on the morning of the 16th of October. The measure, on which

the hopes and fate of the administration were staked, had been defeated.

The sub-treasury project came again before the 25th Congress at their second session. The 19th of February, 1838, Mr. Clay once more addressed the senate in opposition to the measure. This speech is one of the longest and ablest ever delivered by him. At the commencement, he stated certain propositions, which he would proceed to demonstrate. He contended—

1st. That it was the deliberate purpose and fixed design of the late Administration to establish a government—a treasury bank—to be administered and controlled by the executive department.

2d. That, with that view, and to that end, it was its aim and intention to overthrow the whole banking system, as existing in the United States when the administration came into power, beginning with the bank of the United States, and ending with the state banks.

3d. That the attack was first confined, from considerations of policy, to the bank of the United States; but that, after its overthrow was accomplished, it was then directed, and had since been continued, against the state banks.

4th. That the present administration, by its acknowledgments, emanating from the highest and most authentic source, had succeeded to the principles, plans and policy of the preceding administration, and stood solemnly pledged to complete and perfect them. And,

5th. That the bill under consideration was intended to execute the pledge, by establishing, upon the ruins of the late bank of the United States, and the state banks, a government bank, to be managed and controlled by the treasury department, acting under the commands of the president of the United States.

The manner in which Mr. Clay proceeded to sustain these charges against the administration, was extremely impressive. That he made out his case satisfactorily to the people, subsequent events fully demonstrated.

Mr. Clay appears to have addressed the senate on every question of moment that claimed its attention during the session of 1837–'38; on the reception of petitions for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia—the bill to restrain the issuing of small notes in the district—the disturbances on the northern frontier, and the attack on the Caroline, an act which he denounced in the most unmeasured terms—the bill to grant preemption rights to settlers on the public lands—the bill to establish the Oregon territory—in favor of the bill to prohibit the giving or accepting a challenge to fight a duel in the district of Columbia—against the bill providing for the graduation and re-

duction of the price of the public lands—and on many other subjects of hardly inferior interest.

A joint resolution, offered by him on the 30th of April, providing for the reception of the notes of sound banks in the collection of the revenue, was adopted by the senate, with some amendments, the 29th of May. It was in effect a repeal of the pecie circular.

In the course of the session, Mr. Clay took occasion, in presenting a petition for the establishment of a United States bank, to make known his own views in regard to such an institution. Some of the conditions and restrictions under which it seemed to him suitable to establish such a bank, were briefly given in the following sketch:—

1. The capital not to be extravagantly large, but, at the same time, amply sufficient to enable it to perform the needful financial duties for the government; to supply a general currency of uniform value throughout the Union; and to facilitate, as nigh as practicable, the equalization of domestic exchange. He supposed that about fifty millions would answer all those purposes. The stock might be divided between the general government, the states, according to their federal population, and individual subscribers; the portion assigned to the latter to be distributed at auction or by private subscription.

2. The corporation to receive such an organization as to blend, in fair proportions, public and private control, and combining public and private interests; and, in order to exclude the possibility of the exercise of any foreign influence, non-resident foreigners to be prohibited not only from any share in the administration of the corporation, but from holding, directly or indirectly, any portion of its stock. The bank would thus be in its origin, and continue throughout its whole existence, a genuine American institution.

3. An adequate portion of the capital to be set apart in productive stocks, and placed in permanent security, beyond the reach of the corporation (with the exception of the accruing profits on those stocks) sufficient to pay promptly, in any contingency, the amount of all such paper, under whatever form, that the bank shall put forth as a part of the general circulation. The bill or note holders, in other words, the mass of the community, ought to be protected against the possibility of the failure or the suspension of the bank. The supply of the circulating medium of a country is that faculty of a bank, the propriety of the exercise of which may be most controverted. The dealings with a bank of those who obtain discounts, or make deposites, are voluntary and mutually advantageous; and they are comparatively few in number. But the reception of what is issued and used as a part of the circulating medium of the country, is scarcely a voluntary act; and thousands take it who have no other concern whatever with the bank. The *many* ought to be guarded and secured by the care of the legislative authority; the vigilance of the *few* will secure themselves against loss.

4. Perfect publicity as to the state of the bank at all times, including, besides the usual heads of information, the names of every debtor to the bank,

whether as drawer, endorser, or surety, periodically exhibited, and open to public inspection; or, if that should be found inconvenient, the right to be secured to any citizen to ascertain at the bank the nature and extent of the responsibility of any of its customers. There is no necessity to throw any veil of secresy around the ordinary transactions of a bank. Publicity will increase responsibility, repress favoritism, insure the negotiation of good paper, and, when individual insolvency unfortunately occurs, will deprive the bank of undue advantages now enjoyed by banks practically in the distribution of the effects of the insolvent.

5. A limitation of the dividends so as not to authorize more than — per cent. to be struck. This will check undue expansions in the medium, and restrain improper extension of business in the administration of the bank.

6. A prospective reduction in the rate of interest, so as to restrict the bank to six per cent. simply, or, if practicable, to only five per cent. The reduction may be effected by forbearing to exact any bonus, or, when the profits are likely to exceed the prescribed limit of the dividends, by requiring the rates of interest shall be so lowered as that they shall not pass that limit.

7. A restriction upon the premium demanded upon post-notes and checks used for remittances, so that the maximum should not be more than, say one and a half per cent. between any two of the remotest points in the Union. Although it may not be practicable to regulate foreign exchange, depending as it does upon commercial causes not within the control of any one government, it is otherwise with regard to domestic exchange.

8. Every practicable provision against the exercise of improper influence, on the part of the executive, upon the bank, and, on the part of the bank, upon the elections of the country. The people entertain a just jealousy against the danger of any interference of a bank with the elections of a country, and every precaution ought to be taken strictly to guard against it.

This was a brief outline of such a bank as Mr. Clay thought would, if established, conduce greatly to the prosperity of the country. Its wise and provident restrictions would seem to preclude all those popular objections which generally apply to banks. With regard to the constitutionality of a national bank, Mr. Clay said that forty years of acquiescence by the people—the maintenance of the power by Washington, the father of his country; by Madison, the father of the constitution; and by Marshall, the father of the judiciary, ought to be precedents sufficient in its favor.

The abolition question was agitated in the senate during the last session of the 25th Congress. Mr. Clay had been urged by many of his friends to refrain from speaking on the subject. It was represented to him as impolitic, superfluous, and likely to interfere with his presidential prospects. Such arguments could have no weight with him.

His whole course upon this perilous question, has been that of

the honest, upright, practical, and consistent statesman, the true philanthropist, the sagacious and devoted patriot. When Mr. Calhoun introduced, in the session of 1835–'36, his bill to give postmasters and their deputies a power of inspection and *espionage* over the mails—the bill which was passed to its third reading by the casting vote of Martin Van Buren—it met with the prompt and decided condemnation of Mr. Clay. No man has more vigilantly watched the sacred right of petition than Mr. Clay. He has condemned, on all occasions, the refusal of the senate to receive petitions. His speech of February, 1839, yields to the abolitionists all that they have a right to demand, and is at the same time so liberal in its doctrines, as to disarm the ultraism of southern hostility. Mr. Calhoun himself was compelled to admit his acquiescence in the soundness of its doctrines, and the security which their adoption would promise to the Union. The enemies of Mr. Clay denounced this movement on the abolition question as an effort to achieve popularity. They reasoned from the inevitable result, to an unworthy inducement. To impute unworthy motives to Mr. Clay because of such a result, was to impeach the purity of all public action, and to confine the statesman, who would preserve his political reputation, to the advocacy of unwise and unpopular measures. Popularity *did* follow the promulgation of such sentiments as are contained in the speech of Mr. Clay—the popularity which all good men desire—the popularity of which all great men may be proud—the popularity based upon gratitude for distinguished service, admiration for commanding eloquence, and the eternal sympathies of the PEOPLE with the PATRIOT.

In the summer of 1839, Mr. Clay visited Buffalo, and passing into Canada, made an excursion to Montreal and Quebec. Returning, he visited the city of New York. He had the previous summer been invited, at an enthusiastic meeting of his friends at Masonic hall, to visit the city, but had then been unable to comply with their invitation. His reception, at the period to which we now refer, was one of the most brilliant ever extended to a public man. Early in the afternoon, he was landed at the foot of Hammond street, Greenwich, from the steamboat *James Madison*, attended by a large number of citizens. An immense multi-

tude was assembled to greet his arrival, and, as he stepped on the wharf, the air was rent with acclamations from a myriad of voices. The day was most propitious. At Greenwich, a procession was formed, headed by marshals, after whom came a numerous cavalcade. A band of music preceded the open barouche of Mr. Clay, and a vast concourse of citizens followed in carriages. Everything in the city, in the shape of a four-wheeled vehicle, was in attendance, and tens of thousands of citizens followed on foot. When the head of the procession reached the Astor house, the rear had not yet formed in line. Through the whole extent from the point of landing, through Hudson street, up Fourteenth street to Union place, and down Broadway to the park, a distance of nearly four miles, it was at one and the same time a dense moving mass of horsemen, carriages, carmen, and citizens. Every window on either side of the way was occupied, and acclamations from every house, and the waving of handkerchiefs, and cordial salutations, greeted the illustrious statesman as he passed. At Constitution hall, at Masonic hall, and at every place of public resort and amusement, flags were displayed, and bands of music were stationed to hail his approach.

As he reached the park, the tens of thousands who thronged the grounds, the windows, and roofs of the surrounding edifices, the adjacent streets, and the large open space at the junction of Chatham street and Broadway, thundered out the mighty welcome of a grateful people to the gallant, generous, warm-hearted, and noble-minded citizen, whose life had been devoted to their service.

The reception was purely a civic one. It was not a *got-up*, official pageant, where the populace exhibit their gratitude by an invitation of the common council, and display a certain amount of enthusiasm duly provided for by the resolves and ordinances of the corporation. It was the voluntary, unbought, unbidden, movement of the people, to greet the arrival among them of one, who had ever been eminently the MAN OF THE PEOPLE.

XVII.

THE HARRISBURG CONVENTION

As the period of another presidential election drew near, that vast portion of the democracy of the land, opposed to the administration of Mr. Van Buren, began to turn their eyes toward the most able, renowned and consistent of their leaders, Henry Clay, as a fitting candidate for the chief magistracy of the United States. The champion of the people, their interests, and their honor, during the last war—the preserver of the Union on two momentous occasions, when it was threatened with dissolution and civil war; the founder and vigilant protector of the American system; the friend of internal improvements; the intelligent advocate of a sound, uniform, republican currency, and of a judicious tariff; the experienced statesman, who, at Ghent, and in the department of state, had displayed the highest order of talents in the service of his country; the active foe of executive usurpation; the chivalrous defender of the constitution and the laws, who, in his public career, had ever manifested his obedience to the principle that THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, faithfully expressed, should give law; the vindicator of human liberty throughout the world—WHO could present claims so numerous, so powerful, so overwhelming, upon the gratitude, confidence, and suffrages of the people of the United States?

The fact of his having been in two instances an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency, was the only objection worthy of notice, which was brought forward by those who, while they professed to admit his claims, and to accord with him in his political creed, were doubtful of the *expediency* of his nomination. But what were the facts in regard to those two instances? In the election of 1824, he failed in being elected by the primary colleges, in company with John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, and William H. Crawford. So that the argument in this case would have been as valid against any one of these candidates as it can be against Mr. Clay. He was excluded from being one of the three highest candidates, who were returned to the house

on this occasion, by being *unfairly deprived of electoral votes in New York and Louisiana.* It was, moreover, well known that, if the election were carried to the house, Mr. Clay would, as the natural result of his great popularity, be elected. The friends of all the other candidates, consequently, had a united interest in excluding him.

With regard to the contest of 1832, the re-election of General Jackson at that time could not be construed into an indication of popular feeling toward Mr. Clay. The "hero of New-Orleans," had, during his first term, just entered upon his novel experiments in the currency; and a great part of the people were disposed to give them a fair trial, and afford him an opportunity to carry out the policy he had commenced. The patronage of the executive was directed, to an extent wholly unparalleled, toward the continuance of the sceptre in his hands. Nullification had begun to show its menacing face, and there were many, even among those who were hostile to the general policy of the administration, and friendly to Mr. Clay, who yet unwisely thought that strenuous measures toward South Carolina would be required, and that the Union would be safest under the direction of a military chief magistrate.

In addition to these circumstances, the party opposed to General Jackson was distracted by anti-masonry, which presented an excellent and popular candidate for president in William Wirt.

These two elections are all in which Mr. Clay has been a candidate for the presidency, and in neither did he have a fair field. He had been nearly twenty times a candidate for the suffrages of the people, and only on these two occasions defeated. Mr. Van Buren, with a clear field and the whole patronage of the government in his own hands, failed in the election of 1840.

The democratic whig convention for the nomination of a presidential candidate, met at Harrisburgh, on the 4th of December, 1839. A decided plurality of the delegates who attended, were in favor of the nomination of Mr. Clay, but a larger number were divided in their preferences between General William Henry Harrison, who had been the candidate of the northern whigs in the previous canvass, and General Winfield Scott, whose name was now for the first time presented. Yet all, or nearly all,

fully admitted Mr. Clay's pre-eminent fitness and worth; they opposed his nomination avowedly on the ground that he could not probably be elected, while another could be. Very many of these bitterly regretted, after the country had fallen into the hands of John Tyler, that they had not taken the risk, if risk there were, of nominating the great Kentuckian.

The convention was organized on the 5th December, by the appointment of Hon. James Barbour as president, with thirteen vice-presidents and four secretaries. A committee of one from each state represented, was appointed to collect the votes of the several delegations and report the nomination of a candidate, and, after a session of nearly two days, it reported in favor of William Henry Harrison. The friends of Mr. Clay—those who had adhered to him to the last—disappointed as they were in this unlooked-for result, were too well aware of the generous sentiments of their candidate, not to acquiesce in it cheerfully and with a good grace. At the meeting of the convention, on the 9th of December, Mr. Banks of Kentucky was the first to rise and announce the hearty concurrence of the delegation from that state in the nomination indicated by the informal ballot announced by the committee. Mr. Preston, from the same state, followed in the same strain, and asked that a letter from Mr. Clay, which had for several days been in possession of a delegate, but which had not been shown, lest it should seem intended to be used to excite sympthy for Mr. Clay, should now be read. Permission being unanimously given, the letter was read by General Leslie Combs of Kentucky.

In this letter Mr. Clay says: "With a just and proper sense of the high honor of being voluntarily called to the office of president of the United States by a great, free, and enlightened people, and profoundly grateful to those of my fellow-citizens who are desirous to see me placed in that exalted and responsible station, I must nevertheless say in entire truth and sincerity, that if the deliberations of the convention shall lead them to the choice of another as the candidate of the opposition, *far from feeling any discontent, the nomination will have my best wishes and receive my cordial support.*" He then calls upon his friends from Kentucky, discarding all attachments or partiality for himself, and guided

solely by the motive of rescuing our country from the dangers which environed it, to heartily unite in the selection of that citizen, although it should not be Henry Clay, who might appear the most likely by his election to bring about a salutary change in the administration.

The reading of this letter excited great emotion in the convention. It was the saying of a patriot of antiquity, that he would rather have it asked by posterity why a monument was *not* erected to him than why it was. A similar spirit would seem to actuate Mr. Clay; for never has he been known to manifest any personal disappointment at the failure or betrayal of his presidential prospects.

Governor Barbour, of Virginia, after expressing his concurrence in the will of the convention, said he had known Mr. Clay for thirty years, and had been intimately associated with him in public and private life, and that a more devoted patriot or purer statesman never breathed. In the course of that thirty years he had never heard him utter one sentiment unworthy this character. There was no place in his heart for one petty or selfish emotion.

Benjamin Watkins Leigh anticipated the concurrence of Virginia in the nomination. He had felt it his duty to support his more intimate and endeared friend, Henry Clay, but he acknowledged the worth of General Harrison. He had supported the former to the last from the firmest conviction that no other man was so fitted to the crisis—so transcendently qualified for the highest office in the gift of the American people—as Henry Clay. He never thought that Mr. Clay needed the office, but the country needed him. That office could confer no dignity or honor on Henry Clay. The measure of his fame was full; and whenever the tomb should close over him it would cover the loftiest intellect and the noblest heart that this age had produced or known.

The venerable Peter R. Livingston, of New York, an able and ardent supporter of Mr. Clay, said in regard to him—"I envy Kentucky, for when he dies, she will have his ashes!"

A candidate for the vice-presidency remained to be nominated by the convention. He was found in the person of John Tyler, of Virginia. By what unfortunate chance this selection was

made, it is unnecessary now to inquire. It must be said in exculpation of those, however, who acquiesced in it, that there was no good reason for doubting Mr. Tyler's political fidelity and attachment to Whig principles. On all the great questions of public policy he was considered as pledged to the support of those measures for which the whig party had been battling during the last ten years. On the subject of the public lands, he had, as a member of the Virginia legislature, in 1839, declared himself, both in a report and a speech, an advocate of the measure of distribution. In a speech before the United States senate, he had condemned, in unequivocal terms, the abuse of the veto power. He went to Harrisburg, as he himself has said, *in favor of Henry Clay—he voted for him in his own delegation up to the seventh and last ballot*—and, if his own words are to be believed, *he was affected even to tears*, when the nomination was given by the convention to another. Surely, it can not be said that he might have been in favor Mr. Clay's nomination to the presidency, and yet opposed to the most important public measures to which that distinguished statesman had ever rendered his support.

On the question of a bank, it was, with reason, believed that Mr. Tyler's views were similar to those maintained by the great Whig party of the country. While a member of the convention at Harrisburg, he had made to Governor Owen, of North Carolina, chairman of the committee, through whom all nominations must reach the convention, the following communication :—*

"That his views on the bank question had undergone an entire change, that he believed the establishment of a national bank to be alike indispensable as a fiscal agent of the government, and to the restoration of the currency and exchanges of the country: and he thought that all constitutional objections ought to yield to the various executive, legislative, and judicial decisions of the question."

In addition to all these circumstances, the simple fact of Mr. Tyler's presence in the convention—of his silent approval of all those important measures which were regarded as consequent upon the election of a whig president—was, in the minds of honorable men, equivalent to a pledge that those measures would, in any event, continue to meet his ready and earnest support.

* See the address of the delegates from Maryland, in the Harrisburg convention, to their constituents. These facts will be found eloquently set forth in that able paper.

Under the influence of considerations like these, the convention unanimously nominated John Tyler, of Virginia, for the vice-presidency; and, having taken this step, adjourned.

A deep disappointment was felt throughout the Whig ranks at the failure of the convention to nominate Mr. Clay for the presidency; but the magnanimous sentiments expressed in his letter, read at the convention, soon began to animate his friends; and they manifested their devotion to principles rather than to men, by rallying vigorously in support of the selected candidates.

With regard to John Tyler, he was very imperfectly known out of Virginia; and if little could be said in his favor, still less could be said to his prejudice. The office of vice-president was generally regarded as one of comparatively slight consequence; and there seemed to be an utter absence of all apprehension of the contingency, by which its importance was so fearfully magnified. Future conventions will never forget the lesson which Mr. Tyler has given to his countrymen and their posterity.

XVIII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1840.

Mr. Clay's efforts in the democratic whig cause appear not to have been less ardent, incessant, and faithful, during the congressional session of 1839–'40, than at any previous period of his career. The just expectations of his friends had been thwarted at Harrisburg; but that circumstance did not seem either to effect his spirits, or to damp the ardor of his opposition to that policy which he believed injurious to the best interests of his country. He acquiesced promptly, heartily, and nobly, in the nomination of General Harrison, and did not manifest, on any occasion, a lurking feeling of disappointment. He took an early occasion in the senate to reiterate the sentiments expressed in his letter, read at the convention; and he showed himself prepared to do vigorous battle in behalf of the principles which he and his associates had been struggling, for the last twelve years, to maintain.

In the senate, on the 3d of January, 1840, Mr. Southard moved the reconsideration of an order of reference of Mr. Calhoun's land bill to the committee on public lands. The proposition gave rise to a passage between Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay, in which severe language was employed on both sides. Allusions being made to their respective political careers at the time of the force bill and the compromise act, Mr. Calhoun said that the gentleman from Kentucky was flat on his back at that time, and was *compelled* to the compromise — and that he (Mr. Calhoun) was then his *master*.

In reply, Mr. Clay, in the ardor of his feelings, remarked :— "The gentleman has said that I was flat on my back — that he was my master on that occasion. He my *master!* Sir, I would not own him for my slave!" *

The principal questions on which he spoke during the session were: on the abolition of slavery; on the bankrupt bill; the Maine boundary line; Mr. Calhoun's bill to cede the public lands to the states in which they lie; the navy appropriation bill; the independent treasury bill; the branch mints; the expenditures of government; the Cumberland road; repeal of the salt tax; and the bankrupt bill. His opinions on nearly all these subjects are so well-known as to render a recapitulation unnecessary.

Notwithstanding the indications of public hostility, and "in spite of the lamentations" in Congress "and elsewhere," Mr. Van Buren and his friends continued to press their odious subtreasury project, now newly christened under the name of the "independent treasury bill." Against this measure Mr. Clay battled with undiminished vigor and zeal. On the 20th of January, 1840, he addressed the senate in one of his most spirited speeches, in opposition to the bill, which he truly designated as

* Mr. Clay is not the man to harbor the harsh feelings sometimes engendered in animated debate. After his farewell speech, on resigning his seat in the senate, as he was about to leave the chamber, he encountered Mr. Calhoun. They had not spoken to each other for five years; but they now simultaneously extended their hands, and cordially greeted each other, while the tears sprang to their eyes. They had almost spent their lives together in Congress; and during the war, and at various times subsequently had stood shoulder to shoulder, animated by the same patriotic impulses and aspirations. Time had passed over both, and the young men had become old. For a minute or more, they could not speak, so overcome were both with emotion. At length Mr. Clay said, on parting, "Give my best regards to Mrs. Calhoun," and they bade each other farewell.

a government bank in disguise, demonstrating the assertion by proofs the most convincing.

"A government bank," said Mr. Clay. "may not suddenly burst upon us, but *there* it is embodied in this bill. Let the re-election of the present chief magistrate be secured, and you will soon see the bank disclosing its genuine character. But, thanks be to God! there is a day of reckoning at hand. All the signs of the times clearly indicate its approach. And on the 4th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1841, I trust that the long account of the abuses and corruptions of this administration, in which this measure will be a conspicuous item, will be finally and for ever adjusted."

He introduced, on this occasion, a bill for the repeal of the sub-treasury system, but it was not acted upon until the will of the people was so peremptorily spoken, that longer resistance to it, on the part of Mr. Van Buren and his friends, was impossible.

During the summer of 1840, Mr. Clay, visited his native county of Hanover, and was everywhere hailed with enthusiasm and reverence. At a public dinner given to him at Taylorsville, June 27th, 1840, he addressed a vast assemblage of his friends in a speech, which may be referred to as a text-book of his political faith. It is probably in the hands of too many of our readers to render an abstract of it useful in this place. Although his opinions on all public questions of importance have been always frankly avowed, he defines his position in this speech with unusual minuteness and precision. With a view to the fundamental character of the government itself, and especially of the executive branch, he maintains that there should be—either by amendments of the constitution, when they were necessary, or by remedial legislation, when the object fell within the scope of the powers of Congress:—

1st. A provision to render a person ineligible to the office of president of the United States after a service of one term.

2d. That the veto power should be more precisely defined, and be subjected to further limitations and qualifications.

3d. That the power of dismission from office should be restricted, and the exercise of it rendered responsible.

4th. That the control over the treasury of the United States should be confided, and confined exclusively, to Congress; and all authority of the president over it, by means of dismissing the secretary of the treasury, or other persons having the immediate charge of it, be rigorously precluded.

5th. That the appointment of any members of Congress to any office, or any but a few specific offices, during their continuance in office, and fo. one year thereafter, be prohibited.

Mr. Clay was among the most active of those who took part in the campaign of 1840 which terminated in the complete triumph of the whigs. On the 17th of August, 1840, he addressed the Harrison convention at Nashville, Tennessee, in an interesting and eloquent speech. In allusion to the professions of the Van Buren party to be democrats *par excellence*, he very happily said: "Of all their usurpations, I know of none more absurd than the usurpation of this name."

"I WAS BORN A DEMOCRAT," said he, subsequently in a speech delivered in Indiana—"rocked in the cradle of the Revolution—and at the darkest period of that ever-memorable struggle for freedom. I recollect, in 1781 or 1782, a visit made by Tarleton's troops to the house of my mother, *and of their running their swords into the new-made graves of my father and grandfather, thinking they contained hidden treasures.* Though then not more than four or five years of age, the circumstance of that visit is vividly remembered, and it will be to the last moment of my life. I was born a democrat—was raised and nurtured a republican—and shall die a republican in the faith and principles of my fathers."

XIX.

THE XXVIITH CONGRESS—TYLERISM.

THE election of General Harrison to the presidency in the autumn of 1840, by an immense majority, was hailed by the whigs as the triumphant consummation of their long and arduous twelve years' struggle against the destructive principles and measures which had prevailed during the ascendency of Jackson and Van Buren. A majority of the people had at length passed their solemn verdict against those measures, and in favor of the legislation for which Mr. Clay and the whigs in Congress had been so unanimously contending. Before commencing his journey to the seat of government, General Harrison visited Mr. Clay, and personally tendered him any office in the president's gift. Mr. Clay respectfully declined all invitations of this kind,

and announced his intention of retiring from the senate as soon as the objects for which he and his friends had been laboring so strenuously, were placed in a train of accomplishment.

The session of Congress preceding the new president's installation, found Mr. Clay at his post, still prompt and active in the service of his country. On the land bill—the repeal of the sub-treasury—the bill to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy—the treasury-note bill—the pre-emption and distribution project—and other important questions, on which his views are familiar to our readers, he addressed the senate with his accustomed eloquence and energy. In his speech of the 28th of January, 1841, on the land bill, he entered into an able vindication of whig principles and measures, as contrasted with those of the expiring administration. There being still a Van Buren majority, Mr. Clay's resolutions, repealing the sub-treasury, after affording occasion for some eloquent debates, were laid on the table, the 19th of February. Some remarks being made in the senate by Mr. Cuthbert, toward the close of the session, of a character prejudicial to Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay eloquently vindicated that distinguished senator, and bore testimony to his exalted merits.

The second session of the 26th Congress terminated on the night of the 3d of March—the Van Buren men having refused to pass a bankrupt bill, and other important measures. The day after the adjournment, General Harrison was inaugurated President of the United States; and, on the 18th of March, he issued his proclamation for an extra session of Congress, to commence on the last Monday in May. Before that period arrived, and precisely a month after his inauguration, the venerable president departed this life; and, by a provision of the constitution, John Tyler of Virginia, the vice-president, was invested with the authority of president of the United States.

The extraordinary session of Congress, convened by the proclamation of the lamented Harrison, took place at the appointed time, the last Monday in May, 1841. Never was there a body of representatives who came together with a more patriotic and honorable desire faithfully to execute the will of their constituents, the majority of the people of the United States, than the whigs, who composed the 27th Congress. Mr. Clay at once took active

and decided measures for the prompt despatch of the public business. The subjects which he proposed to the senate, as proper exclusively to engage their deliberations during the extra session, were :—

1st. The repeal of the sub-treasury law.
2d. The incorporation of a bank adapted to the wants of the people and the government.
3d. The provision of an adequate revenue by the imposition of duties, and including an authority to contract a temporary loan to cover the public debt created by the last administration.
4th. The prospective distribution of the proceeds of the public lands.
5th. The passage of necessary appropriation bills.
6th. Some modifications in the banking system of the District of Columbia for the benefit of the people of the district.

In the formation of committees, Mr. Clay was placed at the head of that on finance ; and, on his motion, a select committee on the currency, for the consideration of the bank question, was appointed. Of this committee he was made chairman. Early in June, he presented his admirable report of a plan for a national bank ; and, after a thorough discussion, the bill was passed, which, on the 16th of August, called forth a veto from President Tyler. On the 19th of the same month, Mr. Clay addressed the senate on the subject of this veto. His remarks, although apparently made " more in sorrow than in anger," are pervaded by the spirit of unanswerable truth ; and, in his rejoinder to Mr. Rives, on the same day, he rises to a height of eloquence never surpassed on the floor of Congress. In the opinion of many of his hearers, it was one of the most brilliant speeches of his whole senatorial career. On this occasion, he showed, by irresistible proofs, that the question of a bank was the great issue made before the people at the late election. " Wherever I was," said he—" in the great valley of the Mississippi—in Kentucky—in Tennessee—in Maryland—in all the circles in which I moved, everywhere, *bank* or *no bank* was the great, the leading, the vital question."

Not long after the veto, as Mr. Clay, with two or three friends, was passing the treasury buildings, along the road leading to Pennsylvania avenue, he noticed a procession of gentlemen, walking two by two, toward the White House. " In the name of wonder, what have we here ?" exclaimed Mr. Clay, while his features lighted up with one of those mischievous smiles, which

are so contagious, seen on his countenance. *It was a procession of the Van Buren members of Congress, going personally to congratulate John Tyler on his veto!*

The incident was not forgotten by Mr. Clay. The scene was too rich and piquant to pass unnoticed. On the 2d of September, a suitable opportunity presented itself in the senate, for a commentary on the occurrence; and he availed himself of it in a manner which entirely overcame the gravity of all parties present. He gave an imaginary description of the scene at the White House, and the congratulations lavished upon the president by his new friends. He pictured to the senate the honorable member from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan) approaching the throne, and contributing his words of encouragement and praise to those which had been offered by the rest. The imaginary speech which he put into the lips of this gentleman, on this occasion, was so characteristic, that Mr. Buchanan subsequently complained in the senate, that it had been gravely attributed to him by several journals, as having been actually delivered, and that he could not divest many of his worthy constituents in Pennsylvania of the idea.

The figure of Mr. Benton, was one of too much importance not to be introduced by Mr. Clay into this fancy sketch.

"I can tell the gentleman from Kentucky, that I was not at the White House on the occasion to which he alludes," said the Missouri senator, interrupting him.

"Then I will suppose what the gentleman would have said if he *had* been present," continued Mr. Clay, without suffering his imagination to be checked in its flight. And he then represented he wordy and pompous Missourian bowing at the executive footstool, and tendering his congratulations.

The space to which we have been restricted, will not allow us to present even an imperfect sketch of the whole scene. We can only refer the reader to it as one of the most felicitous of those legitimate presentations of the *ludicrous*, made to illustrate the *true*, which some times occur to enliven the barrenness of legislative debate.

The events which succeeded the veto, are too recent in the minds of the people to render a minute enumeration necessary

here. They are forcibly summed up in Mr. Adams's excellent report on the president's veto of the revenue bill. A second bank bill, shaped to meet the avowed views of the president, was prepared, passed, and then vetoed. The cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Webster, resigned; and the great purposes for which the special session of Congress had been called, was defeated by the will of one man, who owed his influential position to his professed attachment to whig principles, and his declared preference for Mr. Clay as a candidate for the presidency.

Mr. Clay was unremitted in his application to the public business during the extra session. He spoke on a great variety of questions, and, being at the head of two important committees, performed a great amount of hard work. Although his principal measure for the public relief was defeated by the unlooked-for defection of John Tyler, he had the satisfaction of aiding in the repeal of the odious sub-treasury system—in the passage of the bankrupt law—and in the final triumph of his favorite measure, often baffled, but still persevered in, the distribution of the sales of the public lands. By a provision fastened upon this act by the amendment of another, distribution was to cease whenever the average rate of duties on imports should exceed 20 per cent.

A revision of the tariff, rendered necessary by the expiration of the compromise act, was also undertaken. This was the most important subject which engaged the attention of the 27th Congress, at its first regular session. To meet the exigency of the occasion, a provisional bill, suspending the operation of the distribution bill for one month, as well in consequence of a lack of funds in the treasury, as of a desire on the part of Congress to give more mature consideration to the subject of a tariff, was passed. But it encountered still another and another veto from the president.

It has been asserted that Mr. Clay and his friends did not desire an adjustment of the tariff question, during the session of 1841–'42. Nothing could be more unfounded than this charge. In spite of discomfiture and mortification, they persevered in their efforts for the relief of the country, and evently surrendered the distribution clause to meet the views of the president; and the tariff bill finally became a law, through the patriotic endeavors

of the friends of Mr. Clay, notwithstanding the attempt of Mr Tyler to crush their energies and arouse their opposition.

On the 31st of March, 1842, after one of the longest congressional careers known in our annals, Mr. Clay resigned his seat in the senate of the United States. It having been previously understood that he would take occasion, in presenting the credentials of his successor, Mr. Crittenden, to make some valedictory remarks, the senate-chamber was, at an early hour, crowded to its utmost capacity, by members of the other house, and by a large assemblage of citizens and ladies. Some of Mr. Clay's best friends had looked forward with apprehension to this event—wearing the aspect, as it did, of a formal and appointed leave-taking. They remembered that there was but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, and they dreaded lest the truly impressive character of the occasion might be marred, or divested of its dignity, by any farewell words. But Mr. Clay had hardly risen to speak before their apprehensions were lost and forgotten in a deep and absorbing interest in the language that flowed calmly, smoothly, and majestically from his lips. He referred to the period of his first entrance into the senate, in 1806. He paid a merited compliment to the high character of that body, and to the ability of its individual members; but added that, full of attraction as was a seat in that chamber, to fill the aspirations of the most ambitious heart, he had long determined to forego it, and to seek repose among the calm pleasures of "home."

It had been his purpose, he said, to terminate his connection with the senate in November, 1840. Had President Harrison lived, and the measures devised at the extra session been fully carried out, he would have then resigned his seat. But the hope that at the regular session the measures left undone might be still perfected, induced him to postpone his determination; and events, which arose after the extra session, resulting from the failure of those measures which had been proposed at that session, and which appeared to throw on his political friends a temporary show of defeat, confirmed him in the resolution to attend the present session also—and, whether in prosperity or adversity, to share the fortune of his friends. But he resolved, at the same

time, to retire as soon as he could do so with propriety and decency. Mr. Clay then continued as follows:—

"From 1806, the period of my entry on this noble theatre, with short intervals, to the present time, I have been engaged in the public councils, at home and abroad. Of the nature or the value of the services rendered during that long and arduous period of my life, it does not become me to speak; history, if she deigns to notice me, or posterity, if the recollections of my humble actions shall be transmitted to posterity, are the best, the truest, the most impartial judges. When death has closed the scene, their sentence will be pronounced, and to that I appeal and refer myself. My acts and public conduct are a fair subject for the criticism and judgment of my fellow-men; but the private motives by which they have been prompted—they are known only to the great Searcher of the human heart and to myself; and I trust I may be pardoned for repeating a declaration made some thirteen years ago, that, whatever errors—and, doubtless, they have been many—may be discovered in a review of my public service to the country, I can, with unshaken confidence, appeal to the Divine Arbiter for the truth of the declaration, that I have been influenced by no impure purposes, no personal motive—have sought no personal aggrandizement; but that in all my public acts, I have had a sole and single eye, and a warm and devoted heart, directed and dedicated to what, in my judgment, I believed to be the true interest of my country."

Mr. Clay then alluded to the fact that, in common with other public men, he had not enjoyed an immunity from censure and detraction. But he had not been unsustained. And here the allusion to the persecutions of his assailants, led to the mention of Kentucky, the state of his adoption—noble Kentucky—who, when the storm of calumny raged the fiercest, and he seemed to be forsaken by all the rest of the world, threw her broad and impenetrable shield around him, and bearing him up aloft in her courageous arms, repelled the poisoned shafts aimed for his destruction. As Mr. Clay uttered the name of Kentucky, his feelings overpowered him—the strong man was bowed with emotion—he passed his fingers before his eyes for a moment—then rallied, and proceeded with his remarks. To the charge of dictatorship, which was so often in the mouths of his opponents at that time, Mr. Clay replied temperately and happily. We can quote but a fragment of this portion of his valedictory address:—

"That my nature is warm, my temper ardent, my disposition, especially in relation to the public service, enthusiastic, I am fully ready to own; and those who supposed that I have been assuming the dictatorship, have only mistaken for arrogance or assumption, that fervent ardor and devotion which

is natural to my constitution and which I may have displayed with little regard to cold, calculating, and cautious prudence, in sustaining and zealously supporting important national measures of policy which I have presented and proposed."

The truly generous qualities of Mr. Clay's nature, shine forth from every line of the following passage:—

"During a long and arduous career of service in the public councils of my country, especially during the last eleven years I have held a seat in the senate, from the same ardor and enthusiasm of character, I have, no doubt, in the heat of debate, and in an honest endeavor to maintain my opinions against adverse opinions equally honestly entertained, as to the best course to be adopted for the public welfare, I may have often inadvertently or unintentionally, in moments of excited debate, made use of language that has been offensive, and susceptible of injurious interpretation toward my brother senators. If there be any here who retain wounded feelings of injury or dissatisfaction produced on such occasions, I beg to assure them that I now offer the amplest apology for any departure on my part from the established rules of parliamentary decorum and courtesy. On the other hand, I assure the senators, one and all, without exception, and without reserve, that I retire from this senate-chamber without carrying with me a single feeling of resentment or dissatisfaction toward the senate or any of its members."

Mr. Clay concluded this memorable address by invoking, in a tone which thrilled through every heart, the blessings of Heaven upon the whole senate and every member of it. The hushed suspense of intense feeling and attention, pervaded the crowded assemblage as he sat down. For nearly half a minute after he had finished, no one spoke—no one moved. There was not a dry eye in the senate-chamber. Men of all parties seemed equally overcome by the pathos and majesty of that farewell. At length, Mr. Preston of South Carolina, rose and remarked, that what had just taken place was an epoch in their legislative history; and, from the feeling which was evinced, he plainly saw that there was little disposition to attend to business. He would, therefore, move that the senate adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; but even then the whole audience seemed to remain spell-bound by the effect of those parting tones of Mr. Clay. For several seconds no one stirred. "In all probability, we should have remained there to this hour," said an honorable senator to us recently, in describing the scene, "had not Mr. Clay himself risen, and moved toward the area." And then, at length, slowly and reluctantly, the assemblage dispersed.

Shortly after the adjournment, as Mr. Calhoun was crossing the senate-chamber, he and Mr. Clay encountered. For five years they had been estranged; and the only words which had passed between them had been those harshly spoken in debate. But now, as they thus inadvertently met, the old times came over them. They remembered only their political companionship of twenty years' standing. The intervening differences which had chilled their hearts toward each other, were forgotten. The tears sprang to their eyes. They shook each other cordially by the hand—interchanged a "God bless you!" and parted. We have alluded elsewhere briefly to this scene. It was a happy sequel to the leading events of the day.

XX.

MR. CLAY A PRIVATE CITIZEN—HIS VIEWS.

On his return to Kentucky, after retiring from public life, Mr. Clay was received with all those manifestations of enthusiastic affection which it is possible for a grateful constituency to exhibit. On the 9th of June, 1842, he partook of a public entertainment, or barbecue, given in his honor near Lexington.

The speech which he delivered on this occasion, is probably fresh in the recollection of many of our readers. Containing, as it does, many personal reminiscences of his past career, and a review of those leading questions of policy upon which we have already given his opinions, it is one of the most interesting of his numerous addresses to popular assemblies.

Early in October, 1842, being on a visit to Richmond, in the state of Indiana, the occasion of his meeting a large concourse of his fellow-citizens, was seized upon by a number of his political opponents to present him with a petition praying him to emancipate his slaves in Kentucky. It was thought that even Henry Clay would be nonplused and embarrassed by so inopportune and unexpected an appeal. A Mr. Mendenhall was selected to present him with the petition, and expectation was

raised to the highest pitch among the few who were in the secret, and who were far from being Mr. Clay's well-wishers, to hear what he would say. Never did he acquit himself more felicitously than on this occasion.

The indignation was great among the assembly, when they learned the object with which Mr. Mendenhall had made his way through their midst to the spot where Mr. Clay stood. They regarded it as an insult to him and his friends; and the probability is, that Mr. Mendenhall would have had some palpable proof of their sense of his impertinence, had not Mr. Clay instantly appealed to the assembly in the following terms:—

"I hope that Mr. Mendenhall may be treated with the greatest forbearance and respect. I assure my fellow-citizens, here collected, that the presentation of the petition has not occasioned the slightest pain, nor excited one solitary disagreeable emotion. If it were to be presented to me, I prefer that it should be done in the face of this vast assemblage. I think I can give it such an answer as becomes me and the subject of which it treats. At all events, I entreat and beseech my fellow-citizens, for their sake, for my sake, to offer no disrepect, no indignity, no violence, in word or deed, to Mr. Mendenhall." Then, turning to Mr. Mendenhall: "Allow me to say, that I think you have not conformed to the independent character of an American citizen in presenting a *petition* to *me*. A petition, as the term implies, generally proceeds from an inferior in power or station to a superior; but between us there is entire equality."

Mr. Clay remarked, in continuation, that he desired no concealment of his opinions in regard to the institution of slavery. He looked upon it as a great evil, and deeply lamented that we had derived it from the parental government and from our ancestors. But, without any knowledge of the relation in which he stood to his slaves, or their individual condition, Mr. Mendenhall and his associates had presented a petition calling upon him forthwith to liberate the whole of them.

"Now let me tell you," said Mr. C., "that some half a dozen of them, from age, decrepitude, or infirmity, are wholly unable to gain a livelihood for themselves, and are a heavy charge upon me. Do you think that I should conform to the dictates of humanity by ridding myself of that charge, and sending them forth into the world, with the boon of liberty, to end a wretched existence in starvation?"

In conclusion, Mr. Clay admirably exposed the hypocrisy of the petitioners by the following proposition, in regard to which they have never taken any steps:—

"I shall, Mr. Mendenhall, take your petition into respectful and deliberate consideration; but before I come to a final decision, *I should like to know*

what you and your associates are willing to do for the slaves in my possession, if I should think proper to liberate them. I own about fifty, who are probably worth fifteen thousand dollars. To turn them loose upon society, without any means of subsistence or support, would be an act of cruelty. Are you willing to raise and secure the payment of fifteen thousand dollars for their benefit, if I should be induced to free them? The security of the payment of that sum, would materially lessen the obstacle in the way of their emancipation."

Mr. Clay finished his remarks with some friendly advice to Mr. Mendenhall, which it is probable that individual will never forget. The tables were completely turned upon those who had thought to annoy and embarrass the great Kentuckian. The bearer of the petition and his associates were suffered to slink away unnoticed and unheeded by the crowd.

There has never been any concealment on Mr. Clay's part. of his opinions on the subject of slavery. Through the whole course of this memoir, they will be found scattered from the period when he first advocated the gradual eradication of slavery from Kentucky, in 1797, to the present moment. In his speech before the Colonization society, in 1827 [see Chapter X. of the present work], nothing can be more explicit than the language he employs. We refer those who would be enlightened further in regard to his views, to that eloquent address.

On the 29th of September, 1842, Mr. Clay attended the great whig convention at Dayton, Ohio, where ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND WHIGS are believed to have been assembled.

"At 8 o'clock," says one of the actors in the scene, "when every street in the city was filled, and there seemed no resting-place for any, the procession was formed. This occupied a long time. When done, the order, 'March!' was given; and, in solid mass, we moved to welcome the great statesman, Henry Clay, into the city. He was met near the city, and, at half-past 9 o'clock, reached the neighborhood of the National hotel. Here a beautiful sight was witnessed. One hundred and twenty-five children, as the honest patriot approached, welcomed him with songs! Their sweet voices rang out in merry peals, and the multitude responded to it with the heartiest enthusiasm. After this, Mr. Clay occupied a stand for some time, as the procession passed by, welcoming him to Ohio, and, in return, receiving his salutations.

"When the procession had passed, Mr. Clay retired into the hotel. Governor Metcalf then appeared at the window, and delivered a speech—returning the thanks of Kentucky for the warm-hearted reception they had met with, and bidding all who loved the name of America, to rally together in defence of American liberty and American labor.

"Mr. Schenck read resolutions, prepared by the committee, nominating Henry Clay and John Davis for the whig candidates for 1844. At this time Mr. Clay was seen in the crowd, and then, as if there had been one voice only, the shout went forth for the statesman of the nation. He answered it;

and, in a speech of two hours, plain, yet eloquent, he spoke, concealing no opinion, disguising no wish, the multitude all the while listening with eager attention and breathless silence. And such a speech! It was a master-effort of a master-spirit.

Of this tremendous meeting Mr. Clay afterward remarked, that of all the crowds in Europe or elsewhere, he never saw one so great. A vast sea of human heads surrounded the platform, covering many acres.

In the month of December, 1842, Mr. Clay, having private business in New Orleans, where some of his near relations reside, visited that city, stopping at Natchez, and other places on his route. He was everywhere received by the people with such enthusiastic demonstrations of popular affection as had never before been bestowed upon any American except Washington.

On his return homeward from Louisiana, about the middle of February, 1843, his progress was continually impeded by vast assemblages of the people to meet and welcome him. At Mobile, on the 2d of February, and at Vicksburg, on the 20th of February, an immense concourse of citizens collected to offer the tribute of their gratitude and respect. The honorable S. S. Prentiss addressed him, on the latter occasion, in that strain of fluent and impassioned eloquence for which that young and gifted orator is distinguished.

At Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, Mr. Clay was met and welcomed by the largest concourse ever assembled in the state. At Memphis, Tennessee, crowds of citizens from the surrounding region assembled to tender him their affectionate respects, to look on and listen to the greatest living champion of their country's honor and interests. Thus felicitated and welcomed on his route, Mr. Clay, with more than a conqueror's trophies, returned, in fine health and spirits, to Ashland, just as spring was beginning to fringe with green the old oaks that waved around his homestead.

Early in April, he addressed a large body of his fellow-citizens in the courthouse yard at Lexington; and, in the course of his remarks, acknowledged, in appropriate language, the attentions which had been paid to him, and the honors which had been showered upon him by all parties during his late trip to the southwest.

It having been understood that Mr. Clay would make a tour to the southeast during the autumn of 1843, innumerable letters from committees in all sections of the country were poured in upon him, requesting him to visit a multitude of places, both on his route and aside from it. The task of replying to these letters must alone have been exceedingly laborious. North Carolina was, we believe, the first to claim from him a visit. In his reply to a committee of citizens of Raleigh, dated 10th July, 1843, he consents to pay a visit, some time in the course of the next spring to that state, which was "the first to declare the independence of the colonies, and will be among the last to abandon the support of the Union."

Several letters from Mr. Clay, on the subject of the tariff, appeared during the summer of 1843. Nothing could be more explicit and undisguised than the expression of his views. In his reply, dated 13th September, 1843, to a letter from S. F. Bronson, Esq., of Georgia, asking his opinions in regard to the protective policy of 1832, he writes:—

"The sum and substance of what I conceive to be the true policy of the United States, in respect to a tariff, may be briefly stated. In conformity with the principle announced in the compromise act, I think, that whatever revenue is necessary to an economical and honest administration of the general government, ought to be derived from duties imposed on foreign imports. And I believe that, in establishing a tariff of those duties, such a discrimination ought to be made, as will incidentally afford reasonable protection to our national interests.

"I think there is no danger of a high tariff being ever established; that of 1828 was eminently deserving that denomination. I was not in Congress when it passed, and did not vote for it; but with its history and with the circumstances which gave birth to it, I am well acquainted. They were highly discreditable to American legislation, and I hope, for its honor, will never be again repeated.

"After my return to Congress, in 1831, my efforts were directed to the modification and reduction of the rates of duty contained in the act of 1828. The act of 1832 greatly reduced and modified them; and the act of 1833, commonly called the compromise act, still farther reduced and modified them. The act which passed at the extra session of 1841, which I supported, was confined to the free articles. I had resigned my seat in the senate when the act of 1842 passed. Generally the duties which it imposes are lower than those in the act of 1832. And, without intending to express my opinion upon every item of this last tariff, I would say that I think the provisions, in the main, are wise and proper. If there be any excesses or defects in it (of which I have not the means here of judging), they ought to be corrected.

"My opinion, that there is no danger hereafter of a high tariff, is founded on the gratifying fact that our manufactures have now taken a deep root. In

their infancy, they needed a greater measure of protection; but, as they grow and advance, they acquire strength and stability, and, consequently, will require less protection. Even now, some branches of them are able to maintain, in distant markets, successful competition with rival foreign manufactures."

By this it will be seen that Mr. Clay, so far from contemplating the expediency of higher and higher duties, believes that the rapid and constant progress of our manufactures tends ever to diminish, instead of to increase, the necessity of decidedly *protective* duties. He never was in favor of a high tariff. In his own language, he believes that "the revenue from the general government should be derived from the foreign imports, to the exclusion of direct taxes, and the proceeds of the sales of public lands; and that no more revenue should be levied than is necessary to an economical administration of the government: but that, in levying it, such discriminations ought to be made as will afford moderate and reasonable protection to American interests against the rivalry and prohibitory policy of foreign powers."

Notwithstanding these clear and unequivocal declarations, the attempt is frequently made to misrepresent Mr. Clay's views in regard to the tariff. Surely there is no longer any excuse for ignorance upon this subject among persons claiming to be intel ligent.

In December, 1843, Mr. Clay's private affairs again required his presence in New Orleans. He was welcomed on his route to that city by the same testimonials of popular attachment that had signalized his journey of the preceding year; and, during his residence in the great southern metropolis, citizens of all parties seemed to unite in doing him honor. Before his departure, the state convention of the democratic whigs of Louisiana, which was holding its session at the time, formed in procession, the 23d of February, 1844, and marched to the St. Charles hotel, where he was staying, to tender their respects. On the 25th of February, he reached Mobile, on his way to North Carolina Although it was the sabbath, and of course no civic ceremonies denoted the welcome which was swelling in every bosom, yet the wharves were lined with a dense and innumerable throng, eager to catch a glimpse of him as he disembarked. On the 5th of March he left Mobile for Montgomery, Columbus (Georgia),

Macon, and other intermediate cities on his route, followed by the best hopes of the people.

A letter from him to the whigs of Philadelphia, bearing date the 10th of February, 1844, is worthy of mention in this place for the sentiments it expressed in regard to Washington. Mr Clay had been invited to unite in the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of the hero of Mount Vernon. Distance and unavoidable engagements prevented his acceptance of the invitation. In his reply, he says:—

"The birth of no man that ever lived is so well entitled to perpetual commemoration as a rare blessing bestowed on mankind by the goodness of Providence. In contemplating his career and character, we behold displayed and concentrated in him, calmness, dignity, moderation, firmness, fidelity, disinterestedness, wisdom—all the virtues that adorn the warrior, the patriot, the statesman, and the honest man. Most justly has he acquired the title of the Father of his country. During the Revolution, and since, many good men have arisen in the United States; but WASHINGTON stands at an immeasurable height, elevated far above them all."

On the 1st of April, 1844, Mr. Clay reached Columbia, South Carolina, where he was the guest of the honorable William C. Preston. On the 6th, he visited Charleston; and here all sorts of honors and gratulations were heaped upon him by the enthusiastic whigs of that hospitable city. He was received by an immense concourse of citizens in the theatre, and being addressed by the venerable Dr. Wm. Read, one of the few surviving officers of the revolution, he replied in a speech of nearly two hours' duration, which commanded and repaid the closest attention. As the tariff was the subject which most intimately affected the interests of his hearers, he reiterated, with his accustomed frankness, his views in regard to it. He declared himself in favor of a system of protection, moderate, reasonable, certain, and durable—yielding no more revenue than is necessary for an honest and economical administration of the government, and, within that limit, discriminating in the imposition of duties between those articles which do and those which do not enter into competition with domestic industry—throwing the heavier duty on the former, and the lighter duty on the latter. Peace could only be found by taking the middle path. Neither interest nor section could expect to have it all its own way. The matter must be adjusted by concession, compromise, conciliation—such concession, com-

promise, and conciliation, as led to the adoption of the federal constitution, and under the influence of which our political union would continue to fulfil its sacred trust, and move forward in its high career a blessing to our race.

At Raleigh, on the 12th, Mr. Clay met with a reception every way worthy the "Old North state." His friend and former fellow-laborer, B. W. Leigh, of Virginia, made the journey to Raleigh to meet him, and addressed the multitude from the porch of the capitol with great animation and effect. Mr. Clay was escorted by an immense throng of citizens to the residence of the governor of the state, Mr. Morehead, where he remained during his stay in Raleigh.

At Wilmington he addressed the people, and one paragraph of his speech commends him to the confidence of his countrymen of all parties. He said: "I am a whig: I am so because I believe the principles of the whig party are best adapted to promote the prosperity of the country. I seek to change no man's allegiance to his party, be it what it way. A life of great length and experience has satisfied me that all parties aim at the common good of the country. The great body of the democrats, as well as the whigs, are so from a conviction that their policy is patriotic. I take the hand of one as cordially as that of another, for all are Americans. *I place* COUNTRY *far above all parties.* Look aside from that, and parties are no longer worthy of being cherished."

On the 18th of April, he passed on to Petersburg, Virginia and, the Saturday following, embarked for Norfolk, where he did not arrive till Sunday morning, owing to the detention of the boat by fog. His progress was a series of ovations. On the 26th, he arrived in Washington. He was now approaching one of the most interesting epochs of his eventful life. By acclamation the whigs of the country seemed to call upon him to stand forth once more, the worthiest embodiment of their principles, the candidate of their choice and affections. In every state there were spontaneous movements of the people, which precluded all doubt as to the result of the deliberations of a whig national convention for the nomination of president. We must here indulge in a brief retrospect of public events connected with Mr. Clay's

recent career; and it is with no wish to revive old griefs that we shall touch upon topics, in their views upon which good whigs may differ. Our object is to present such facts as should guard us for the future against errors, which all experience calls out upon us to shun.

XXI.

CLAY—HARRISON—TYLER.

During the whole canvass of 1840, and up to the time of General Harrison's death, he and Mr. Clay were upon terms of the most confidential intimacy. All were sensible of the noble disinterestedness of Mr. Clay's course, but no one appreciated it more highly, or felt more grateful for it toward him, than General Harrison himself. On the 15th of January, 1840, the general addressed a letter from North Bend to Mr. Clay at Washington city, from which we have been permitted to make the following extract:—

"My Dear Sir: The generosity of your nature will not permit you to doubt that my feelings of gratitude toward you for the magnanimity of your conduct toward me, in relation to the nomination for the presidency, are such as they ought to be, although I have so long delayed to express them directly to you. I must beg you also to believe that if the claims derived from your superior talents and experience (so universally acknowledged by my supporters), had prevailed over those which accidental circumstances had conferred upon me, and enabled the convention to name you as the candidate, that you would have had no more zealous supporter in the Union than I should have been."

The first time they met after the election was at the house of Governor Letcher in Frankfort, Kentucky; and Mr. Clay afterward entertained the president elect at Ashland. During their interviews on those occasions, they had long, full, and interesting conversations, on the state of public affairs. In their first interview, General Harrison offered, and Mr. Clay promptly declined, *any* place in the new administration. He was then resolved to retire from the senate to private life. Both of them concurred in the expediency of a call of an extra session of Congress,

agreeing that the benefit of those measures of public policy which the people, in the great event that had just transpired, had signified their wish to bring about, ought not to be deferred to the ordinary period for the assembling of Congress. Indeed, the bankrupt condition in which Mr. Van Buren had left the treasury was of itself an evil which rendered an early convening of Congress indispensable. It was at their first interview at the governor's, that Mr. Clay, after having declined the offer of any official station, suggested to General Harrison that he ought not, in his official arrangements, to overlook Mr. Webster, and that if he had himself been elected, he should have felt bound, from the high estimation in which that gentleman was then held by the whig party, to tender him some distinguished place. He did not designate any particular station to which he thought Mr. Webster ought to be appointed. Mr. Clay was induced to make this suggestion, because the ground had been taken in several leading whig journals that if *he* did not go into the cabinet, Mr. Webster ought. The suggestion of Mr. Clay appeared to remove a burden from the mind of General Harrison; and the next day, the latter, in conversation with several gentlemen at Frankfort, indulged in excessive praise of Mr. Clay for his great disinterestedness and magnanimity.

After the return of General Harrison from Kentucky to North Bend, he and Mr. Clay did not meet until the arrival of the former at Washington to enter upon the duties of the high office to which he had been elected. Their friendly intimacy was again renewed. General Harrison placed his inaugural address in the hands of Mr. Clay, with the request that he would examine it, and intimate any alterations that might occur to him as being necessary. He at the same time informed him that a member of his projected cabinet had prepared an inaugural for him, which he wished him to adopt, but that he would not substitute it for his own *for fifty thousand dollars*. Several of the intended members of the cabinet apprehended that General Harrison's composition would not be well received by the public, and they applied to Mr. Clay to induce him to modify it. In compliance with their request, Mr. Clay carefully examined the document, and proposed a number of inconsiderable alterations, some having

reference to the phraseology, and some to the sentiment; and most of these the new president promptly and thankfully adopted. But there was one alteration, longer than any of the others, which he proposed, and against this the general set his face. The proposed alteration was, to expunge the clauses relating to the Greeks and Romans, which may now be seen in the early part of his address. This was touching the general on a tender point; and, in declining to adopt it, he remarked that he was particularly attached to allusions and illustrations drawn from Greek and Roman history; and *apropos* to this remark he related the following anecdote of himself:—

When a member of the house of representatives, he was one day addressing the speaker in a speech of considerable vehemence and length. During its delivery, he made frequent citations from Greek and Roman history. The galleries were excessively thronged, and a man was endeavoring to push his way through the crowd to a position where he could see as well as hear. He could not reach one; but hearing the references to the Greeks and the Romans, he exclaimed, with the most emphatic of oaths, "That's General Harrison! Though I can't see him, I know him by what he says of the Greeks and Romans!"

Mr. Clay's great anxiety, after General Harrison's entrance upon his official duties, was to secure the adoption of those public measures which, by his election, and through his administration, the people wished to establish. This was the absorbing desire of Mr. Clay's heart. He knew that if he interfered in the disposal of the patronage of the government, he would excite jealousies against himself, to which he was aware there existed a predisposition, and impair his just influence in the establishment of wise systems of policy. Painful, therefore, as it was for him to abstain from promoting the wishes of friends, whom he would gladly have served, he abstained from all interference in public appointments further than to endeavor to prevent the adoption of one or two, which he regarded as injudicious and bad.

If General Harrison had lived, there is reason to believe that all the great and leading measures of the whig party would have been successfully carried out. But it pleased Providence to decree otherwise. The nation had to deplore the untimely death

of General Harrison in one short month after his installation, and John Tyler, as the vice-president, succeeded him.

Mr. Clay had known this latter gentleman a number of years, although he had had no hand in his nomination to the office from which he was transferred to the presidency. Mr. Tyler was affable, polite, and agreeable, in company and conversation. He had made no great figure in any of the various offices which he had filled, was not considered firm of purpose, yet always acquitted himself respectably, and was supposed to be at least honest. His inaugural address, through the medium of the press at Washington, created hopes—but hopes, which, in the sequel, were sadly disappointed. Shortly after the death of General Harrison, Mr. Clay received two remarkable letters from Virginia, which deserve a passing notice. One of them was from a distinguished citizen of the city of Richmond, and bears date the 4th of April, 1841, the very day on which President Harrison expired. To the letter, the greater part of which was on business, was appended a postscript to the following effect: "We have very bad accounts from Washington as to the state of General Harrison's health. His death is seriously apprehended. Your friend, Judge B——, was just now with me, and says that Harrison will certainly die; *that Tyler luck will kill him.* Should that event happen, and Tyler come in, *he will play the devil; how, I don't know: but I am sure he will play the devil!*"

The other letter, also from an eminent citizen, was dated the 7th of April, 1841, at Williamsburgh, the place of Mr. Tyler's residence, and to it was appended a postscript, substantially as follows: "We have just heard of the death of President Harrison, and I have just seen Mr. Tyler, who is to succeed him. I told him that it was a great event, and shifted on him an immense responsibility; but that if, upon going to Washington, he would embrace some suitable occasion to announce to the public that he did not mean to be a candidate for the succession, he would have an easy, and, probably a successful administration. He remarked, in reply, that he had just been thinking of *that:* but," adds the writer, "*it was manifest to me that he had not been thinking favorably of it.*"

Notwithstanding these predictions and expressions of distrust,

Mr. Clay, in May, 1841, proceeded to Washington to attend the extra session, with a firm determination faithfully to perform his own duty, and to conciliate Vice-President Tyler as far as he could, and engage him to concur and co-operate in the adoption of the public measures demanded by the public welfare, and of which an expectation was authorized by the ascendency of the whigs in the national councils.

Upon Mr. Clay's arrival at the seat of government, he promptly called on Mr. Tyler, dined with him, frequently visited him at tea in the evening, and, on these occasions, conversed with him in the most frank, friendly, and confidential manner. During those visits, the subject of a bank of the United States frequently formed the topic of conversation; and Mr. Tyler declared that he had formed no opinion against one; that he *would* form none on the subject till a bill should be matured, passed, and presented to him; and that no mortal, in the meantime, should know what was to be his final determination. And yet, notwithstanding these positive declarations, Mr. Clay had abundant reasons afterward to believe that Mr. Tyler, before the passage of the bank-bill, had stated to others that he would approve no bank-bill that *could* be presented to him!

In his evening visits at the White-House, Mr. Clay often met suspicious persons, who created in his mind some apprehension and alarm. He, however, continued his visits until the levee of the 4th of July, which was the last time he ever entered the presidential mansion while it was occupied by Mr. Tyler. While the bank-bill was pending in the senate, he reluctantly consented to the introduction into it of the clause relating to the branches of the bank, providing for the contingency of the assent or dissent of the states in which it might be proposed to establish them. He yielded to it from two considerations: the first was, that he had reason to believe, from communications received from members of the cabinet of Mr. Tyler, that he would certainly approve the bill with that clause inserted; the second was, that without it, the votes of two senators could not be obtained, which were indispensable to the passage of the bill through the senate.

The measures which Mr. Clay regarded as important to occupy the attention of the extra session, were indicated by him in a

series of resolutions proposed in the early part of the session It will be seen, upon an examination of them, that the bankrupt bill was not one of those measures. He thought that the consideration of it ought to be postponed to the ordinary session. But, owing to the perseverance of Senator Tallmadge, of New York, it was finally agreed to act upon it. But it can not be regarded as one of Mr. Clay's measures, although he cheerfully shares the responsibility of its passage, believes that it was rendered necessary to individuals by the ruinous measures of the two previous administrations, and that its operation, upon the whole, was beneficial to the public.

Never did Mr. Clay, and never, perhaps, did any other man perform the same amount of hard labor in the same space of time, that he did during that extra session. His whole soul seemed engrossed with the duty of fulfilling the promises which the whig party had made to the country. He declined almost all invitations to dinners and entertainments. His habit was to rise as early as five o'clock every morning, dash on horseback into the country six or seven miles, and return to an early breakfast. From that time until ten or eleven o'clock at night, he was constantly engaged, either in the preparation of business for the senate, in attendance upon committees, or the senate itself, or in consultation with his political friends. During the arduous debate on the bank-bill, which was continued several weeks, he was left almost alone to struggle with a host of opponents. On one occasion, he had to rise and answer seven of them, who had assailed the bill. He sometimes felt as if he were deserted by his friends, not being aware of what he afterward learned, that they had, upon a conference among themselves, deemed it best to leave the subject to his exclusive management.

We have alluded to the visit of Mr. Clay, in the summer of 1840, to the humble spot in Hanover county, Virginia, which gave him birth. On this occasion, he was surprised to find the total change which all the scenes of his boyhood had undergone. He had not been there for upward of forty-five years, and everything was so altered, that he would not have recognised the spot had he not been told it was the same. Small pine-trees, not higher than his head when he left it, in which the "old fields,"

as they are called in that part of Virginia, abound, had grown up into tall forest-trees. Orchards had disappeared, and others been planted in their places. The graves of his father, grandfather and grandmother, had been levelled and obliterated by the plough, and the only guide to the spot where they reposed, was an old stump of a pear-tree, whose position he recollected. Peace to their spirits! It matters little to them whether the ploughshare cut the turf above their poor mortal dust, or a stately monument mark the place of its interment.

The dwelling-house alone remained without any essential change; and tradition had carefully preserved a recollection of the room in which Mr. Clay was born. He was anxious to find a hickory-tree, remarkable for the excellence of its fruit, which stood near by the spring that supplied his father's family with water. It no longer stood there—it was gone! Upon inquiry after it of a friend in the neighborhood, who was possessed of a somewhat poetical imagination, he replied, that when General Jackson was elected president, the tree withered; and when he removed the deposites from the Bank of the United States, it fell decayed to the earth. Mr. Clay, of course, laughed heartily at this fanciful account of the fate of his favorite tree.

We turn from these desultory retrospections to the stirring political events which preceded and attended the presidential canvass of 1844.

XXII.

THE TEXAS QUESTION—THE CONTEST OF 1844.

Mr. Clay's sojourn in Washington, during the spring of 1844, was one of respite from the fatigues of travel and public receptions. On the 1st of May, he was nominated for the presidency by the whig national convention at Baltimore, and on the 13th of the same month, he set out for Ashland, attended only by his son, and arrived at Lexington the evening of Saturday, the 18th, in fine health and spirits. Here he was enthusiastically welcomed by an immense collection of his fellow-citizens. In vain did he attempt to escape from the pageant of a public reception. He was compelled to listen to an address of salutation and compliment. His reply was candid, good-humored, and to the point. He told the multitude that he was happy to see them—happy to see every one of them—"but there was an excellent old lady in the neighborhood, whom he would rather see than any one else"—so, begging them to allow him to return to Ashland, he bade them good-night! This irresistible appeal was received in the spirit in which it was made; and amid the blaze of torches, and the cheers of the people, he was escorted to his home.

Events of interest to the country and to himself, had transpired during the interval of his absence. The question of the annexation of Texas, that fertile source of many woes, had come up; and he had written a most statesmanlike letter on the subject. Discussions in regard to him had been started in Congress, with the view of affecting his political prospects; and a whig convention, assembled at Baltimore, had, on the 1st of May, 1844, nominated Henry Clay for president of the United States, and Theodore Frelinghuysen for vice-president.

Mr. Clay's letter on the Texas question, was written while he was partaking the hospitalities of Governor Morehead, at Raleigh, the 17th of April. In this letter, he states the fact that, during his sojourn in New Orleans, he had been greatly surprised by information received from Texas, that in the course of the autumn of 1843, a voluntary overture had proceeded from the executive

of the United States to the authorities of Texas, to conclude a treaty of annexation. To the astonishment of the whole nation, we were now informed that a treaty of annexation had been actually concluded, and was to be submitted to the senate for its consideration. If, without the loss of national character, without the hazard of foreign war, with the general concurrence of the nation, without any danger to the integrity of the Union, and without an unreasonable price, the question of annexation were presented, it would appear in quite a different light. Mr. Clay then enters upon a review of our past negotiations in regard to the territory of Texas, and of the relations of Texas toward Mexico. And the conclusion at which he arrives is, that if the government of the United States were to acquire Texas, it would acquire along with it all the incumbrances which Texas is under, and among them the actual or suspended war between Mexico and Texas.

And here the language of Mr. Clay has the emphasis of prophecy: "Of that consequence," he says, "there can not be a doubt. *Annexation and war with Mexico are identical.*" In conclusion, he remarks: "I consider the annexation of Texas, at this time, without the assent of Mexico, as a measure compromising the national character, involving us certainly in war with Mexico, probably with other foreign powers, dangerous to the integrity of the Union, inexpedient in the present financial condition of the country, and not called for by any general expression of public opinion." In a subsequent letter, dated Ashland, July 27, 1844, and addressed to two gentlemen of Alabama, Mr. Clay says, unhesitatingly, that, far from having any personal objection to the annexation of Texas, he should be glad to see it, *without dishonor*; but, at the same time, he expresses the conviction that annexation at that time, and under existing circumstances, would compromit the honor of the country; involve us in a war, in which the sympathies of all Christendom would be against us; and endanger the integrity of the Union. National dishonor, foreign war, and distraction and division at home, were too great sacrifices to make for the acquisition of Texas. He remarks in this letter: "I do not think that the subject of slavery ought to affect the question one way or the other. Whether Texas be

independent, or incorporated in the United States, I do not believe it will prolong or shorten the duration of that institution. It is destined to become extinct at some distant day, in my opinion, by the operation of the inevitable laws of population."

As the period for the nomination of presidential candidates approached, it became more and more apparent that the Texas question was destined to override all others in the coming contest. The bank, the tariff, and all subordinate matters, were merged in the one great issue of the immediate annexation of Texas. Among the whigs there was a general acquiescence in the views of Mr. Clay on the subject. Some persons, who entertained extreme opinions as to the feasibility of the immediate abolition of slavery, thought him too tolerant; and others, whose interests inclined them a different way, saw, in his opposition to annexation, hostility to the extension of an institution which, it was well-known, was always regarded as an evil. But the great body of the whigs of the Union responded heartily to his sentiments, and recognised the wisdom of his policy and the patriotism of his motives.

Soon after the withdrawal of Mr. Webster from the cabinet, it began to be rumored that our government had made overtures inviting application from the authorities of Texas for its annexation to the United States. These overtures, it was said, were at first coolly received by President Houston; but "being again approached, not to say importuned, by the executive of the United States, he coyly assented to listen to proposals." In the meantime, sedulous efforts were made to bring about that state of public opinion in this country that should favor the movements of the friends of annexation. Insidious appeals were multiplied throughout nearly all the democratic journals, intended to arouse the jealousy of our people in regard to the designs of foreign powers. It was boldly asserted that England was intriguing with a view of establishing a commercial ascendency over Texas, and that there was great danger that the young republic would yield to the allurements which were held out. The slaveholding states were called upon to protect themselves against the danger of so formidable a rival as Texas would be under the protection of Great Britain. And then there was the pet phrase

to which, we believe, Mr. Bancroft first gave currency, of "extending the area of freedom!"

It now appears, from the confessions of President Houston and his secretary of state, Mr. Anson Jones, that our government was not a match for that of Texas in diplomacy. Mr. Tyler and his advisers were completely duped by the *finesse* of Messrs. Houston and Jones. The bugbear of English interference was the most unsubstantial of chimeras, and the arguments and assertions based upon it and used for operating on the minds of the people of the United States, were false and empty. Mr. Anson Jones, in a series of letters recently published in the Galveston Civilian, claims that it was his diplomacy in bringing about the needful state of feeling in this country, which precipitated the annexation movement; that it was the adroitness of Texas policy which accomplished an object that might have been delayed for years. He at the same time denies that there was any intrigue with foreign powers injurious to the interests of the United States, or really adverse to ultimate annexation. He also makes a declaration which throws light upon the effect which the *mode* of annexation had upon the origin of the war. He is of opinion that the selection by Messrs. Tyler and Calhoun of the house resolutions instead of the senate amendment was extremely injudicious, and he expresses his surprise that that alternative should have been presented to Texas instead of the other and more peaceful mode presented in the proposition for negotiation. He says that this decision of the government of the United States produced surprise in that of Texas, from the belief that *war would immediately follow;* whereas, by the senate's mode of proceeding, annexation could have been effected without war: but he says that Texas had no option but to accept the mode selected by President Tyler. The joint resolution of the house provided for the admission of Texas into the Union on certain conditions. The amendment of the senate, which Mr. Tyler chose to set aside, provided for missions and negotiations, for the arrangement of terms of admission and cession.

The appeals and misrepresentations of the pro-annexation party undoubtedly had a great effect upon that large portion of the people who had neither leisure nor opportunity to look be-

hind the curtain and witness the questionable means and motives at work for the accomplishment of a measure big with portents of war, of death, and slavery. Could they have seen the springs which set the pageant in motion, they might have been disenchanted. The personal ambition of Mr. John Tyler to associate his name with an important movement, and to place himself as a prominent candidate for a second presidential term before the people, was the insignificant origin of that train of national sins and evils which led to the war with Mexico. The democratic convention and Mr. Polk did but steal Mr. Tyler's thunder, and take up the thread of his policy. The issue which he chose to make with the opposite party and the people was one for which Mr. Tyler had provided for his own ends, but which was now remorselessly adopted by those who saw in it an instrument for operating upon the cupidity, the prejudices, and the fears, of a large number of their countrymen.

The Mexican authorities had emphatically declared that annexation would be regarded as an act of war on our part. Mr. Clay had expressed his belief that war would inevitably follow the measure. Mr. Van Buren, escaping for once from the trammels of non-committalism, had written a long letter in decided opposition to the project of immediate annexation; and for this he was thrown overboard by the democratic convention of May, 1844, who in their resolutions recommended the "re-annexation of Texas, at the earliest practicable period, to the cordial support of the democracy of the Union." The soundness of Mr. Clay's views on this question has been abundantly verified in the course of events, though his predictions were decried as chimerical at the time. Annexation was the primary, if not the immediate cause, of the war with Mexico.

It was while this annexation scheme was maturing, and all the arts and devices which chicanery could invent to reconcile public opinion were being actively employed, that the conventions of the two great parties of the Union for the nomination of candidates for the presidential term commencing in March, 1845, met at Baltimore. The whig convention met first. On the 1st of May, 1844, the city of Baltimore presented an extraordinary spectacle. The whole population seemed astir, while

a new one, that was almost to outnumber it, was pouring in on all sides. At every avenue, railroad-dépôt, and wharf, wherever coaches, cars, and steamboats, could disengage their passengers, there was a scene of animation exhibited that bespoke the anticipation of some great event. There were to be three conventions during the week: the national convention for the nomination of a president and vice-president; the ratification convention of whig young men from all parts of the Union; and the Maryland gubernatorial convention.

The hospitality of Baltimore was satisfactorily tested on this occasion. An eye-witness of the scene which the city presented described it thus:—

"The whole place resembles a fair. Every street is alive with people, hurrying to and fro from the dépôts, crowding the sidewalks, clustering round the hotels, chattering, laughing, huzzaing. From time to time, as new delegations arrive, music sounds, banners wave, and the whigs, with eager looks and hope, and triumph in their eyes, continue to pour in by thousands from the remotest quarters of the Union. Clay badges hang conspicuously at all button-holes; Clay portraits, Clay banners, Clay ribbands, Clay songs, Clay quicksteps, Clay marches, Clay caricatures, meet the eye in all directions. Oh, the rushing, the driving, the noise, the excitement! To see, and hear, and feel, is glory enough for one day. Not only are hotels and boarding-houses of all grades and calibres already filled and overflowing, but private dwellings are thrown open with that warm-hearted hospitality which has ever characterized this ardent and excitable population. Everybody is talking: some about who is to be vice-president, but more in anticipation of Thursday's gala. The procession will surpass anything witnessed in this country."

On Wednesday, the 1st of May, 1844, the whig national convention for the nomination of president and vice-president of the United States was held in the universalist church in Calvert street. On calling the list of delegates, it was found that there were only two who did not answer to their names, and they were from the state of Mississippi. The promptitude and unanimity shown in this full attendance was regarded as a happy augury. The honorable Ambrose Spencer, of New York, was appointed president of the convention, assisted by vice-presidents from all the states of the Union.

For months there had been no doubt or difference among the whigs as to the nominee. The task of the convention was not, therefore, an embarrassing one. Mr. Leigh, of Virginia, rose and remarked that the voice of the whig party of the country

was so decidedly in favor of a certain individual for the presidency, that it would be unnecessary to go through the usual forms of a nomination. He then offered a resolution, declaring HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, to be unanimously chosen as the whig candidate for the presidency of the United States, and that he be recommended to the people as such. This resolution was adopted by acclamation amid loud and prolonged tokens of enthusiasm and applause. A committee, composed of Messrs. Berrien of Georgia, Barnett of Ohio, Archer of Virginia, Lawrence of Massachusetts, and Erastus Root of New York, was appointed to wait on Mr. Clay and inform him of his nomination. On a proposition being made that Mr. Clay, who was in Washington, should appear in Baltimore the next day, "before the countless thousands who would then be assembled to ratify the nomination," a letter was read from Mr. Clay, in which he briefly said, that he could not reconcile it with his sense of delicacy and propriety to attend either of the whig conventions that week in Baltimore.

The choice of the convention for vice-president fell upon the honorable THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey. The result of the first ballot taken, showed 275 votes, of which 138 were necessary to a choice. John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, had 38; Millard Fillmore, of New York, 53; John Davis, of Massachusetts, 83; Theodore Frelinghuysen, 101. The result of the second vote was: for John Sergeant, 32; Millard Fillmore, 57; John Davis, 74; Theodore Frelinghuysen, 118. The result of the third vote was: for John Davis, 76; for Millard Fillmore, 40; for Theodore Frelinghuysen, 155. So it was announced that THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, having received a majority of all the votes given, was the candidate of the convention for the office of vice-president of the United States.

Mr. Frelinghuysen had been in the senate of the United States and he deservedly possessed the esteem and confidence of the whigs to the fullest extent. He had, however, become identified with an important religious sect, at whose Bible anniversaries and missionary meetings he was frequently an active and influential attendant He was known to belong to the presbyterian

denomination of Christians; and this circumstance, while it brought over few additions to the whig ranks, was destined to be used with great effect in prejudicing the minds of Roman catholics and adopted citizens generally against the whig presidential ticket.

On the 2d of May, the day after the whig nominations had been made the "ratification convention," composed principally of whig young men from all parts of the country, had their procession and their meetings. "This was, beyond doubt," says an eyewitness, "the largest and most imposing political assemblage that ever convened in the United States. Every state of the Union was represented, and several of them by thousands of delegates; an assemblage of distinguished statesmen from one extreme of the Union to the other, was congregated, not of young men only, but veterans in their country's service. The venerable Ambrose Spencer, the associate of Jefferson in his most ardent political struggle, was greeted by others of the same school from the east, west, north, and south. Webster and Berrien were there; Crittenden and Clayton, George Evans from Maine, Thomas Ewing from Ohio, Morehead from Kentucky. Eleven ex-governers of the states attended the convention."

We must refer the curious reader to the newspapers of the period for a full description of the great political pageant of the ratification. The procession through the principal streets of Baltimore, was as remarkable for its numbers as for the enthusiasm of which it was the index. "It would be in vain," writes one who witnessed it, "to attempt an enumeration of the banners or their devices: this, I suppose, will all be minutely recorded by some modern Froissart. Some of them were splendid in the highest degree, especially the grand national prize banner, which was placed upon a high, tasteful car, drawn by four white horses. There were numerous likenesses of Henry Clay, some of them very exquisitely painted, and in various degrees approximating a resemblance of the original, whose true face, however, has never yet been presented, save to those who have looked upon the living original. The truth is, that Mr. Clay's countenance varies so exceedingly in its expression, according to the circumstances in which he is placed, that could it be struck

into marble at any one moment, those who had seen him only when in a different mood, would find fault with it as no likeness. The favorite was here shown up in various phases: sometimes as a statesman, seated, and surrounded by books and papers: sometimes as the farmer of Ashland, in a rural scene, with cattle, plough, and implements of husbandry; again, as 'father of the American system,' with emblems of home industry round him; often under the protection of the eagle of his country; and oftener between allegorical figures of wisdom, justice, and all manner of virtues; and in several cases as the favored of his countrymen, who lean upon his portrait with smiles, or point to him as their benefactor. Had Mr. Clay been present, he might be said, parodying the line of Gray, to read his history in a nation's banners."

At this second convention, the Hon. John M. Clayton of Delaware, presided. Judge Berrien, from the committee appointed at the nominating convention to communicate to Mr. Clay the intelligence of their choice, read the letter of the committee, and Mr. Clay's reply. "Confidently believing," says Mr. Clay, "that this nomination is in conformity with the desire of a majority of the people of the United States, I accept it, from a high sense of duty, and with feelings of profound gratitude." Mr. Webster, having been called for, addressed the meeting eloquently in behalf of the nominations, remarking that all the indications of public sentiment, in all quarters, had proclaimed that Mr. Clay, of all the rest, was the man on whom, upon this occasion, the voice of the country had concentrated. The ratification convention, after the adoption of appropriate resolutions, adjourned *sine die*.

The day after their adjournment, a letter from Mr. Clay, dated Washington, May 3, 1844, was addressed to the National Intelligencer, in which, by way of reply to the numerous invitations poured in upon him to visit his fellow-citizens at various points of the Union, he says: "Hereafter, and until the pending presidential election is decided, I can not accept nor attend any public meeting of my fellow-citizens, assembled in reference to that object, to which I may have been or shall be invited. It is my wish and intention, when I leave this city, to return home as

quietly and quickly as possible, and, employing myself in my private business and affairs, there to await the decision of the presidential election, acquiescing in it, whatever it may be, with the most perfect submission."

Twenty-six days after the adjournment of the convention which nominated Mr. Clay, there were two more political conventions in Baltimore, for the purpose of nominating presidential candidates. One of these met on the 27th of May, in the Odd-Fellows' hall, north Gay street; and, after a rather stormy session of three days, nominated, to the surprise of everybody, Mr. James K. Polk of Tennessee, for the presidency. The next day, Mr. George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, was nominated by the same body for the vice-presidency; Silas Wright, of New York, having declined the nomination. The other presidential convention to which we have referred, met in another part of the city, also on the 27th, and, with extraordinary unanimity, nominated Mr. *John Tyler* for the presidency.

At an early stage in the proceedings of the democratic convention, a proposition was brought forward by Mr. Saunders, of North Carolina, requiring a two-third vote to make a nomination. This was a fatal blow at the prospects of Mr. Van Buren, and his friends vehemently opposed the proposition. Mr. Benjamin F. Butler of New York, the most active of Mr. Van Buren's adherents, declared that he knew well that in voting by simple majority, the friend he was pledged to support would receive a majority of from ten to fifteen, and consequently the nomination. If two thirds should be required to make a choice, that friend must inevitably be defeated, and that defeat caused by the action of states that could not be claimed as democratic. But, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Butler and others, the two-third rule was agreed upon by a vote of 148 to 118. After seven ballotings, in which Messrs. Van Buren and Cass received the greater number of votes out of seven candidates, it began to be apparent that the friends of the annexation policy were destined to carry the day. Mr. Young, of New York, remarked that "a firebrand had been thrown into their camp by the mongrel administration at Washington, and this was the motive seized upon as a pretext for a change on the part of some gentlemen. That

firebrand was the abominable Texas question—*but that question, like a fever, would wear itself out, or kill the patient.*"

In his letter of April 23, 1844, to a committee in Cincinnati, Mr. Polk had remarked: "I have no hesitation in declaring that I am in favor of the *immediate re-annexation of Texas* to the territory and government of the United States." There could not be a doubt that it was for their views on this question, henceforth to be made the predominant one, that Mr. Martin Van Buren was abandoned and Mr. Polk adopted as the candidate. "Let Texas be the watchword," said General Jackson, subsequently, in his letter of June 14, 1844, "and victory is certain."

As for the Tyler convention, it was never regarded in any other light than as a joke by the intelligent. The democratic party, thinking they could use Mr. Tyler for their own peculiar ends, tried to preserve their gravity upon the subject and look serious; they succeeded pretty well in this until they had no further use for the renegade, and then their laughter, long suppressed, burst forth: and they have ever since extended no other notice than that of derision to Mr. Tyler and his friends. This convention was composed, in a great measure, of men with little political or any other character to boast of. Its results were impotent and abortive. After affording amusement to paragraphists and newspaper readers; after Mr. Tyler had been nominated, and had accepted the nomination, the farce ended with the formal withdrawal of his name from the list of candidates before the people.

And now the war of calumny, misrepresentation, and abuse, which had been waged in years past against Mr. Clay, was revived in all its virulence. That staple article of electioneering slander, the old coalition story, was manufactured anew for the market, with variations to suit the taste of a new generation. Shortly before the meeting of the whig convention, Mr. Linn Boyd of Kentucky, had introduced the subject on the floor of the house of representatives. It would be tedious to quote his citations of exploded calumnies, and show how and when their utter falsehood was proved. The conclusion at which Mr. Boyd arrives, after taking for granted that all the nailed slanders against Mr Clay are established verities, is simply this: "Although," he says, "impartial men may believe, as I do myself, that there was

no *technical* bargain entered into between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay in their own proper persons, yet it does seem to me that no one, free from prejudice, can carefully examine the circumstances and evidences in the case, without the most thorough conviction that it was understood by the parties that Mr. Clay's appointment to the office of secretary of state, would result from the election of Mr. Adams." Truly, a lame and impotent conclusion! As lame and impotent—if we may borrow an illustration applied to a different case—as it would be should some political adversary accuse Mr. Boyd of murder, and, on being called on for an explanation, should say: "Although impartial men may believe, as I do myself, that there was no *technical* murder committed by Mr. Boyd in his own proper person, yet it does seem to me that he has made a slaughterous attempt upon the king's English." By his own admission, Mr. Boyd fully exculpates Mr. Clay.

"Sir," said Mr. Webster, in his speech of January, 1830, on Mr. Foot's resolution, "this charge of a coalition in reference to the late administration, is not original with the honorable member. It did not spring up in the senate. Whether as a fact, as an argument, or as an embellishment, it is all borrowed. He adopts it, indeed, from a very low origin, and a still lower present condition. It is one of the thousand calumnies with which the press teemed during an excited political canvass. It was a charge, of which there was not only no proof or probability, but which was, in itself, wholly im possible to be true. No man of common information ever believed a syllable of it. Yet it was of that class of falsehoods which, by continued repetition, through all the organs of detraction and abuse, are capable of misleading those who are already far misled; and of further fanning passions already kindled into flame. Doubtless it served in its day, and in a greater or less degree, the end designed by it. Having done that, *it has sunk into the mass of stale and loathsome calumnies.* It is the very cast-off slough of a polluted and shameless press. Incapable of further mischief, it lies in the sewer, lifeless and despised. It is not now, sir, in the power of the honorable member to give it dignity or decency, by attempting to elevate it, and to introduce it into the senate. He can not change it from what it is—an object of general disgust and scorn. On the contrary, the contact, if he choose to touch it, is more likely to drag him down, down to the place where it lies itself."

In the autumn of 1844, an interesting communication was made to the public by Mr. B. W. Leigh, of Virginia, on the subject of this old galvanized slander. For some twenty years, the traducers of Mr. Clay in that state, had made frequent mysterious allusions to a correspondence, the publication of which they loudly demanded. Mr. Clay's reluctance to consent to the publication, originating solely in motives of delicacy the most honorable, was

publicly attributed by those who well knew every syllable of that correspondence, to fears of exposure, and referred to as an admission of guilt. The very men who dreaded the publication, lest it should expose the hollowness and insincerity of their accusations, clamored for it in the reliance, which for many years proved not unfounded, that Mr. Clay would never consent to vindicate himself by the simple means which they defied him to adopt.

Sometime during the summer of 1844, Mr. Clay sent copies of these letters, which his enemies made the basis of their vague and unprincipled charges, to Mr. Leigh; and, in giving them to the world, that gentleman remarks:—

"If I am rightly informed, no application has ever been made directly to Mr. Clay by Mr. Blair or Mr. Linn Boyd, or by any other of that party, to consent to the publication of these letters. . . . . Overcome by the earnest entreaties of his friends in Virginia, Mr. Clay has reluctantly consented to the publication (if they think it proper) of these letters, private and confidential as they are, and even playful and sportive in their character. . . . . Knowing, as he must have known, that the publication could only be beneficial to him, he has yet patiently endured all the calumnies which have been founded on the letters. I now publish them, in order to put down, effectually and for ever, a vile charge, which has been revived after having been completely refuted, and which has been revived here in Virginia, in the hope that the letters, after so long a delay, would not be published."

From one of these letters, dated January 29, 1825, we quote a few passages, to show that even in the informal freedom of familiar correspondence, Mr. Clay's objections to the elevation of a military chieftain, with purely military claims, to the chief magistracy, would break forth with spontaneous earnestness and force:—

* * * "The knaves can not comprehend how a man can be honest. They can not conceive *that I should have solemnly interrogated my conscience*, and asked it to tell me seriously what I ought to do!—that it should have enjoined me not to establish the dangerous precedent *of elevating, in this early stage of the republic, a military chieftain merely because he has won a great victory!* I am afraid that you will think me moved by these abuses. Be not deceived. I assure you that I never, in my whole life, felt more perfect composure, more entire confidence in the resolutions of my judgment, and a more unshaken determination to march up to my duty. And, my dear sir, is there an intelligent and unbiased man, who must not, sooner or later, concur with me? Mr. Adams, you know well, I should never have selected, if at liberty to draw from the whole mass of our citizens for a president. But there is no danger in his elevation now, or in time to come. Not so of his competitor, of whom I can not believe that killing twenty-five

hundred Englishmen at New Orleans qualifies him for the various, difficult, and complicated duties of the chief magistracy. I perceive that I am unconsciously writing a sort of defence, which you may probably think implies guilt. 'What will be the result?' you will ask with curiosity, if not anxiety. I think Mr. Adams must be elected; such is the prevailing opinion. Still I shall not consider the matter as certain, until the election is over."

In a card, which bears date the 3d of May, 1844, General Jackson reaffirmed the charge of "bargain and corruption" in a manner which showed that age had not blunted the vindictive asperities of his nature. General James Hamilton, in a letter growing out of this card, dated the 26th of the same month, remarks: "It would, in my humble opinion, have been an act of supererogation on the part of Mr. Clay to have made a bargain for what, by the force and gravity of political causes and geographical considerations, was inevitable without either his crime or his participation—an offer of a seat in Mr. Adams's cabinet. * * * * I sincerely believe that Mr. Clay's acceptance of the office that subjected him to such obloquy was the result of a sense of the duty which he owed to the country, to aid by his counsels him whom he had assisted to place in power."

The pertinacious industry with which this putrid calumny has been raked up by political *chiffoniers* from the kennel where it has been repeatedly cast, "like a dead dog despised," can only be accounted for by the fact, that Mr. Clay's whole career, public and private, will bear the strictest scrutiny of honor and patriotism. He was never one of those accommodating statesmen, who, starting with the assumption that "all is fair in politics," have one conscience for their public and another for their private acts; who look upon deceptions and intrigues that would be contemptible in the man of business or of society as very venial in the politician. In the lack of other points, therefore, for attack in his public history, this miserable suspicion—for, in its most specious state, the slander could never rise above the dignity of a suspicion—was selected as the one vulnerable spot.

It has been truly remarked that "there is no example in the records of detraction and calumny of such persevering, rancorous, and malignant attacks, as those which have been directed against Mr. Clay during the last twenty years, because of the fact that he did not deem it his duty, acting either upon his own

judgment, or in conformity with the wishes of his constituents, whom he represented in the house of representatives, to cast his vote for General Jackson as president of the United States." Nor were these attacks confined to his public character and life. The domestic fireside was invaded. The social circle was not held sacred. Mr. Clay was denounced as a gambler, a sabbath-breaker, and a profane swearer. Stories the most unfounded, charges the most imaginary, were busily circulated by the opposition, in newspapers and pamphlets, holding him up as a man to be distrusted by the religious portion of the community. It is unnecessary to recapitulate and refute these libels. They served their purpose, doubtless; and any exposure of their utter falsehood, however thorough and irresistible it might be, would not prevent their revival, whenever it might answer the ends of the profligate and the designing to give them currency. "Falsehood," said Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, in a speech delivered some six weeks before the presidential election—"falsehood is now the order of the day. Perhaps the world before never exhibited more disgraceful spectacles of reckless mendacity for political purposes."

Mr. Clay's professional labors were not interrupted in consequence of his nomination. Soon after his return to Kentucky he engaged in an important law case, in which he displayed as much zeal and watchfulness in behalf of the interests of his client as if he had just entered upon the practice of the law, and was struggling to gain his first suit.

But now the eventful moment that was to influence the fate of the country for years—perhaps for centuries—was at hand. Never before were vast bodies of the American people so intensely interested in a political result as in that of the presidential election of November, 1844. It came at last, and with crushing effect, to thousands and hundreds of thousands, who had hoped and wished well for the republic. Mr. Clay was defeated—but defeated under circumstances far less mortifying to him than such a triumph as that achieved by his opponent, Mr. Polk, would have been. He was defeated by the grossest and most reckless frauds that were ever perpetrated by the practical enemies of republican liberty. These frauds were alone

sufficient to prevent the true verdict of the people from being rendered: but, conjoined with other impositions, they lead us irresistibly to the conclusion that, could an honest expression of the public will have been obtained, it would have been in favor of Mr. Clay by a vast preponderance, not only of the intelligence, but of the legal voters of the country. Indeed, had the illegal votes that were polled in the state of New York alone been cast aside, Mr. Clay would have been the president of the United States. We shall have more to say hereafter of the means by which the legitimate expression of the popular will was rendered null and void.

The effect of this great defeat upon the whig party was disheartening in the extreme. You would have thought some stupendous public calamity had occurred, to have seen the signs of deep, sincere grief written upon the majority of honest, intelligent faces. Manifestations of sorrow and of attachment the most touching were offered to Mr. Clay. A profound sigh seemed to be wrung from the nation's heart. Tears, such as Cato might have wept, were shed from manly eyes; and many of its truest friends began to despair of the republic. Innumerable were the letters from all parts of the country, filled with patriotic regrets, that found their way to Ashland. Most of these were from personal strangers; some from acquaintances.

"I have sustained many severe losses of dear friends," writes one; "but nothing has hurt me like this. Oh, God! is there no constitutional provision by which illegal votes can be purged out, and the legally elected president restored to this nation?"

"I have thought for three or four days," says another correspondent, "that I would write you; but, really, I am unmanned. All is gone! I see nothing but despair depicted on every countenance. I confess that nothing has happened to shake my confidence in our ability to sustain a free government so much as this. A cloud of gloom hangs over the future. May God save the country!"

Another writes: "What a wound has been inflicted upon the honor and interests of the country! I pray God that truth may yet prevail, and our republican institutions be saved."

"I write with an aching heart," is the language of another letter, "and ache it must. God Almighty save us! Although our hearts are broken and bleeding, and our bright hopes are crushed, we feel proud of our candidate. God bless you! Your countrymen do bless you. All know how to appreciate the man who has stood in the first rank of American patriots. Though unknown to you, you are by no means a stranger to me."

An American in London writes, under date of November 27, 1844: "I will not lose a moment in conveying to you the heart-felt emotion, amazement, and grief, with which I received the news, just arrived, of the result of the presidential election. Great God! is it possible? Have our people given this astonishing, this alarming proof, of the madness to which party frenzy can carry them? The hopes of the wise and the good, in the New and the Old World, rested upon you. But my heart is sick. May God for ever bless you!"

These extracts will convey to the future reader but a feeble impression of that general feeling of chagrin and despondency which was maniifested throughout the United States at the result of the election of 1844. It was not a feeling, the offspring of selfish disappointment, of wounded pride, or defeated partisanship; but one arising from regrets the most purely patriotic and disinterested that our fallible nature can cherish—regrets springing from the most devoted love of country, the most single-hearted attachment to our system of government, the most entire faith in the goodness and worth of republican liberty. Letters without number from the mothers and daughters of the land were also addressed to Mr. Clay, indicative of the wide-spread affliction which had been produced by his defeat. Numerous testimonials of the unabated affection and admiration with which he was regarded were presented. The ladies of Virginia held meetings and formed an association, at the head of which was Mrs. Lucy Barbour, for procuring by voluntary subscription a statue to his honor. Their efforts were crowned with the most complete success. Addresses from large bodies of his fellow-citizens in every state of the Union bore to him the fullest assurance that he was still first in their esteem, and that the untoward result of the contest had not affected their convictions of the fact that a

large majority of the legal voters of the United States were in favor of him and his policy.

The presidential electors of Kentucky, having discharged the duty intrusted to them by the people, determined, before separating, to wait upon Mr. Clay in a body, and tender him a declaration of their high esteem for him as a private citizen, and their undiminished confidence in his exalted patriotism and superior statesmanship. No public notice had been given of their intention to visit Ashland, and Mr. Clay himself was not made acquainted with it until a few hours before their arrival. He met them at his door, and, after an exchange of greetings, Judge Underwood, on behalf of the electors, addressed him in a brief and eloquent speech, to which Mr. Clay responded. Both the address and the reply possess such intrinsic and enduring interest, that we copy them entire :—

"Mr. Clay: I have been selected by the members of our electoral college to say to you for each one of us, that we have come to offer you the homage of our personal regard and profound respect. In this work of the heart, many of your neighbors have likewise come to unite with us. On yesterday, at Frankfort, we performed our official duty in obedience to the will of the people of Kentucky, by voting unanimously for yourself and Theodore Frelinghuysen to fill the offices of president and vice-president of the Uuited States.

"The machinations of your enemies, their frauds upon the elective franchise, and their duplicity with the people, in promulgating opposite principles in different sections, have defeated your election.

"We have no hope of preferment at your hands, which can tempt us to flatter, nor can the pen of proscription intimidate us in speaking the truth. Under existing circumstances it gratifies us to take you by the hand, and to unite, as we do most cordially, in expressing the sentiments of our hearts and of those we represent in regard to your personal character and political principles.

"Your past services are so interwoven with the history of our country for the last forty years, that malice and envy can not prevent succeeding generations from dwelling on your name with admiration and gratitude. Your example will illuminate the path of future statesmen, when those who hate and revile you are forgotten, or are only remembered, like the incendiary who burnt the temple, for the evil they have done.

"To you the election has terminated without personal loss; but to the nation, in our judgment, the injury is incalculable. God grant that the confederacy may not hereafter mourn over the result in dismembered fragments!

"While your enemies have not attempted to detract from your intellectual character, they have with untiring malice attacked your moral reputation and endeavored to destroy it. The verbal slanders and printed libels employed as means to accomplish political objects, have stained the character of our country and its institutions more than they have injured yours.

"In your high personal character, in your political principles, and unrivalled zeal and ability to carry them out, may be found the strong motives for our anxious efforts to secure your election. The protection of American labor, a national currency connected with a fiscal agent for the government, the distribution among the states of the proceeds of the public lands, further constitutional restrictions upon executive power and patronage, and a limitation upon the eligibility of the president for a second term, were measures which, under your administration, we hoped to mature and bring into practical operation. By your defeat they have been endangered, if not for ever lost.

"But we will not speculate on coming events. If things work well, we shall find consolation in the general prosperity. If apprehended evils come, we are not responsible; and, retaining our principles, we shall enjoy the happy reflection of having done our duty.

"In the shades of Ashland may you long continue to enjoy peace, quiet, and the possession of those great faculties which have rendered you the admiration of your friends and the benefactor of your country. And when at last death shall demand its victim, while Kentucky will contain your ashes, rest assured that old and faithful friends—those who knowing you longest, loved you best—will cherish your memory and defend your reputation."

The reply of Mr. Clay, as it appears in the Lexington Observer of December 10, 1844, was as follows:—

"I am greatly obliged, gentlemen, by the kindness toward me, which has prompted this visit from the governor, the presidential electors of Kentucky, and some of my fellow-citizens in private life. And I thank you, sir (Mr. Underwood), their organ on this occasion, for the feeling and eloquent address which you have just done me the honor to deliver. I am under the greatest obligations to the people of Kentucky. During more than forty years of my life they have demonstrated their confidence and affection toward me in every variety of form. This last and crowning evidence of their long and faithful attachment, exhibited in the vote which, in their behalf, you gave yesterday at the seat of the state government, as the electoral college of Kentucky, fills me with overflowing gratitude. But I should fail to express the feelings of my heart if I did not also offer my profound and grateful acknowledgments to the other states which have united with Kentucky in the endeavor to elect me to the chief magistracy of the Union, and to the million and a quarter of freemen, embracing so much virtue, intelligence, and patriotism, who, wherever residing. have directed strenuous and enthusiastic exertions to the same object.

"Their effort has been unavailing, and the issue of the election has not corresponded with their anxious hopes and confident expectations. You have, sir, assigned some of the causes which you suppose have occasioned the result. I will not trust myself to speak of them. My duty is that of perfect submission to an event which is now irrevocable.

"I will not affect indifference to the personal concern I had in the political contest just terminated: but, unless I am greatly self-deceived, the principal attraction to me of the office of president of the United States arose out of the cherished hope that I might be an humble instrument in the hands of Providence to accomplish public good. I desired to see the former purity of the general government restored, and to see dangers and evils which I sincerely believed encompassed it averted and remedied. I was anxious that the policy of the country, especially in the great department

of domestic labor and industry, should be fixed and stable, that all might know how to regulate and accommodate their conduct. And, fully convinced of the wisdom of the public measures which you have enumerated, I hoped to live to witness, and to contribute to, their adoption and establishment.

"So far as respects any official agency of mine, it has been otherwise decreed, and I bow respectfully to the decree. The future course of the government is altogether unknown, and wrapped in painful uncertainty. I shall not do the new administration the injustice of condemning it in advance. On the contrary, I earnestly desire that, enlightened by its own reflections, and by a deliberate review of all the great interests of the country, and prompted by public opinion, the benefit may yet be secured of the practical execution of those principles and measures for which we have honestly contended; that peace and honor may be preserved; and that this young but great nation may be rendered harmonious, prosperous, and powerful.

"We are not without consolations under the event which has happened. The whig party has fully and fairly exhibited to the country the principles and measures which it believed best adapted to secure our liberties and promote the common welfare. It has made, in their support, constant and urgent appeals to the reason and judgment of the people. For myself, I have the satisfaction to know that I have escaped a great and fearful responsibility; and that, during the whole canvass, I have done nothing inconsistent with the dictates of the purest honor. No mortal man is authorized to say that I held out to him the promise of any office or appointment whatever.

"What now is the duty of the whig party? I venture to express an opinion with the greatest diffidence. The future is enveloped in a veil impenetrable by human eyes. I can not contemplate it without feelings of great discouragement. But I know of only one safe rule in all the vicissitudes of human life, public and private, and that is, conscientiously to satisfy ourselves of what is right, and firmly and undeviatingly to pursue it under all trials and circumstances, confiding in the Great Ruler of the Universe for ultimate success. The whigs are deliberately convinced of the truth and wisdom of the principles and measures which they have espoused. It seems, therefore, to me that they should persevere in contending for them; and that, adhering to their separate and distinct organization, they should treat all who have the good of their country in view with respect and sympathy, and invite their co-operation in securing the patriotic objects which it has been their aim and purpose to accomplish.

"I heartily thank you, sir, for your friendly wishes for my happiness, in the retirement which henceforward best becomes me. Here I hope to enjoy peace and tranquillity, seeking faithfully to perform, in the walks of private life, whatever duties may yet appertain to me. And I shall never cease, while life remains, to look with lively interest and deep solicitude, upon the movement and operations of our free system of government, and to hope that under the smiles of an all-wise Providence, our republic may be ever just, honorable, prosperous, and great."

We learn from an eyewitness that the scene, during the delivery of these remarks was at once painful and interesting. While Mr. Clay was expressing his grateful regards for his friends, who had stood up to shield him from the malignant calumnies of

his enemies, and the patriotic hope that the result of the election, in the hands of an all-wise Providence, might be overruled for good to the country, every eye was suffused with manly tears. The old men who had known him in his earlier career, and had seen him come forth unharmed from amid the arrows of calumny and detraction which had been unsparingly aimed at him, and the unceasing though puerile efforts which had been made to arrest his progress—the young men who had been taught in infancy to lisp his name, and to revere him as his country's benefactor—wept together. "During Mr. Clay's remarks we occupied a position immediately in front of him; and as we watched his expressive countenance, and saw the deep emotion which at times almost overpowered him, and well nigh choked his utterance as he gave expression to the sentiments which have ever filled his bosom to the exclusion of every selfish feeling, we felt a conviction of his greatness, which, with all our former admiration of the man, we had never before realized."

The following was the numerical result of the election of 1844: For CLAY—Massachusetts, 12; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; Vermont, 6; New Jersey, 7; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 8; North Carolina, 11; Tennessee, 13; Kentucky, 12; Ohio, 23.—Total, 105.

For POLK—Maine, 9; New Hampshire, 6; New York, 36; Pennsylvania, 26; Virginia, 17; South Carolina, 9; Georgia, 10; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 6; Louisiana, 6; Indiana, 12; Illinois, 9; Missouri, 7; Michigan, 5; Arkansas, 3.—Total, 170.

The official popular vote showed for CLAY, 1,297,912; for POLK, 1,336,196; for BIRNEY, the candidate of the "liberal party" (sad misnomer!) as they called themselves, 62,127. Mr. Polk's majority over Mr. Clay, exclusive of South Carolina, where the presidential electors were chosen by the legislature, was 38,284. If to this be added 20,000 as the majority of Mr. Polk in South Carolina, his aggregate majority over Mr. Clay was 58,284. Place the Birney vote (62,127) by the side of this, and it will be seen that *Mr. Polk did not receive the votes of a majority of the people.* Mr. Clay received more votes by upward of twenty thousand than General Harrison, with all his

popularity and the immense efforts of the whigs, received in 1840. Take into account the large abstraction from the whig ranks in the state of New York by Birney, the alienations produced by the "Native" party, and other causes, to which we shall more particularly allude, and it will be seen that the whigs had abundant cause to confide in the strength of their candidate with the people, and to feel assured that, but for the frauds, treacheries, and deceits hat were practised, their triumph would have been as complete as their cause was just.

XXIII.

THE FRAUDS AND FOLLIES OF 1844.

THE causes of the defeat of the whigs in the presidential election of 1844, can be distinctly traced without the aid of hypothesis and speculation. Foremost among them we may cite the foreign influence—which, operating principally in the state of New-York, was also powerfully felt in Pennsylvania and other states. Early in the canvass, Mr. Brownson, a recent convert to the Roman catholic religion, the editor of a quarterly review published in Boston, and a writer of no mean abilities, gave the key-note for misrepresentations, which were echoed, with most malignant effect, from Maine to Louisiana. Of Mr. Frelinghuysen he wrote in the following terms:—

"Mr. Frelinghuysen is not only a whig in the worst sense of the term, but he is also the very impersonation of narrow-minded, ignorant, conceited bigotry—a man who attacks religious liberty, demands the unhallowed union of church and state, and contends that the government should legally recognise the religion of the majority, and declare whatever goes counter to that to be *contra bonos mores.* He concentrates in himself the whole spirit of 'Native Americanism,' and 'No Popery,' which displayed itself so brilliantly in the recent burnings of the catholic dwellings, seminaries, and churches, in the city of Philadelphia."

Invective like this, false and flagrant, carried with them still some speciousness. Mr. Frelinghuysen was well understood to be identified with a sect more earnest, perhaps, than any other in their denunciations of popery and its dangers. We all know

the potency of religious prejudices, and how high above mere secular interests a believer will place the interests of the church. The Roman catholics, embracing probably nine tenths of our adopted citizens and foreign immigrants, were jealously alive to suspicions and apprehensions such as Mr. Brownson and others, who had their confidence, saw fit to instill. The recollection of Gen. Harrison's death, a month after his installation, and the consequent elevation of the vice-president to his seat, were fresh in everybody's mind. "Why may not Mr. Frelinghuysen become your president, and, in his presbyterian zeal, burn your churches and drive away your priests?" was the question asked of thousands of foreigners, legal and illegal voters, with irresistible effect.

A native-American party, too, had suddenly sprung into consequence about this time. The assiduous attempts of the locofocos to secure by any means, however disorganizing, the foreign vote—the repeated frauds perpetrated by foreigners, falsely claiming to be naturalized, at the polls—the gregarious and anti-American attitude assumed by bodies of them, here and there—the consideration that hordes of immigrants, utterly ignorant of our political system, its workings, and its wants, unable, perhaps, even to read and write, had it in their power, after a brief residence, to vote, while the intelligent American, with sympathies all awake to his country's interests, well versed in her history, and having a deep stake in her welfare, but who had not passed the age of twenty-one, was debarred from the same privilege—facts and considerations like these, had produced a powerful reaction in the minds of native citizens; and, in the states of New York and Pennsylvania, had given rise to a party, undisciplined, badly organized, and deficient in influential leaders, but exercising great capacities for mischief. All the odium produced in the minds of adopted citizens and foreign illegal voters, by the acts and denunciations of this party, was transferred, most unjustly, to the whigs and Mr. Clay, while, at the same time, no measure of support was rendered to them by the new organization. Mr. Clay had never identified himself in any degree with the principles of this party. His course toward foreigners and adopted citizens, had always been one of extreme liberality. The Irish and Germans had always found in him a ready champion and a true

friend. In his speeches in regard to the recognition of South American independence, he had manifested a spirit the most magnanimous and tolerant toward the professors of the Roman catholic belief; and yet now, through the insidious manœuvres of his opponents, were all the errors and all the prospective acts, threatened and imaginary, of "nativism," converted to his injury!

The apprehension was studiously inculcated by the partisans of Mr. Polk, that the success of this faction was involved in that of Mr. Clay; that the consequence would be an immediate abolition or modification of the naturalization laws, greatly restricting the facilities of aliens for becoming voters. This apprehension had its effect even upon goodly numbers of adopted citizens who had heretofore voted the whig ticket. It also precipated the naturalizing of thousands with the express purpose of opposing nativism, and sent other thousands to the polls whose votes were in direct violation of the laws of the land.

These facts, it may be said, prove that a reform in our naturalization laws is much needed. But in regard to the question of remedying the evil, Mr. Clay and the whig party stood, and continue to stand, no more committed than their opponents. The native-American faction was composed of members of both parties; and the attempt to make the whigs responsible for their crude policy, their abortive intrigues, and their spasmodic movements, was the basest injustice, while at the same time it was but too effectual in spreading alarm and misconception among our foreign population. Everywhere pains were taken by the opposite party to produce the impression that the whig and native-American parties were identical.

Another obvious cause of the disastrous result of the election, was the conduct of the abolition or liberty party, which derived nine tenths of its strength from the whig ranks. There was a time when Mr. James G. Birney might have secured the election of Mr. Clay, and prevented the long train of predicted calamities and crimes, accompanied by bloodshed and affliction, which succeeded the annexation of Texas. But Mr. Birney, the friend of "liberty" and enemy of annexation, threw his influence in the scale of Mr. Polk, and persisted in running for the presidency, well knowing that he was thereby aiding the election of Polk.

It seemed to be, by a fatal perversity, that while at the north Mr. Clay was represented as an ultra supporter of the institution of slavery, at the south he should be described as an abolitionist· although, to use his own language, he was "neither one nor the other." In a private letter, which was purloined and published, bearing date September 18th, 1844, and addressed to Cassius M. Clay, he says:—

"As we have the same surname, and are, moreover, related, great use is made at the south against me, of whatever falls from you. There, you are even represented as being my son; hence the necessity of the greatest circumspection, and especially that you avoid committing me. You are watched wherever you go, and every word you publicly express will be tortured and perverted as my own are. After all, I am afraid you are too sanguine in supposing that any considerable number of the liberty men can be induced to support me."

The event proved that Mr. Clay's sagacity was not at fault in this apprehension. We have already shown that the whig votes thrown away upon Mr. Birney, were more than sufficient to have prevented the election of Mr. Polk. There is a class of impracticable theorists, who, while they are ready enough to claim and partake all the benefits of our confederate system of government, would yet trample upon those principles of compromise on which it was established and must rest. There is some consistency in the conduct of the disorganizers who advocate the dissolution of this noble confederacy because they can not at once remould to their taste the character of our people and our institutions; but the men who profess a love of the Union, and a desire for its perpetuity, and at the same time pursue a course practically fatal to its honor and its interests, because their own political ideal is unattainable, are the most dangerous foes of the republic. It was by the recreancy of such men, that Mr. Clay's elevation to the presidency was prevented. Alas! they can not give us back the gallant lives and the untarnished honor which their error has cost the country.

Calumny did its worst in regard to the private and public character of Mr. Clay, as we have already seen;* but the political duplicity resorted to by the partisans of Mr. Polk, was pro-

* The course of the whigs toward Mr. Polk, presented a most remarkable contrast to that practised by their opponents toward Mr. Clay. The public acts of the former were alone criticised and canvassed. There was no attempt to hunt up small personalities and scurrilous slanders against him.

ductive of far greater mischief. Everywhere at the south, Mr. Polk's claims were based upon the ground of his opposition to a protective tariff, and his pledges in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. At the north, he was represented as a better friend to the tariff than Mr. Clay; while the issue of annexation was repudiated wherever its unpopularity rendered such a course expedient. Silas Wright, a decided opponent of the Texas project in the senate of the United States, was made a locofoco candidate for governor of New York, by which the people were blinded, and the friends and enemies of annexation in the party, driven to unite in support of Mr. Polk. Thus, while annexation was the party cry in some sections, and, in fact, the great question of the election, care was taken to disclaim it so far in other sections, that the people should be utterly deceived as to the imminence of the measure.

In the resolutions of the convention which nominated Mr. Polk, there was no allusion, save a very equivocal one, to the tariff. This simply declared, that "justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country"—one of those axiomatic declarations, which, it is obvious, any party might safely adopt. The example of disingenuousness thus given at the convention, was faithfully copied and improved upon by political managers everywhere. At the south, the declaration was made to mean everything; at the north, nothing. Mr. Polk was quoted as the most strenuous free-trade philosopher in one place, while in another, he was depicted on banners and in wood-cuts, surrounded by emblems of domestic industry, and extending a most paternal measure of protection to American products and manu factures. In the slaveholding states, he was represented as the enemy of all tariffs; while, in the wool-growing and manufacturing states, it was promised that he would favor the protective policy, and, if he did not extend still more protection to domestic industry, would at least leave the existing tariff untouched. The success of these contrary manœuvres fully answered the expectations of their authors. In Pennsylvania, they were especially effectual in deceiving the people. Mr. Polk received large ma-

jorities in counties the most extensively opposed to any disturbance of the tariff. Indeed, throughout the states of Pennsylvania,* New York, and New Jersey, wherever the majority was supposed to be favorable to the policy, the locofoco banner bore the inscription of "protection." By such acts of chicanery were the people swindled out of their votes!

The great and sufficient cause, however, of the defeat of Mr Clay, were the gross, the undeniable frauds practised by agents of the opposite party at the polls. We have spoken of the assiduous attempts made to excite the alarm and the prejudices of foreigners against the whigs. The effect was to enlist them almost to a man in opposition to Mr. Clay. The month before the presidential election, there was an election for governor and other state officers in Maryland. The result in the city of Baltimore, showed an increase of votes far beyond any previous ratio. Within a few weeks of the election, not fewer than a thousand naturalization papers had been issued. And it was ascertained that not over forty of the whole number of persons for whom they were procured would vote the whig ticket! Several convictions for frauds upon the ballot-box took place in the courts, all the culprits being of one political complexion. A poor woman confessed that she had loaned the naturalization papers of her deceased husband to *seventeen different persons*, receiving a dollar in every instance for the use of them. Here were seventeen fraudulent votes accounted for! What a farce seems the elective franchise where such profanations of the freeman's right can be practised —by persons, too, just landed on our shores, having no patriotic associations with the past history of the country, no knowledge of our public men and public interests, and hardly able to explain

* When certain documents, proving Mr. Polk's opposition to the tariff of 1842, were about being circulated in Pennsylvania, the Lycoming Gazette of October 19, 1844, published at Williamsport, Lycoming county, denounced them in these terms: "Burn the vile slanders, the product of British gold. Warn your neighbors of the imposition; and, when the day of election arrives, teach these hirelings that the democracy of Lycoming are too intelligent to be gulled, and too independent to be bought. By voting for James K. Polk and George M. Dallas, you oppose the creation of another national bank, and *insure the continuance of the present tariff.*" Mr. Polk himself set a most anti-democratic example of disingenuousness. When waited upon, shortly before the election, by a committee, who wished to know whether he was in favor of modifying the tariff, he declined making any reply. In a letter dated June 19, 1844, to J. K. Kane, of Philadelphia, he had favored the opinion that he was, in the words of the Harrisburg Union (locofoco), "in favor of a judicious revenue tariff, affording the amplest incidental protection to American industry."

the difference between a monarchical and republican form of government!

A salutary restraint was put upon these fraudulent voters by the conviction and punishment of a few of the offenders; and there was consequently the remarkable falling off of 722 votes in the locofoco vote at the municipal election, which immediately followed, while the whig vote exhibited a diminution of only three. The whig vote at the gubernatorial election was 7,968; the locofoco vote, 9,190: the latter showing an increase of 1,892 over the election for mayor of the preceding year, when the largest vote ever thrown was polled, while the whig increase was only 368!

In Pennsylvania, there were evidences of fraud no less conclusive. At Pittsburg, after the presidential election, twenty-four bills of indictment for perjury and subornation of perjury in taking out naturalization papers, to be used for the benefit of Mr. Polk, were found. There were twenty-five prosecutions, in only one of which was there deficiency of proofs. A number of counties polled more votes than they contained male adult inhabitants, according to the census of 1840. If that census was correct, Pike county had but 748 male adult inhabitants: it polled 920 votes; Monroe county, with 2,034, polled 2,220; Tioga, with 3,342, polled 3,367; Perry, with 3,500, polled 3,671; Columbia, with 5,033, polled 5,108; and Potter, with 732, polled 794 votes. It is a little remarkable, that in no one of the strong whig counties of the state, was any such ratio of increase exhibited. This marvellous multiplication of voters excited naturally no little surprise; for it seemed quite unaccountable that in some of the locofoco counties there should be more voters than adult males, while in all the whig counties the reverse should be invariably the case!

In Georgia, from the tax-list and the census, it was estimated that the number of legal voters at the election of 1844, was 78,611. What was the result? The number of votes cast was 86,247, leaving 7,636 which can only be accounted for by the supposition of fraud. An examination of details, will show that this presumptive unlawful increase is, in every instance, on the side of the locofocos. The lawful vote of Forsyth, Lumpkin,

Habersham, and Franklin counties, was estimated at 3,202; but they actually returned 1,821 for Clay, and 4,014 for Polk—in all, 5,835! In the four whig counties of Madison, Elbert, Lincoln, and Columbia, the lawful vote was 3,105: the votes returned were 3,123—of which Clay received 2,124, and Polk 999. The locofocos directed all their efforts to throwing an overwhelming vote in those counties where they already had the ascendency Elbert, the strongest whig county in the state, gave five votes less than it was entitled to, according to the estimate to which we have referred.

The total vote of Louisiana, in the exciting contest of 1840, was 18,912. In that of 1844, it was 26,295! The frauds here were monstrous and palpable. In the single parish of Plaquemines, the vote for Mr. Polk exceeded the whole number of white males of all ages in the parish, in 1840, notwithstanding the property qualification exacted of voters. At the investigations afterward instituted, the steward of the steamboat Agnes, *John Gibney*, swore that the boat went down from New Orleans with a full load of passengers, under the charge of Judge Leonard (the great man of Plaquemines); that he himself, a minor, not residing in Plaquemines, being persuaded by the captain, voted three times at different polls in that parish—every time for Polk and Dallas. *Dr. J. B. Wilkinson*, a voter of Plaquemines, swore that he noticed that the polls were opened before the legal hour, and were then surrounded by a crowd of *strangers*, one of whom he ventured to challenge; but, as the clerk reached out the book, the sheriff pulled it away, declaring that nobody should be sworn! After this, the foreign votes went in pell-mell. *Alfred Vail*, a passenger, and *E. Seymour Austin*, pilot of the Agnes, swore to a state of facts within their knowledge, similar to that sworn to by John Gibney. *Albert Savage*, engineer of the steamboat Planter, swore that his boat went down with one hundred and forty locofocos from New Orleans, who voted after the fashion above described; but when *he* offered a vote—it being a *Clay* one—it was refused, the sheriff saying he would swear him! *Paul Cormen* testified that he went with other whigs to vote, but they were deterred by seeing Charles Bruland driven out of the voting-room, wounded, bloody, and without his hat, having been

beaten by the sheriff for offering a whig vote. There being a large locofoco mob about the polls, threatening the few whigs who approached, the latter were obliged to leave, save in a few instances, without voting, so that the recorded vote of Plaquemines stood—for Clay, 37; for Polk, 1,007! The locofoco majority in the state was 699; and if the vote of the Plaquemines precinct had been admitted to be as at the election of 1843, Mr. Clay would have carried the state.

In his remarks at Faneuil Hall, on the result of the election Mr. Webster said:—

"I believe it to be an unquestionable fact, that masters of vessels, having brought over emigrants from Europe, have, within thirty days of their arrival, seen those very persons carried up to the polls, and give their votes for the highest offices in the national and state governments. Such voters of course exercise no intelligence, and, indeed, no volition of their own. They can know nothing, either of the question at issue, or of the candidates proposed. They are mere instruments, used by unprincipled men—and made competent instruments only by the accumulation of crime upon crime. Now it seems to me impossible that every honest man, and every good citizen, every true lover of liberty and the constitution, every real friend of the country, would not desire to see an end put to these enormous abuses."

A reform, Mr. Webster added, was just as important to the rights of foreigners, regularly and fairly naturalized among us, as it is to the rights of native-born American citizens.

The total vote in the state of New York, in the presidential election of 1844, was—for Clay, 232,473; for Polk, 237,588; for Birney, 15,812: in all, 485,808. The majority for Polk over Clay was 5,115; the majority for Clay and Birney over Polk, 10,632. In the city of New York, and the counties of Erie and St. Lawrence, the most remarkable increase in the locofoco vote was exhibited, and here the largest amount of fraud was perpetrated. For weeks before the election, the courts in the city of New York were crowded by the applicants for naturalization, sent there by the industrious locofoco committees. One of the daily papers gave the following account of a scene presented the day before the election: "Yesterday noon, more than three hundred aliens had crowded about the doors of the common pleas in the city-hall, when, the room having been emptied through the windows, and the doors reopened for fresh admissions, such a scene was witnessed as has rarely been exhibited in an American

court-room. The doors were violently thrust in, and the avalanche of human beings came onward with such impetuosity, as to overthrow everything in its course. Coats were torn off, hats were trodden under foot, men were crowded and jammed until almost lifeless, and, in two or three cases, half an hour elapsed before they had recovered themselves sufficiently to speak. Outside of the court-room, the crowd of foreigners was clamorous for admission, and it required the physical force of six officers to make an opening for one of the judges. The court-room was filled and emptied not less than four times during the day, and among the crowd were a number of Irish women." In the city of New York, notwithstanding an admitted defection from the locofoco ranks to the whig, the locofoco increase from 1840, was 6,361 ; in St. Lawrence county, it was 1,126, while the whig vote was diminished 131 ; in Erie, it was 1,359, while the whig increase was only 122.

All the convictions for fraud at the polls in this election were upon one political side, as was all the presumptive evidence of fraud. In the city of New York, the conspiracy for swindling the people bore the marks of deliberate trickery and systematic corruption. There is one plain fact which is a conclusive answer to those who, in their ignorance, might question the assertion that the locofocos are the party which alone avails itself of these infamous outrages on the elective franchise. There is a simple remedy for the evil—a registry law. In the cities of Massachusetts, this law is found to operate as an efficient check to all illegal voting ; and in Massachusetts, we see none of that inordinate increase in the locofoco vote, that was exhibited in other places, where no such restrictions are established. The facilities for illegal voting in the city of New York, are enormous. A single individual, by dint of hard-swearing and adroit management, can vote at all the voting-booths in the city, numbering upward of sixty ! A well-drilled band of a hundred men, might easily cast upward of a thousand votes in one day ! A registry law is the only sufficient means of preventing the evil. Compel every legal voter in every ward to have his name enrolled on a printed list of voters some days previous to the election, so that time may be given to the ward officers to compare the lists, and

satisfy themselves of their correctness, and you provide a safeguard against the profanation of the ballot-box. Which party has solicitously asked for such a safeguard, and which has repudiated it? Which party, after repeated exertions, procured a registry law, and which party, the moment they came into power, abrogated it with an indecent haste? The replies to these questions fix the stigma of fraud and corruption where it belongs. The locofoco party of New York, have ever shown themselves the reckless and inveterate opponents of a registry law. They denounce it as anti-democratic. And why? Because it takes the poor man from his work to go and register his name, and presupposes a certain amount of information on his part as to the requisitions of the law, for the absence of which information he ought not to be disfranchized. This is the sum and substance of locofoco argument against a registry law; as if it were undemocratic to secure the majority, by the only efficient safeguard, from being cheated, by requiring voters to go through the simple form of registering their names a fitting time before the opening of the polls! Although locofocoism may arrive at its conclusions by logic like this, it is obviously at war with sound democracy. The opposition which the party has always maintained in New York to a registry law, is proof presumptive that the charges of fraud brought by the whigs are not unfounded.

The system of betting on elections, always objectionable, invariably operates in favor of the least scrupulous party. The money wagered is forestalled and parceled out among political hacks, whose pay depending on the successful result of their services, they are incited to exertions the most reckless to compass their ends. Let the whigs always beware of betting with their antagonists. "It is naught, and it can not come to good." The money foolishly lost in this way by whigs at the election of 1844, went to requite the services of thousands of those mercenary politicians who are ever ready to attach themselves to the party which pays the best.

In the state of New York alone, there were cast spurious votes enough to defeat the election of Mr. Clay. In Louisiana, Georgia, and Pennsylvania, similar frauds were perpetrated on a smaller scale. Had the true voice of the majority of legal voters in

those states been heard, the result would have been favorable to the whigs. But misrepresentation, brute force, and political immorality, prevailed. The subject is an ungracious one to dwell upon. The history of the frauds of 1844 is a dark chapter in our annals. Party profligacy then exhausted its resources in the attainment of its ends.

We have already described with what renewed confidence and attachment the country turned to Mr. Clay after that defeat.

"I have been," he writes, the 25th of April, 1845, "in spite of unexpected discomfitures, the object of honors and of compliments usually rendered only to those who are successful and victorious in the great enterprises of mankind. To say nothing of other demonstrations, the addresses and communications which I have received since the election from every quarter, from collective bodies and individuals, and from both sexes, conveying sentiments and feelings of the warmest regard and strongest friendship, and deploring the issue of the election, would fill a volume. I have been quite as much, if not more, affected by them than I was by any disappointment of personal interest of my own in the event of the contest."

XXIV.

THE WAR ON MEXICO—FINANCIAL POLICY.

THE public acts of Mr. Clay exhibit unequivocally the principles by which he would have been guided and the policy he would have pursued in the event of his election. They are the principles and the policy to which the whig party owed, and continues to owe, all its cohesion and all its power. A triumph without them would not be a whig triumph. It might benefit a few office-seekers and professional politicians here and there, but it would be barren of all good to the people at large.

In the opinion of Mr. Clay, the policy of the country in regard to the protection of American industry seemed, previous to the election of 1844, to be rapidly acquiring a permament and fixed character. Yielding to the joint influence of their own reflections and experience, the slave states were fast subscribing to the justice and expediency of a tariff for revenue, with discriminations for protection. At such an auspicious moment, beguiled by the misrepresentations which proclaimed Mr. Polk as equally a

friend to the tariff with Mr. Clay, the great states of Pennsylvania and New York, both friendly to the protective policy, allowed it to be perilled and impaired by the ascendency of a hostile administration.

The distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, was another measure which the triumph of the whigs would have secured; and if the great national inheritance of those lands is not wasted in a few years by graduation and other projects of alienation, it must be through the adoption of a system kindred to that which Mr. Clay has consistently advocated. Internal improvements, the removal of obstructions from our rivers and harbors, the enlargement of all those facilities which contribute to the comfort, the prosperity, and the dignity of mankind, would have been embraced in that comprehensive and generous policy which has always found a ready champion in Mr. Clay. Instead of a barren and unproductive war, the pernicious consequences of which will be felt to a remote prosperity, we should have had the money of the nation expended upon objects which would have been permanently productive and beneficent. In return for all the money and blood lavished in the unrighteous war with Mexico, what can we show? Territory, which we could have acquired by peaceful means at a tenth part of the expenditure! But what amount of unrequired territory, or of opulent spoils, could requite the desolation inflicted upon thousands of hearts by the ravages of war?—

> "Why praise we, prodigal of fame,
> The rage that sets the world on flame?
> The future Muse *his* brow shall bind,
> Whose godlike bounty *spares* mankind.
> For those whom bloody garlands crown,
> The brass may breathe, the marble frown;
> To *him*, through every rescued land,
> Ten thousand living trophies stand."

Had the true wish of the country prevailed, we should have had no war with Mexico, no national debt, no repeal of the tariff of 1842, no sub-treasury, no imputation against us, by the united voice of all the nations of the earth, of a spirit of aggression and inordinate territorial aggrandizement.

At the commencement of the second session of the twenty eighth Congress (December, 1844), the acting president, Mr. Tyler, officially announced to the two houses that "a controlling majority of the people, and a large majority of the states," had declared in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. "Instructions," he added, "have thus come to both branches of Congress from their respective constituents, in terms the most emphatic. It is the will of both the people and the states, that Texas shall be annexed to the Union, promptly and immediately." He remarked further: "The two governments having already agreed, through their respective organs, on the terms of annexation, I would recommend their adoption by Congress, in the form of a joint resolution, or act, to be perfected and made binding on the two countries, when adopted in like manner by the government of Texas."

The subject of annexation was soon taken up in Congress and discussed with great zeal on both sides; and, finally, after the public mind had been intensely agitated in regard to it, the recommendation of Mr. Tyler was adopted; and early in March, 1845, a joint resolution for annexing Texas was passed and approved. The proposition was accepted by Texas, through her Congress and a convention; and the annexation project was complete. The incidents which followed may be briefly summed up. Mr. Polk was no sooner seated in the presidential chair, than the consequences, which Mr. Clay had predicted, and Mexico had threatened, began to develop themselves. The Texas we annexed was "revolutionary Texas." There was, moreover, a disputed boundary between her and Mexico. In anticipation of the refusal of Mexico to receive our minister, Mr. Slidell, the administration gave directions to General TAYLOR to take position on the west bank of the Rio Grande. Congress was in session at the time; but Mr. Polk did not see fit to consult Congress in regard to measures which must necessarily lead to a collision between the two countries. It was only by rumors and reports that our representatives knew that those measures were maturing until the war burst forth, and the work of blood commenced in earnest. The territory into which the president, of his own caprice, had thus ordered our troops, was one to

which neither Texas nor the United States had any just claim—a territory in possession of a nation with which we were at peace! In the language of the octogenarian Albert Gallatin, "the republic of Texas had not a shadow of right to the territory adjacent to the left bank of the lower portion of the Rio del Norte. Though she claimed, she never had actually exercised jurisdiction over any portion of it. The Mexicans were the sole inhabitants, and in actual possession of that district. Its forcible occupation, therefore, by the army of the United States, was, according to the acknowledged law of nations, as well as in fact, an act of open hostility and war. The resistance of the Mexicans to that invasion was legitimate; and therefore the war was unprovoked by them, and commenced by the United States."

The story is lucidly told by Mr. Clay in his speech at Lexington, the 13th of November, 1847—a speech to which we shall have occasion to allude again. In this he says:—

"How did we unhappily get involved in this war? It was predicted as the consequence of the annexation of Texas to the United States. If we had not Texas, we should have no war. The people were told that if that event happened, war would ensue. They were told that the war between Texas and Mexico had not been terminated by a treaty of peace; that Mexico still claimed Texas as a revolted province; and that, if we received Texas into our Union, we took along with her the war existing between her and Mexico. And the minister of Mexico formally announced to the government at Washington that his nation would consider the annexation of Texas to the United States as producing a state of war. But all this was denied by the partisans of annexation. They insisted that we should have no war, and even imputed to those who foretold it sinister motives for their groundless prediction.

"But, notwithstanding a state of virtual war necessarily resulted from the fact of annexation of one of the belligerents to the United States, actual hostilities might have been probably averted by prudence, moderation, and wise statesmanship. If General Taylor had been permitted to remain, where his own good sense prompted him to believe he ought to remain, at the point of Corpus Christi; and if a negotiation had been opened with Mexico, in a true spirit of amity and conciliation, war possibly might have been prevented. But, instead of this pacific and moderate course, while Mr. Slidell was bending his way to Mexico with his diplomatic credentials, General Taylor was ordered to transport his cannon and plant them in a warlike attitude opposite to Matamoras, on the east bank of the Rio Bravo, within the very disputed territory the adjustment of which was to be the object of Mr. Slidell's mission. What else could have transpired but a conflict of arms?

"Thus the war commenced; and the president, after having produced it, appealed to Congress. A bill was proposed to raise fifty thousand volunteers, and, in order to commit all who should vote for it, a preamble was inserted, falsely attributing the commencement of the war to the act of Mex-

ico. I have no doubt of the patriotic motives of those who, after struggling to divest the bill of that flagrant error, found themselves constrained to vote for it. But I must say that no earthly consideration would have ever tempted or provoked me to vote for a bill with a palpable falsehood stamped on its face. Almost idolizing truth as I do, I never, never could have voted for that bill."

Our last war with Great Britain Mr. Clay characterizes as "a just war. Its great object, announced at the time, was free trade and sailors' rights against the intolerable and oppressive acts of British power on the ocean." He continues:—

"How totally variant is the present war! This is no war of defence, but one unnecessary and of offensive aggression. It is Mexico that is defending her firesides, her castles, and her altars, not we. And how different also is the conduct of the whig party of the present day from that of the major part of the federal party during the war of 1812! Far from interposing any obstacles to the prosecution of the war, if the whigs in office are reproachable at all, it is for having lent too ready a facility to it, without careful examination into the objects of the war. And, out of office, who have rushed to the prosecution of the war with more ardor and alacrity than the whigs? Whose hearts have bled more freely than those of the whigs? Who have more occasion to mourn the loss of sons, husbands, brothers, fathers, than whig parents, whig wives, and whig brothers, in this deadly and unprofitable strife?"

The twenty-ninth Congress, the first which met under the administration of Mr. Polk, found the country prosperous and contented. Under the equitable tariff of 1842, domestic industry, in all its branches, received a wholesome measure of protection and encouragement. Our exports and imports exhibited neither an undue expansion nor a contraction indicative of a public financial decline. The revenue of the country was steady, ample, and reliable; and the public debt which Mr. Van Buren's administration had originated and fostered, was diminishing at the rate of millions annually. At length it seemed that the fluctuations to which the trade and industrial enterprise had been subjected, in consequence of Locofoco assaults upon the tariff, were at an end; and that commerce and manufactures were about to be established on a stable basis. The bitter hostility of the south to the protective system was fast abating; and in the states of Georgia and Virginia factories were going up and new resources developing themselves, as if to strengthen, by the ties of interest, the sympathies of different sections of the country upon a subject which had been rife with portents of fraternal discord and disunion.

Undeterred by this spectacle of prosperity and harmony, the administration laid its profane hands upon the tariff of 1842. In its stead they gave us that of 1846. By this substitute, there is actual discrimination *against* portions of the labor of the United States, and in favor of that of foreign countries. Owing to extraordinary causes, among which the famine in Europe and the war with Mexico are prominent, we have not yet fully realized the legitimate consequences of this disastrous retrograde movement in the policy of the country.

In a letter bearing date the 5th of June, 1846, Mr. Clay explained the whole practical philosophy of the protective principle in the following luminous remarks:—

"The manufactures of Great Britain have reached a very high degree of perfection by means of her great capital, her improving skill and machinery, her cheap labor, and under a system of protection long, perseveringly, and vigorously enforced. She, moreover, possesses an immense advantage for the sale and distribution of her numerous manufactures, in her vast colonial possessions, from which those of foreign powers are either entirely excluded, or admitted on terms very unequally with her own. I am not therefore surprised, that, under these favorable circumstances, Great Britain should herself be desirous to adopt, and to prevail on other nations to adopt, the principle of free-trade. I shall be mistaken if any of the great nations of the continent should follow an example the practical effects of which will be so beneficial to her, and so injurious to them. The propriety of affording protection to domestic manufactures, its degree, and its duration, depend upon the national condition and the actual progress they have made. Each nation, of right, ought to judge for itself. I believe that history records no instance of any great and prosperous nation, which did not draw its essential supplies of food and raiment from within its own limits. If all nations were just commencing their career, or if their manufactures had all made equal progress, it might perhaps be wise to throw open the markets of the world to the freest and most unrestricted competition. But it is manifest that while the manufactures of some have acquired all the maturity and perfection of which they are susceptible, and those of others are yet in their infancy, struggling hard for existence, a free competition between them must redound to the advantage of the experienced and skilful, and to the injury of those who are just beginning to naturalize and establish the arts.

"No earthly gratification to the heart of a statesman can be greater than that of having contributed to the adoption of a great system of national policy, and of afterward witnessing its complete success in its practical operation. That gratification can be enjoyed by those who were instrumental in establishing the policy of protecting our domestic manufactures. Every promise which they made has been fulfilled. Every prediction which they hazarded as to the quality and quantity of the domestic supply, as to the reduction of prices, as to the effect of competition at home, and as to the abundance of the public revenue, has been fully realized. And it is no less remarkable that every counter prediction without exception of the opponents of the policy has, in the sequel, been entirely falsified.

"Without tracing particularly the operation of our earlier tariffs, adjusted both to the objects of revenue and protection, and coming down to the last, it seems to me that if there were ever a beneficial effect from any public measure fully demonstrated, it is, that the tariff of 1842, beyond all controversy, relieved both the government and the people of the United States from a state of pecuniary embarrassment bordering on bankruptcy. Entertaining these views and opinions, I should deeply regret any abandonment of the policy of protection, or any material alteration of the tariff of 1842, which has worked so well. If its operation had been even doubtful, would it not be wiser to await further developments from experience before we plunge into a new and unexplored theory? Scarcely any misfortune is so great to the business and pursuits of a people as that of perpetual change."

In a letter of September 10, 1846, written subsequent to the abolition of the tariff of '42, Mr. Clay remarked: "I believe the system of protection, notwithstanding the opposition which it has often encountered, has pushed the nation forward half a century in advance of where it would have been if the doctrines of free-trade had always prevailed in our public councils. Whether it will be pushed back again to the same or any other extent by the tariff recently established, which has sought to subvert the previous system, and to embody those doctrines, remains to be seen. I confess that I seriously apprehended great injury to the general business of the country, and ultimately to the revenue of the government."

The sub-treasury system, adopted August, 1846, has been found injurious to the public interests, unwieldy, expensive, and liable to the grossest abuses. But the war and the tariff have diverted public attention from its practical operation. In his message of December, 1847, the president says: "The constitutional treasury created by this act went into operation on the first of January last. Under the system established by it, the public moneys have been collected, safely kept, and disbursed, by the direct agency of officers of the government, in gold and silver; and transfers of large amounts have been made from points of collection to points of disbursement, without loss to the treasury, or injury or inconvenience to the trade of the country." With treasury-notes below par, as they were about the time of the promulgation of these assertions, it may easily be seen why there should have been great facilities of transfer; but there have been repeated instances of great losses to the country in consequence of the defects and evils of the sub-treasury system. The

only class benefited by its operation are the officeholders and the favored financiers of the government. According to Mr. Polk's own confession, "in some of its details, not involving its general principles, the system is defective, and will require modification." We have thus glanced briefly at some of the measures of Mr. Polk's administration. To enumerate all that it has left undone, which it ought to have done, had the best interests of the country been consulted, would be but to capitulate many of those objects of policy which the public career of Mr. Clay exhibits him as contending for.

The consequences of his non-election to the presidency have been—an unrighteous and demoralizing war; the abrogation of a tariff under which the country was thriving beyond all precedent; and the establishment of a sub-treasury: for all which, in the language of the "ancient mariner" of Coleridge, we—

"Penance much have done,
And penance more must do."

"At the commencement of the war," says Mr. Hudson, in his speech before the house, February 5th, 1848, "our finances were in the most prosperous condition, there being a surplus of ten millions of dollars in the treasury. And now, after the war had been prosecuted twenty months, we are on the verge of bankruptcy. We have consumed the ordinary revenue, exhausted the ten millions surplus, together with a loan on treasury-notes to the amount of thirty-three millions, and are now called upon for a grant of sixteen millions more, to supply the wants of the government during the present fiscal year; and this sum, I am persuaded, will be found too small by eight or ten millions. So that, when the war shall have continued twenty-five months, we shall have expended in addition to the accruing revenue, some sixty-eight millions of dollars. This is but a part of the burdens brought upon us by this unnecessary war. Our munitions of war, have been accumulating for years in our arsenals, some fifteen millions of dollars' worth of our public domain given, or to be given, in bounty to our soldiers, and long lists of pensions and private claims growing out of the war—these should be taken into the account, and will go far in increasing the sum. These are some of the pecuniary burdens which a weak and wicked administration have wantonly brought upon the people."

XXV.

PUBLIC TESTIMONIALS—THE IRISH FAMINE.

We have seen that neither the untoward issue of the presidential contest of 1844, nor the shades of Ashland, could remove Mr Clay from before the public eye. Though not president of the United States, though dispensing no patronage, and holding no power of promotion, he yet exercised a moral sway over his countrymen which station could never give, nor the removal of it take away. Though not chief magistrate, he was still chief citizen of the republic; and though he could not bestow lucrative posts and profitable jobs, he could communicate what was far better—high convictions of public duty, generous views of public policy, and great truths, which his past acts and present opinions commended to every patriotic mind.

Allusion has already been made to the testimony in his honor which the whig ladies of Virginia resolved upon soon after his defeat. Their proceedings were denounced by some loyal locofoco as a "movement conceived in a spirit of rebellion to public sentiment." Rather were they a token of sympathy with the beatings of the public heart. These ladies determined to procure a statue of Henry Clay to adorn the metropolis of his native state, and liberally have they carried out their plan; employing a native artist, Mr. Joel T. Hart, to execute the work, and munificently providing the means for its accomplishment. Mr. Hart, having modelled the statue, has gone to Europe to cut it in marble. A competent critic thus describes the model:—

"Mr. Hart has blended the idea and spirit of action with the actual presence and exhibition of repose—the latter always so essential to the highest and most agreeable effect of the sculptor's art. Mr. Clay is represented resting the weight of his body principally upon his right foot, the left being thrown a little forward, and the toes turned out. The head is sufficiently erect to give dignity and spirit to the general bearing, without approaching the offensive and vulgar line of arrogance and self-esteem, and the face is turned slightly to the right, in the direction of the corresponding arm. The fingers of the left hand rest lightly and gracefully upon a pedestal, appropriately placed, while his right arm, just fallen from an uplifted position, is sufficiently extended from the elbow to show, with the open and forward-looking palm, action just finished instead of continuous and habitual repose

The face is full of lofty animation, self-possession, and the repose of conscious power.

"The costume is a simple citizen's dress, such as Mr. Clay usually wears. The coat, unbuttoned, is loose enough not to be stiff and formal; shoes are worn instead of boots, according to Mr. Clay's invariable custom; and the shirt-collar is turned down, not according to his custom, but as a matter of great convenience, if not necessity to the artist, in the exhibition of the neck and throat."

During his visit to Washington in the winter of 1848, an excellent full-length likeness of Mr. Clay was taken by Chester Harding, of Massachusetts. It was procured by the voluntary subscription of the people of Washington, in testimony of their appreciation of the noble qualities and public services of one who had spent so long a portion of his life in their midst, during which he had so completely won their esteem and affection.

Few public men ever had such troops of devoted friends as Mr. Clay. It is not by professions only that their devotion is manifested. In the spring of 1845, he met with a substantial, and, at the same time, a most touching and signal proof of the estimation in which he is held. A number of friends, residing in the eastern states, having learned indirectly that a considerable portion of Mr. Clay's entire property was about to be swept away to pay the notes of one of his family connection, on which he was endorser, quietly raised the sum of fifty thousand dollars, and paid the notes at the bank in which they were deposited. The first intimation which he had of the movement was the reception of his cancelled obligation; and not a name was disclosed of the individuals who had had any agency in the transaction.

The artisans and mechanics of the country have, in instances too numerous to mention, shown their sense of the efficient support which Mr. Clay has always rendered to the cause of American industry and skill. In the autumn of 1845, the working gold and silver artificers of the city of New York presented him a silver vase three feet high, neatly and elaborately chased, and bearing a complimentary inscription. Its value was a thousand dollars. Mr. Clay has more reason than people are generally aware of to feel a sympathy with the mechanic classes. His only surviving full brother was once a very skilful cabinet-maker, and several specimens of his handywork remain among the furniture at Ashland.

In November, 1846, a magnificent vase was presented to Mr Clay by the ladies of Tennessee. His address upon the occasion of receiving the donation contains so much of public interest, that we quote it entire:

"Dr. M'Nairy:—It is no ordinary occurrence, nor any common mission, that honors me by your presence. To be deputed, as you have been, by a large circle of Tennessee ladies, to bear the flattering sentiment toward me which you have just so eloquently expressed, and to deliver to me the precious testimonial of their inestimable respect and regard which you have brought, is a proud incident in my life, ever to be remembered with feelings of profound gratitude and delight.

"My obligation to those ladies is not the less, for the high opinion of me which they do me the honor to entertain; because I feel entirely conscious that I owe it more to their generous partiality than to any merits I possess, or to the value of any public services which I have ever been able to render.

"If, indeed, their kind wishes in relation to the issue of the last presidential election had been gratified, I have no doubt that we should have avoided some of those public measures, so pregnant with the evils to our country, to which you have adverted. We should have preserved, undisturbed, and without hazard, peace with all the world, have had no unhappy war with a neighboring sister-republic, and, consequently, no deplorable waste of human life, of which that which has been sacrificed or impaired in an insalubrious climate, is far greater and more lamentable than what has been lost in the glorious achievements of a brave army, commanded by a skilful and gallant general.

"We should have saved the millions of treasure which that unnecessary war has and will cost—an immense amount—sufficient to improve every useful harbor on the lakes, on the ocean, on the gulf of Mexico, and in the interior, and to remove obstructions to navigation in all the great rivers in the United States.

"We should not have subverted a patriotic system of domestic protection, fostering the industry of our own people and the interests of our own country, the great benefits which have been practically demonstrated by experience, for the visionary promises of an alien policy of free trade, fostering the industry of foreign people and the interests of foreign countries, which has brought in its train disaster and ruin to every nation that has had the temerity to try it. The beneficial tariff of 1842, which raised both the people and the government of the United States out of a condition of distress and embarrassment, bordering on bankruptcy, to a state of high financial and general prosperity, would now be standing unimpaired, in the statute-book, instead of the fatal tariff of 1846, whose calamitous effects will, I apprehend, sooner or later, be certainly realized.

"All this, and more of what has since occurred in the public councils, was foretold prior to that election. It was denied, disbelieved, or unheeded; and we now realize the unfortunate consequences. But both philosophy and patriotism enjoin that we should not indulge in unavailing regrets as to the incurable past. As a part of history in which it is embodied, we may derive from it instructive lessons for our future guidance, and we ought to redouble our exertions to prevent their being unprofitably lost.

"I receive, with the greatest pleasure, the splendid and magnificent vase of silver which the ladies of Tennessee, whom you represent, have charged

you to present to me. Wrought by American artists, tendered by my fair countrywomen, and brought to me by an ever-faithful, ardent, and distinguished friend, it comes with a triple title to my grateful acceptance. I request you to convey to those ladies respectful and cordial assurances of my warm and heartfelt thanks and acknowledgments. Tell them I will carefully preserve, during life, and transmit to my descendants, an unfading recollection of their signal and generous manifestations of attachment and confidence. And tell them, also, that my fervent prayers shall be offered up for their happiness and prosperity, and shall be united with theirs that they may live to behold our country emerged from the dark clouds which encompass it, and once more, as in better times, standing out a bright and cheering example, the moral and political model and guide, the hope, and the admiration, of the nations of the earth.

"I should entirely fail, Dr. M'Nairy, on this interesting occasion, to give utterance to my feelings, if I did not eagerly seize it to express to you, my good friend, my great obligations for the faithful and uninterrupted friendship which, in prosperous and adverse fortune, and amid all the vicissitudes of my chequered life, you have constantly, zealously, and fearlessly displayed. May you yet long live, in health, happiness, and prosperity, and enjoy the choicest blessings of a merciful and bountiful Providence."

Engaged in legal and agricultural pursuits, receiving continued testimonials of the esteem and gratitude of his countrymen, and making occasional excursions, Mr. Clay passed the greater portion of the two years which succeeded the contest of 1844. A letter, which bears the date of Lexington, May 25, 1845, gives a pleasing picture of the genial simplicity and hospitality to be found at Ashland:—

"I have at last realized one of my dearest wishes—that of seeing Mr. Clay at Ashland. I called on him with a friend, this morning, but he was absent on his farm, and Charles, his freed slave, told us he would not be at home till afternoon; so we returned to Lexington, and, at five, P. M., retraced our steps to Ashland. Mr. Clay had returned, and meeting us at the door, took hold of our hands before I could even present a letter of introduction, and made us welcome to his house. His manners completely overcame all the ceremonies of speech I had prepared. We were soon perfectly at home, as every one must be with Henry Clay, and, in a half-hour's time, we had talked about the various sections of the country I had visited the past year, Mr. Clay occasionally giving us incidents and recollections of his own life; and I felt as though I had known him personally for years.

"Mr. Clay has lived at Ashland forty years. The place bore the name when he came to it, as he says, probably on account of the ash timber, with which it abounds; and he has made it the most delightful retreat in all the west. The estate is about six hundred acres large, all under the highest cultivation, except some two hundred acres of park, which is entirely cleared of underbrush and small trees, and is, to use the words of Lord Morpeth, who stayed at Ashland nearly a week, the nearest approach to an English park of any in this country. It serves also for a noble pasture, and here I saw some of Mr. Clay's fine horses and Durham cattle. He is said to have some of the finest stock in all Kentucky, which is to say, the finest in America; and, if I am able to judge, I confirm that report. The larger part of

his farm is devoted to wheat, rye, hemp, &c., and his crops look most splendidly. He has also paid great attention to ornamenting his lands with beautiful shade-trees, shrubs, flowers, and fruit orchards. From the road, which passes his place on the northwest side, a carriage-road leads up to the house, lined with locust, cypress, cedar, and other rare trees, and the rose, jasmine, and ivy, were clambering about them, and peeping through the grass and the boughs like so many twinkling fairies, as we drove up.

"Ashland is about a mile from Lexington, easterly, on the road leading out of Main street, and is one of the loveliest situations around this delightful town. Mr. Clay's mansion is nearly hidden from the road by the trees surrounding it, and is as quiet and secluded, save to the throng of pilgrims continually pouring up there to greet its more than royal possessor, as though it were in the wilderness. Some parts of it are now undergoing repairs, and Mr. Clay took us about to see his contemplated improvements. The houses of his slaves are all very neat, and surrounded by better gardens, and more flowers and shrubbery, than one half the farmhouses in the country, and all the inmates are as happy as human beings can be. 'Charles,' of whom so much has been said, is a kind of second master of the household of Mr. Clay, and enjoys the greatest trust and confidence. To him can the keys of the wine-cellar be given without fear, and on all occasions, when help was needed, Mr. Clay would call for Charles. It was Charles who brought us wine, Charles was at the door, at the carriage, at the gate, everywhere, in fact, and as polite and civil as a man asking for office. He is a fine-looking, middle-sized negro, about thirty years old, and I do not believe he could be drawn from Mr. Clay except by absolute animal force, so great is his devotion to him. As I said, Mr. Clay has lived at Ashland forty years. He said he had seen Cincinnati grow from a small village to its present size, and had witnessed the growth of much of the west at the same time. Beside the six hundred acres, he has about two hundred acres at a distance, in the rear of Ashland, and these two lots form his estate.

"As it was nearly night when we called on Mr. Clay, we had hardly time to see things properly, and he urged me to come up again. I went up the day following, in company with the 'Swiss Bell-Ringers,' who were also on a visit to Ashland. Mr. Clay received the band and myself warmly at the door, and, after a few civilities, put on his white hat and walked through the grounds with us, talking freely and familiarly to all. He is the most easy and affable man I have ever seen. He picked a rose for each of us: mine I have most carefully pressed, and shall give it to my lady-love, when I find one, and she may consider it a prize! He told me, while we were walking, about Lord Morpeth's early rising at Ashland, and said that his lordship used to go on foot a mile down to the postoffice, and bring up the mail before he was out of bed. Of Morpeth, Mr. Clay spoke in the highest terms.

"After an hour spent in the park and garden, the bell-ringers proposed giving Mr. Clay and his family a specimen of their music, and we of course adjourned to the house. Here, for the first time, I saw Mrs. Clay, and a son, Mr. John Clay. Mr. Clay was expecting the bell-ringers, and had invited for the occasion a few friends. They performed before him to his very great delight. On this occasion, Mr. Clay sent for some of his home-made wine pressed at Ashland from the Catawba grape. It was most delicious; something like sparkling hock in flavor, but of a richer taste. After performing several pieces in the house, the bell-ringers went out into the park, and rang the chimes on a peal of twelve bells, their auditors remaining in the house. I never heard anything so bewitching as the sound of the bells during that chime. Mr. Clay said he would be glad to have a chapel in

the park, if he could always hear such voices from it. It was to me a rare treat.

"On Sunday, the day following my last visit to Ashland, I could not resist the inclination to see once more a place to me so very hallowed. On my way up I passed Mr. Clay, who, with his wife, had started for church. 'Alas!' thought I, as I looked upon his high, calm brow, for the last time, can this be the gambler, sabbath-breaker, blasphemer, all these vile characters combined, which have been ascribed to him, and cried abroad by men whose lips were too foul to speak as great a name as he will bear when they and their memories are less than ashes?' One hour with Mr. Clay at home, stamps *libel* on all these execrable lies, and he who enjoys that hour says in his heart, 'That is the simplest and noblest man I ever looked upon.'"

Mr. Clay passed a good part of the winter and spring of 1846 in New Orleans, whither he had been called by professional business. It would be but a repetition of past scenes to describe with what a warmth of welcome he was received. He took occasion, on his departure, to visit St. Louis, where he arrived on the 4th of April, and met with a most enthusiastic reception. He reached his residence at Ashland, on the 22d of that month, with his health much benefited by the travel and relaxation he had enjoyed.

An attempt was made, the succeeding winter, to induce Mr. Clay to accept an election to the United States senate, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the retirement of Mr. Morehead, whose term was to expire the next 4th of March; but Mr. Clay peremptorily declined the honor. He was again in New Orleans the succeeding winter. He was present at the celebration of the anniversary of the landing of the pilgrims, the 22d of December; and is reported by one of the newspapers of the day to have remarked, on being called upon to reply to a complimentary toast: —

"Although leading a life of retirement, I am not wholly unobservant of the proceedings relating to the condition, welfare, and prospects, of our country. And when I saw around me to-night, General Brooke and other old friends, I felt half inclined to ask for some nook or corner in the army, in which I might serve, to avenge the wrongs done to my country. I have thought that I might yet be able to capture or slay a Mexican. I shall not be able to do so, however, this year, but hope that success will still crown our gallant arms, and the war terminate in an honorable peace."

These remarks have been the subject of some ridiculously severe animadversions. If they are correctly reported—which is very doubtful—who that knows Mr. Clay, does not recognise the half-sportive, ironical spirit, in which they were intended?

At the social table, not dreaming, probably, that there were "chiels" about him "takin' notes," a ludicrous image starts into his mind, and he gives it utterance. The idea that he would be so far inflamed with martial ardor, and catch the warlike infection, as to shoulder a musket, presents itself to his mind and drops from his lips in a purely jocose, conversational tone. But it is at once taken up and misrepresented by his opponents.

While in New Orleans, early in 1847, the wail of famishing Ireland fell on the ears of Mr. Clay, and at once aroused the warmest sympathies of his heart. Being invited to attend a meeting held in aid of the sufferers, he went; and, being loudly called for by those present, addressed them as follows:—

"Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens:—

"I hesitated to accept the invitation which has brought me here. Being a mere sojourner, and not a member of this community, I doubted the propriety of my presence and participation in the proceedings of this meeting, and apprehended that my motive might be misunderstood. But—on consulting my pillow, and considering that the humanity of the object of this assembly is bounded by no latitude nor locality, and ought to be co-extensive with the whole human family—it seemed to me that all considerations of fastidious delicacy and etiquette should be waived and merged into a generous and magnanimous effort to contribute to the relief of the sufferings which have excited our feelings. If I should be misconceived or misrepresented, the experience of a long life has taught me that the best response to misconception and misrepresentation, is the fearless and faithful discharge of duty, in all the conditions of life in which we may be placed; and the answer to traduction and calumny, is conscious rectitude and the approbation of one's own heart.

"Mr. President—If we were to hear that large numbers of the inhabitants of Asia, or Africa, or Australia, or the remotest part of the globe, were daily dying with hunger and famine—no matter what their color, what their religion, or what their civilization—we should deeply lament their condition, and be irresistibly prompted, if possible, to mitigate their sufferings. But it is not the distresses of any such distant regions that have summoned us together on this occasion. The appalling and heart-rending distresses of Ireland and Irishmen, form the object of our present consultation. That Ireland, which has been in all the vicissitudes of our national existence our friend, and has ever extended to us her warmest sympathy—those Irishmen, who, in every war in which we have been engaged, on every battle-field, from Quebec to Monterey, have stood by us, shoulder to shoulder, and shared in all the perils and fortunes of the conflict.

"The imploring appeal comes to us from the Irish nation, which is so identified with our own as to be almost part and parcel of ours—bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. Nor is it any ordinary case of human misery, nor a few isolated cases of death by starvation, that we are called upon to consider. Famine is stalking abroad throughout Ireland—whole towns, counties—countless human beings, of every age and of both sexes, at this very moment, are starving, or in danger of starving to death for bread. Of all the forms of dissolution of human life, the pangs and agony of that

which proceeds from famine are the most dreadful. If one dies fighting gloriously for his country, he is cheered in his expiring moments by the patriotic nature of his sacrifice. He knows that his surviving relatives and friends, while lamenting his loss, will be gratified and honored by his devotion to his country. Poets, painters, sculptors, historians—will record his deeds of valor and perpetuate his renown. If he dies by the sudden explosion of the boilers of a steamboat, or by a storm at sea, death is quiet and easy, and soon performs his mission. A few piercing shrieks are uttered, he sinks beneath the surface, and all is still and silent. But a death by starvation comes slow, lingering, and excruciating. From day to day, the wretched victim feels his flesh dwindling, his speech sinking, his friends falling around him, and he finally expires in horrible agony.

"Behold the wretched Irish mother—with haggard looks and streaming eyes—her famished children clinging to her tattered garments, and gazing piteously in her face, begging for food! And see the distracted husband-father, with pallid cheeks, standing by, horror and despair depicted in his countenance—tortured with the reflection that he can afford no succor or relief to the dearest objects of his heart, about to be snatched for ever from him by the most cruel of all deaths.

"This is no fancy picture; but, if we are to credit the terrible accounts which reach us from that theatre of misery and wretchedness, is one of daily occurrence. Indeed, no imagination can conceive—no tongue express—no pencil paint—the horrors of the scenes which are there daily exhibited. Ireland, in respect to food, is differently situated from all the countries of the world. Asia has her abundant supply of rice; Africa, her dates, yams, and rice; Europe, her bread of wheat, rye, and oats; America, a double resource in the small grains, and a never-failing and abundant supply of Indian corn —that great supporter of animal life, for which we are not half grateful enough to a bountiful and merciful Providence. But the staple food of large parts of poor Ireland is the potato, and when it fails, pinching want and famine follow. It is among the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, that the crop has been blighted these last two years; and hence the privation of food, and this appeal to the sympathy of American hearts.

"Shall it be in vain? Shall starving Ireland—the young and the old—dying women and children—stretch out their hands to us for bread, and find no relief? Will not this great city, the world's storehouse of an exhaustless supply of all kinds of food, borne to its overflowing warehouses by the Father of Waters, act on this occasion in a manner worthy of its high destiny, and obey the noble impulses of the generous hearts of its blessed inhabitants? We are commanded, by the common Savior of Ireland and of us, to love one another as ourselves; and on this, together with one higher obligation, hang all the law and prophets of our holy religion. We know, that of all the forms of humanity and benevolence, none is more acceptable, in the sight of God, than the practice of charity. Let us demonstrate our love, our duty, and our gratitude to him, by a liberal contribution to the relief of his suffering Irish children.

"Fellow-citizens, no ordinary purpose has brought us together. This is no political gathering. If it had been, you would not have seen me here. I have not come to make a speech. When the heart is full, and agitated by its own feeling emotions, the paralyzed tongue finds utterance difficult. It is not fervid eloquence, nor gilded words, that Ireland needs—but substantial food. Let us rise to the magnitude of the duty which is before us, and by a generous supply from the magnitude of our means, evince the genuineness and cordiality of our sympathy and commiseration."

At the conclusion of this speech, one loud and unanimous shout of approval was raised, in which officers and audience participated. The effect of the speech is well told in a letter addressed to Mr. Clay by two Irishmen of New York, and accompanied with an elegant gift of cutlery. They say:—

"It was the good fortune of one of us, to hear your speech in behalf of the famishing millions of our native land, when in New Orleans on business during that dreadful winter of 1846–'47; it has since been the fortune of the other to hear and to witness in Ireland, and elsewhere in Europe, the admiration and gratitude which that speech has excited; it is the pleasing duty of both to thank God that your thrilling appeal to the best feelings of our common humanity was the means, by stimulating the energies of ever-blessed charity among the American people, of saving thousands of our countrymen from a death of agony and horror. It must be an abiding joy to your generous heart, to know that American benevolence is devoutly blessed in parishes and cabins, where even *your* name, illustrious as it is, had hardly been heard before the famine; and that thousands have been impelled, by their deliverance from the worst effects of that dire calamity, to invoke blessings on the head of HENRY CLAY.

"You have often, and most appropriately, received at the hands of your countrymen by birth, fitting acknowledgments of your services, in the shape of rare products of their unsurpassed mechanical ingenuity and skill. *Our* humble offering is the work of foreign artisans, in grateful acknowledgment of your powerful aid to an oppressed and suffering race on the other side of the Atlantic. We trust it may not, on that account, be unacceptable, but that, among your many tokens of American esteem and thankfulness, a single remembrance of the tears of gratitude which, at the mention of your name, have bedewed the cheek of suffering Ireland may not be unwelcome."

"I must have had a heart colder than stone," says Mr. Clay in reply, "if I had been capable of listening to the sad account of Irish distress without the deepest emotions. My regret was, that I could do little or nothing to mitigate the sufferings of a generous and gallant people. Nor did my own countrymen, I am fully persuaded, require any stimulus from me, to prompt them to extend all practicable succors, to those with whom we are intimately connected by so many pleasing ties."

XXVI.

WAR IN MEXICO—DEATH OF HENRY CLAY, JR.

THE war with Mexico was, in its results, as honorable to the army of the United States, as, in its origin, it was disgraceful to the administrations of Messrs. Tyler and Polk. The series of brilliant successes achieved under Generals Taylor and Scott—the rapidly succeeding victories of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, Buena Vista, Cerro Gordo, Churubusco, and Chepultepec—are unparalleled in the history of modern warfare, in the numerical inferiority of the forces by which vast numbers were overcome.

It was with heavy forebodings that Mr. Clay left New Orleans Our gallant army under Taylor, was known to be in a situation of great peril, surrounded by overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and depending solely upon the personal courage of the officers and men, united to the intrepidity and sagacity of their revered general, for its safety. Mr. Clay's son Henry, had quitted the practice of the law, and hastened to join the standa d of his country in Mexico, early in the contest, and was now with Taylor at Buena Vista. This generous-spirited young man was born in 1811. Having graduated with high honors at West Point academy, he had studied law, married, travelled a while in Europe, and returned to Kentucky, to serve his country on the battle-field when the occasion invited.

As Mr. Clay was leaving Frankfort for Ashland, he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his son. The paper containing the news was handed to him by a friend, and he carefully read it until he came to the sad announcement. Then he trembled like an aspen, but uttered no word, save a command to the driver to move on. "Amid all the clustering honors of his elevated career," says a writer of the day, "Mr. Clay has been a man of sorrows. The affections of his home have been great as his own heart, and have yearned over his children with an intensity of love which only noble natures know. But—

"Affliction seemed enamored of his parts;'

death has been busy about his hearthstone; and one by one he has seen many of those who so proudly claimed him as father or grandsire, taken from him. Their heritage of love devolved upon the survivors; and his son, who bore his name and shared his virtues, was the pride and glory of his honored old age. But his country demanded that son. The struggle of the father's heart must have been a mighty one; but he devoted him—as he had devoted his own lustrous life—to his country. The heroism of Colonel Clay, rendered it certain that his career would be brilliant, but probable that it would also be brief. Mr. Clay seemed to feel a parental presentiment that such would be the fact. We rejoice that the unhappy tidings found him at home and among his kindred (though all the land is his home, and every heart his kindred), where his tears could mingle with those of the stricken partner of his afflictions. We dare not, even in imagination, intrude upon the scene made sacred by sorrow: yet we know enough of the hero-statesman to believe that, even in his hour of desolation, the pride of the patriot and the parent may afford some solace, and that the sentiment of Cato over *his* sacrifice will rise from his heart:—

> 'I'm satisfied!
> Thanks to the gods! my son has done his duty.
> How beautiful is death when earned by virtue!
> Who would not be that youth? What pity is it
> That we can die but once to serve our country!'"

The following letter from General Taylor, communicating the afflicting intelligence to Mr. Clay, is as honorable to the writer as it is to the departed hero:—

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
"AGUA NEUVA, MEXICO, *March* 1, 1847.

"MY DEAR SIR: You will no doubt have received, before this can reach you, the deeply distressing intelligence of the death of your son in the battle of Buena Vista. It is with no wish of intruding upon the sanctuary of parental sorrow, and with no hope of administering any consolation to your wounded heart, that I have taken the liberty of addressing you these few lines; but I have felt it a duty which I owe to the memory of the distinguished dead, to pay a willing tribute to his many excellent qualities, and while my feelings are still fresh, to express the desolation which his untimely loss, and that of other kindred spirits, have occasioned.

"I had but a casual acquaintance with your son, until he became for a time a member of my military family, and I can truly say, that no one ever won more rapidly upon my regard, or established a more lasting claim to

my respect and esteem. Manly and honorable in every impulse, with no feeling but for the honor of the service and of the country, he gave every assurance that in the hour of need, I could lean with confidence upon his support. Nor was I disappointed. Under the guidance of himself and the lamented M'Kee, gallantly did the sons of Kentucky, in the thickest of the strife, uphold the honor of the state and the country.

"A grateful people will do justice to the memory of those who fell on that eventful day. But I may be permitted to express the bereavement which I feel in the loss of valued friends. To your son, I felt bound by the strongest ties of private regard, and when I miss his familiar face and those of M'Kee and Hardin, I can say with truth that I feel no exultation in our success.

"With the expression of my deepest and most heartfelt sympathies for your irreparable loss, I remain your friend, "Z. TAYLOR.

"Hon. HENRY CLAY, New Orleans, La."

General Taylor has always been forward to appreciate and recognise the eminent public services and claims of Mr. Clay. In a letter to Joseph R. Ingersoll, dated August 3, 1847, he writes: "At the last presidential canvass, it was well-known to all with whom I mixed, whigs and democrats—for I had no concealments in the matter—that I was decidedly in favor of Mr. Clay's election; and I would now prefer seeing him in that office to any individual in the Union." This is sufficiently emphatic. Lasting honor to the tried and honorable soldier, who can thus yield the palm to civic worth and qualifications!

"My life has been full of domestic afflictions, but this last is one of the severest among them," wrote Mr. Clay to a friend soon after the news of the fall of his son. The ensuing 8th of April, in a letter to a committee of the whigs of Auburn, he alluded to the Mexican war in the following terms:—

"You express your regret on account of the unexpected issue of the last presidential election. I ought to feel none for myself personally. Besides being relieved from a vast responsibility, it furnished the occasion of the exhibition of testimonials, and the outpouring of affection from the hearts of my friends and countrymen, of which I had no previous conception that I ever could be the honored object. Their spontaneous and disinterested manifestations are worth far more than the presidency itself. For our common country, I do regret the issue of the contest. Had it been otherwise, we should have preserved the protective policy, under which we had made such rapid and encouraging advances; the march of improvement in our rivers and harbors, would not have been arrested; and, above all, we should have avoided this unnecessary war of aggression with a neighbor, torn to pieces by internal dissensions. The brilliant achievements, and the glorious laurels acquired, during its prosecution, gratifying as they are to our national pride and character, can never compensate for the exceptionable manner in which it was begun, the brave and patriotic lives which have been sacrificed, and the fearful issues which, I tremble in contemplating, may grow out of its termination. But I have not now a

heart to dwell on this painful theme. I turn from it with hope and dutiful submission to Him whose no doubt wise but inscrutable dispensation has permitted this awful calamity to visit our beloved country."

An interesting event transpired at Ashland, during the summer of 1847. It can best be told in the language of an eyewitness, under date of June 25th:—

"A notice was very generally circulated through the public papers of the country, some two or three years ago, to the effect that Mr. Clay had become a member of the protestant episcopal church. The wish was doubtless father to the thought, as Mr. Clay had not at that time taken any such step. He has always been known to have the highest respect for the institutions of Christianity, and to have been a decided believer in the Divine authenticity of the Christian religion—his amiable and now deeply-afflicted wife having, for many years, been an humble follower of its blessed Author. When the weather permitted it, living as he does a mile and a half from church, Mr. Clay has always been a regular attendant on its services; and for two or three years past, having had more leisure from public duty, his attention had evidently been turned to the high considerations connected with things spiritual and eternal—his life having been devoted so intensely to the good of others, as scarcely, until this period of retirement, to leave him an opportunity to think of himself. But he has at length consecrated his great powers to God. He was baptized in the little parlor at Ashland, on Tuesday, the 22d instant, together with one of his daughters-in-law (the other being already a member of the church) and her four children, by the Rev. Edward F. Berkley, rector of Christ church, Lexington. The baptism was administered privately, for the reason that the congregation of Christ church are replacing their old church with a new edifice, now in rapid progress of erection, and are not suitably situated for the most solemn and decent administration of this rite in public.

"When the minister entered the room, on this deeply solemn and interesting occasion, the small assembly, consisting of the immediate family, a few family connexions, and the clergyman's wife, rose up. In the middle of the room stood a large centre-table, on which was placed, filled with water, the magnificent cut-glass vase presented to Mr. Clay by some gentlemen of Pittsburg. On one side of the room hung the large picture of the family of Washington, himself an episcopalian by birth, by education, and a devout communicant of the church; and immediately opposite, on a side-table, stood the bust of the lamented Harrison, with a chaplet of withered flowers hung upon his head, who was to have been confirmed in the church the sabbath after he died—fit witnesses of such a scene. Around the room were suspended a number of family pictures, and among them the portrait of a beloved daughter, who died some years ago, in the triumphs of that faith which her noble father was now about to embrace; and the picture of the late lost son, who fell at the battle of Buena-Vista. Could these silent lookers-on at the scene about transpiring, have spoken from the marble and the canvass, they would heartily have approved the act which dedicated the great man to God. There was a deep emotion pervading that small assembly, at the recital, under such circumstances, of the sublime ordinal of the church."

Early in the ensuing August, Mr. Clay left Kentucky to try the benefit of sea-bathing at Cape May. On the 14th of that month

he reached Philadelphia, having been greeted at every stopping-place on his route, with the sympathizing respects and enthusiastic cheers of the people. At Philadelphia, he became the guest of Mr. Henry White. An immense multitude soon assembled before the house, anxious to catch sight of the venerated statesman. When he appeared on the balcony, the manifestations of enthusiasm and of welcome were indescribable; every man of the vast crowd seemed anxious to extend a personal token of admiration and attachment. When silence was restored, Mr. Clay remarked that he had come to the city without any intention — certainly without any desire — of causing such a manifestation. He had left his home for the purpose of escaping from afflicting and perpetually recurring feelings; in the hope of finding among the friends whom he might meet during his travels, a portion of consolation for the heaviest affliction Providence had ever visited upon him: but under whatever circumstances he might have come, he would be void of gratitude, he would be destitute of all the finer feelings of nature, if he failed in thankfulness for the kindness so manifested. The city of Philadelphia, he was proud to say, had, during all the trials, difficulties, and vicissitudes of his chequered career, been his warm and steadfast friend.

But if even the occasion were not unfit, the feelings under which he labored would prevent him frem seizing upon it for the purpose of making a set speech; and in parting, he would only add the expression of a wish — as the day which ushers in the sabbath, that all men should respect, was nearly spent — that they would unite with him in the sentiment, that to our country, whether it is directed in its public measures by a good government or a bad one — whether it is in prosperity or adversity — in peace or at war — we should always give our hearts, our hands, and our hopes. Mr. Clay then bade his fellow-citizens farewell, and retired amid the stormy plaudits and affectionate "good-nights" of the dispersing multitude.

At Cape May, Mr. Clay was the object of renewed testimonials of public love and regard. The country people for miles around crowded to see him, while all the visiters to the island vied with each other in demonstrations of honor and sympathy. On the afternoon of the 18th, he experienced a somewhat narrow

escape from serious injury. Riding out on the beach in company with a young lady from Kentucky and two of his friends, in Mr Brolaskey's coach, drawn by four spirited horses—on their return, the driver, in curbing one of the leaders rather suddenly, caused him to commence kicking. Both leaders then kicked the horses behind them, and these jumped and reared until they broke the shaft, and ran the carriage into the fence. Just before it struck, Mr. Clay seized the young lady in his arms, opened the door, and leaped out of the carriage unhurt, before the driver or any of the bystanders could render assistance. The carriage rolled on, struck the fence, and was considerably damaged.

While sojourning at this pleasant watering-place, delegates from New York and New Haven, made a trip to Cape May purposely to invite him to visit their cities. The scene of their interview with him, was one of the most interesting and animating that had been experienced even in the career of one who had so long been the subject of public honors the most grateful and estimable. It took place in the great hall of the Mansion house, which was crowded on the occasion with spectators, many of whom were ladies. After appropriate music from a good band, Mr. Clay made his appearance, and Mr. Nicholas Dean, who had been commissioned as their spokesman by the New York delegation, addressed him as follows:—

"Through the unexpected kindness of friends, I am the honored instrument of expressing to you, sir, briefly, sentiments which are common to us all. You are surrounded by a few of your fellow-citizens from the city of New York—not the result of political association, not the offspring of party organization—who had individually learned from the public press that you were sojourning in their vicinity, and who, by one simultaneous impulse, threw themselves on board a swift means of communication, and hastened here to grasp you by the hand, and offer to you the homage of their warm salutations. [Cheers and other manifestations of applause.]

"But, sir, we have another and more important duty to perform; we come in the names of four hundred thousand persons, to ask you once again to visit our metropolis. [Applause.] Once again to permit us, within the circle of our own corporate limits, to express to you our deep appreciation of the eminent services which you, through a long series of years have rendered, not to us only, but to our whole country; [cheers of applause] once again to furnish us the opportunity of expressing to you our undiminished confidence and esteem, the love, the reverence with which we regard you. [Continued applause.]

"These, sir, are no ordinary sentiments, nor are they felt in any ordinary degree. They are the warm and hearty expressions of a generous and grateful spirit; suffer them not to be chilled by deferred hope, or in any

degree repressed by present disappointment. Permit us, we pray you, sir, to announce to our friends with the speed of lightning that [with emphasis], Henry Clay will come to them. [Applause loud and long.]

"A hundred thousand tongues are waiting to spread the glad intelligence, and the great aggregate heart of our entire city is throbbing to bid you welcome, thrice welcome, to its hospitalities." [Cheers, cheers, cheers.]

During the delivery of this address, Mr. Clay seemed gratefully touched, and after a pause of a few moments, he replied in the following language:—

"Gentlemen of the committee from New York—gentlemen of the committee from Trenton—gentlemen of the committee from New Haven—gentlemen of the committee from Philadelphia—for there are delegations present from all these places—fellow-citizens: the eloquent address, which has just been delivered, has had the effect almost to induce me to adopt the language which was used on a more solemn occasion. 'Thou almost persuadest me,' to go. [Great applause.] But in all that uprightness of nature which I have ever endeavored to practise, I must tell you the objects and motives which have brought me to the shores of the Atlantic. I returned to my residence, after passing the winter at New Orleans, on the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of March last, and in a day or two afterward melancholy intelligence reached me. [Here Mr. Clay evinced great emotion.] I have been nervous ever since, and was induced to take this journey; for I could not look upon the partner of my sorrows without experiencing deeper anguish. [The speaker was here overcome by his feelings, and paused some minutes, covering his face with his hands; at length recovering himself, he resumed.] Everything about Ashland was associated with the memory of the lost one. The very trees which his hands had assisted me to plant served to remind me of my loss. Had the stroke come alone, I could have borne it, with his assistance, and sustained by the kindness of my friends and fellow-citizens, with meekness and resignation; but of eleven children, four only remain—[emotion]—of six lovely and affectionate daughters, not one is left. Finding myself in that theatre of sadness, I thought I would fly to the mountain's top, and descend to the ocean's wave, and by meeting with the sympathy of friends, obtain some relief for the sadness which surrounded me. I came for private purposes, and from private motives alone. I have not sought these public manifestations, nor have I desired to escape them. My friend and travelling companion, Dr. Mercer, will tell you that in Virginia—in every section of the state of my birth—I have been implored to remain, if only for a few hours, to exchange congratulations with my friends, but I invariably refused, and only remained in each place sufficiently long to exchange one vehicle for another. You may imagine that I made a visit to Philadelphia—but I was accidentally thrown into Philadelphia. When I arrived in Baltimore, I learned that the most direct route to this place was by the Delaware. I had no public object in view. Indifferent I am not, nor can I be, to the honor, welfare, and glory of my country. [Cheers.] Gentlemen of the committee of New York, I have truly and sincerely disclosed the purpose of my journey, but I can not but deeply feel this manifestation of your respect and regard. It is received with thankfulness, and reaches the warmest feelings of my heart—that I, a private and humble citizen, without an army, without a navy, without even a constable's staff, should have been met, at every step of my progress, with the kindest manifestations of feelings—manifestations of which, at present, a monarch or an

emperor might well be proud. [Tremendous applause.] No—I am not insensible to these tokens of public affection and regard. I am thankful for them all. [Cheers.] To you, gentlemen, of the committee of New York, who, in behalf of four hundred thousand individuals whom you represent, have taken so much trouble, I am deeply thankful for this manifestation of your regard, but I must reluctantly decline the honor of your invitation. To the citizens of Trenton, New Haven, and Philadelphia, I must beg [here Mr. Clay addressed the committees from the other places] of you, to excuse me; and trust to their affection to do so; for if I do not place myself on the affections of my countrymen, whither should I go, and where should I be? On the wide ocean, without a compass, and without a guide. [Very great applause.] I must beg of you, gentlemen of all these committees, to retrace your steps, charged and surcharged with my warmest feelings of gratitude. Go back, charged with warm thanks from me, and tell my friends that nothing but the circumstances in which I am placed—nothing else (for we may as well mingle a laugh with our tears, and borrow the words of the Irish ambassador), 'situated as I am, and I may say, circumstanced as I am'—deprives me of the honor of meeting you. [Laughter.] Tell them, and I hope this response will be considered as a specific answer to each of the committees (for if you could see how my time is occupied here, you would know it is impossible for me to waste it), that you are charged with the expression of the best feelings of my heart. And you, gentlemen of New York, be assured that it will be long before this evidence of your regard will be forgotten. Among the recollections of the incidents of this journey, this visit will be paramount, and the circumstances which led to it. I wish you an agreeable voyage on your return; and make my apologies for being constrained to decline your kind invitation."

After passing a few days at Newcastle with his friend the Hon. John M. Clayton, and having been absent from home about a month, Mr. Clay returned to Kentucky, reinvigorated in health and spirits, and carrying with him new stores of recollections of honors, and testimonials of attachment, with which his countrymen had everywhere marked his progress.

XXVII.

SPEECH ON THE MEXICAN WAR.

In every important engagement in Mexico our armies had been successful. The victory of Buena-Vista had been a fitting climax to the military operations of Taylor; and Scott had achieved a new conquest of Mexico hardly less marvellous than that which Cortez had accomplished centuries before. The city of the Montezumas was occupied by our troops. The fortresses of the country and her principal port were in our possession. Mexico was at our feet; and the question was, "What is to be done with our victory?"

Some were for annexing the whole country. Others were for drawing a line, and claiming all inside of it. Some were for despoiling Mexico; and others were for magnanimously abandoning all the fruits of our conquest. At this juncture, the 13th of November, 1847, Mr. Clay, whose views upon the subject had been looked for with solicitude, lifted his voice in behalf of the humane, the honorable, and the politic course. It was at Lexington that his speech on the Mexican war was delivered. An immense concourse of citizens was present to hear him. Among them were Senator Crittenden, Governor Letcher, the honorable Garrett Davis, and a whole host of distinguished Kentuckians and eminent strangers from other states, as well as many ladies, who all listened with the deepest attention. Mr. Clay is represented as having spoken with all the fervor and animation of his younger life; and, notwithstanding the length of the speech and his energetic deliverance, and the fact that his voice had been impaired by a speech of more than three hours' duration, which professional duty had required him to make only a few days before, there was no lack of physical strength to the end, when he seemed as fresh as at the commencement. His exordium on this occasion is graceful and touching. The weather being unfavorable the circumstance was converted to his use in associating it with his topics. He said:—

"The day, is dark and gloomy, unsettled and uncertain, like the condi-

tion of our country in regard to the unnatural war with Mexico. The public mind is agitated and anxious, and is filled with serious apprehensions as to its indefinite continuance, and especially as to the consequences which its termination may bring forth, menacing the harmony, if not the existence, of our Union. It is under these circumstances I present myself before you. No ordinary occasion would have drawn me from the retirement in which I live; but, while a single pulsation of the human heart remains, it should, if necessary, be dedicated to the service of one's country. And I have hoped that, although I am a private and humble citizen, an expression of the views and opinions I entertain might form some little addition to the general stock of information, and afford a small assistance in delivering our country from the perils and dangers which surround it."

There is a graceful melancholy in the following allusion to the approach of old age:—

"I have come here with no purpose to attempt to make a fine speech, or any ambitious oratorical display. I have brought with me no rhetorical bouquets to throw into this assemblage. In the circle of the year autumn has come, *and the season of flowers has passed away.* In the progress of years, my spring-time has gone by, and I too am in the autumn of life, and feel the frost of age. My desire and aim are to address you earnestly, calmly, seriously, and plainly, upon the grave and momentous subjects which have brought us together. And I am most solicitous that not a solitary word may fall from me offensive to any party or person in the whole extent of the Union."

Mr. Clay then took a review of those scourges of mankind, of which war is not the least:—

"War, pestilence, famine, by the common consent of mankind, are the three greatest calamities which can befall our species; and war, as the most direful, justly stands in front. Pestilence and famine, no doubt for wise although inscrutable purposes, are inflictions of Providence, to which it is our duty, therefore, to bow with obedience, humble submission, and resignation. Their duration is not long, and their ravages are limited. They bring, indeed, great affliction while they last, but society soon recovers from their effects. War is the voluntary work of our own hands, and whatever reproaches it may deserve should be directed to ourselves. When it breaks out, its duration is indefinite and unknown—its vicissitudes are hidden from our view. In the sacrifice of human life, and in the waste of human treasure, in its losses and its burdens, it affects both belligerent nations; and its sad effects of mangled bodies, of death, and of desolation, endure long after its thunders are hushed in peace. War unhinges society, disturbs its peaceful and regular industry, and scatters poisonous seeds of disease and immorality, which continue to germinate and diffuse their baneful influence long after it has ceased. Dazzling by its glitter, pomp, and pageantry, it begets a spirit of wild adventure and romantic enterprise, and often disqualifies those who embark in it, after their return from the bloody fields of battle, from engaging in the industrious and peaceful vocations of life.

"We are informed by a statement, which is apparently correct, that the number of our countrymen slain in this lamentable Mexican war, although it has yet been of only eighteen months' existence, is equal to one half of the whole of the American loss during the seven years' war of the Revolu-

tion And I venture to assert that the expenditure of treasure which it has occasioned, when it shall come to be fairly ascertained and footed up, will be found to be more than half of the pecuniary cost of the war of our independence. And this is the condition of the party whose arms have been everywhere constantly victorious!"

After stating those views in regard to the origin and causes of the war with which the reader of his life is already familiar, Mr. Clay came to the consideration of the question, how was it to be brought to a satisfactory close? The mode which he indicated was, that Congress, inasmuch as it had the right, either at the beginning or during the prosecution of any war, to decide the objects and purposes for which it was proclaimed, or for which it ought to be continued, should, by some deliberate and authentic act, declare for what objects the existing war should be prosecuted. He supposed the president would not hesitate to regulate his conduct by the pronounced will of Congress, and to employ the force and the diplomatic power of the nation to execute that will. But, if the president should decline or refuse to do so, and, in contempt of the supreme authority of Congress, should persevere in waging the war, for other objects than those proclaimed by Congress, then it would be the imperative duty of that body to vindicate its authority by the most stringent, and effectual, and appropriate measures. And if, on the contrary, the enemy should refuse to conclude a treaty, containing stipulations securing the objects designated by Congress, it would become the duty of the whole government to prosecute the war with all the national energy, until those objects were attained by a treaty of peace. There could be no insuperable difficulty in Congress making such an authoritative declaration. Let it resolve, simply, that the war should or should not be a war of conquest; and, if a war of conquest, what was to be conquered.

To the project of annexation Mr. Clay expressed his decided hostility:—

"Does any considerate man," he asked, "believe it possible that two such immense countries, with territories of nearly equal extent, with populations so incongruous, so different in race, in language, in religion, and in laws, could be blended together in one harmonious mass, and happily governed by one common authority? Murmurs, discontent, insurrections, rebellion, would inevitably ensue, until the incompatible parts would be broken asunder, and possibly, in the frightful struggle, our present glorious Union itself would be dissevered or dissolved. We ought not to forget the warning

voice of all history, which teaches the difficulty of combining and consolidating together, conquering and the conquered nations. After the lapse of eight hundred years, during which the Moors held their conquest of Spain, the indomitable courage, perseverance and obstinacy of the Spanish race finally triumphed, and expelled the African invaders from the peninsula. And, even within our own time, the colossal power of Napoleon, when at its loftiest height, was incompetent to subdue and subjugate the proud Castilian. And here, in our own neighborhood, Lower Canada, which near one hundred years ago, after the conclusion of the seven years' war, was ceded by France to Great Britain, remains a foreign land in the midst of British provinces, foreign in feelings and attachment, and foreign in laws, language, and religion. And what has been the fact with poor, gallant, generous, and oppressed Ireland? Centuries have passed since the overbearing Saxon overrun and subjugated the Emerald Isle. Rivers of Irish blood have flowed during the long and arduous contest. Insurrection and rebellion have been the order of the day; and yet, up to this time, Ireland remains alien in feeling, affection, and sympathy, toward the power which has so long borne her down. Every Irishman hates, with a mortal hatred, his Saxon oppressor. Although there are great territorial differences between the condition of England and Ireland, as compared to that of the United States, and Mexico, there are some points of striking resemblance between them. Both the Irish and the Mexicans are probably of the same Celtic race. Both the English and the Americans are of the same Saxon origin. The catholic religion predominates in both the former, the protestant among both the latter. Religion has been the fruitful cause of dissatisfaction and discontent between the Irish and the English nations.—Is there no reason to apprehend that it would become so between the people of the United States and those of Mexico, if they were united together? Why should we seek to interfere with them in their mode of worship of a common Savior? We believe that they are wrong, especially in the exclusive character of their faith, and that we are right. They think that they are right and we wrong. What other rule can there be than to leave the followers of each religion to their own solemn convictions of conscientious duty toward God? Who, but the great Arbiter of the universe, can judge in such a question? For my own part, I do sincerely believe and hope, that those who belong to all the departments of the great church of Christ, if, in truth and purity, they conform to the doctrines which they profess, will ultimately secure an abode in those regions of bliss, which all aim finally to reach. I think that there is no potentate in Europe, whatever his religion may be, more enlightened or at this moment so interesting as the liberal head of the papal see?

"But I suppose it to be impossible that those who favor, if there be any who favor the annexation of Mexico to the United States, can think that it ought to be perpetually governed by military sway. Certainly no votary of human liberty could deem it right that a violation should be perpetrated of the right principles of our own revolution, according to which, laws ought not to enacted and taxes ought not to be levied, without representation on the part of those who are to obey the one, and pay the other. Then, Mexico is to participate in our councils and equally share in our legislation and government. But, suppose she would not voluntarily choose representatives to the national Congress, is our soldiery to follow the electors to the ballot-box, and by force to compel them, at the point of the bayonet, to deposite their ballot? And how are the nine millions of Mexican people to be represented in the Congress of the United States of America, and the

Congress of the United States of the republic of Mexico combined? Is every Mexican without regard to color or taste, per capitum, to exercise the elective franchise? How is the quota of representation between the two republics to be fixed? Where is the seat of common government to be established?—And who can foresee or foretell, if Mexico, voluntarily or by force, were to share in the common government what could be the consequences to her or to us? Unprepared, as I fear her population yet is, for the practical enjoyment of self-government, and of habits, customs, language, laws, and religion, so totally different from our own, we should present the revolting spectacle of a confused, distracted, and motley government. We should have a Mexican party, a Pacific ocean party, an Atlantic party, in addition to the other parties, which exist, or with which we are threatened, each striving to execute its own particular views and purposes, and reproaching the others with thwarting and disappointing them. The Mexican representation, in Congress, would probably form a separate and impenetrable corps, always ready to throw itself into the scale of any other party, to advance and promote Mexican interests. Such a state of things could not long endure. Those whom God and geography have pronounced should live asunder, could never be permanently and harmoniously united together.

"Do we want for our own happiness or greatness the addition of Mexico to the existing Union of our states? If our population were too dense for our territory, and there was a difficulty in obtaining honorably the means of subsistence, there might be some excuse for an attempt to enlarge our dominions. But we have no such apology. We have already, in our glorious country, a vast and almost boundless territory. Beginning at the north, in the frozen regions of the British provinces, it stretches thousands of miles along the coasts of the Atlantic ocean and the Mexican gulf, until it almost reaches the tropics. It extends to the Pacific ocean, borders on those great inland seas, the lakes, which separate us from the possessions of Great Britain, and it embraces the great father of rivers, from its uppermost source to the Balize, and the still longer Missouri, from its mouth to the gorges of the Rocky Mountains. It comprehends the greatest variety of the richest soils, capable of almost all the productions of the earth, except tea and coffee and the spices, and it includes every variety of climate, which the heart could wish or desire. We have more than ten thousand millions of acres of waste and unsettled lands, enough for the subsistence of ten or twenty times our present population. Ought we not to be satisfied with such a country?—Ought we not to be profoundly thankful to the Giver of all good things for such vast and bountiful land? Is it not the height of ingratitude to him to seek, by war and conquest, indulging in a spirit of rapacity, to acquire other lands, the homes and habitations of a large portion of his common children? If we pursue the object of such a conquest, besides mortgaging the revenue and resources of this country for ages to come, in the form of an onerous national debt, we should have greatly to augment that debt, by an assumption of the sixty or seventy millions of the national debt of Mexico. For I take it that nothing is more certain than that, if we obtain voluntarily or by conquest a foreign nation, we acquire it with all the incumbrances attached to it. In my humble opinion, we are now bound, in honor and morality, to pay the just debt of Texas. And we should be equally bound, by the same obligations, to pay the debt of Mexico if it were annexed to the United States."

Upon the question of the extension of the system of negro slavery over newly-acquired territory, Mr. Clay spoke with that

same ingenuousness which characterized his views on the slavery question, when, nearly fifty years ago in Kentucky, he declared his belief that the proportion of slaves in comparison with the whites was so inconsiderable, that a system of gradual emancipation, that would ultimately eradicate the evil, might be safely adopted. That system differed from the plan of immediate abolition for which the abolition party of the present day contend. That party had done incalculable mischief even to the very cause which they espoused, to say nothing of the discord which they had produced between different parts of the country. Mr. Clay then alluded to the efforts of the American Colonization Society, of which he had been one of the principal founders. He then continued:—

"It may be argued that, in admitting the injustice of slavery, I admit the necessity of an instantaneous reparation of that injustice. Unfortunately, however, it is not always safe, practicable, or possible, in the great movements of states and public affairs of nations, to remedy or repair the infliction of previous injustice. In the inception of it, we may oppose and denounce it, by our most strenuous exertions, but, after its consummation, there is often no other alternative left us but to deplore its perpetration, and to acquiesce, as the only alternative, in its existence, as a less evil than the frightful consequences which might ensue from the vain endeavor to repair it. Slavery is one of those unfortunate instances. The evil of it was inflicted upon us, by the parent-country of Great Britain, against all the entreaties and remonstrances of the colonies. And here it is among and amid us, and we must dispose of it as best we can under all the circumstances which surround us. It continued, by the importation of slaves from Africa, in spite of colonial resistance, for a period of more than a century and a half, and it may require an equal or longer lapse of time before our country is entirely rid of the evil. And, in the meantime, moderation, prudence, and discretion, among ourselves, and the blessings of Providence, may be all necessary to accomplish our ultimate deliverance from it. Examples of similar infliction of irreparable national evil and injustice might be multiplied to an indefinite extent. The case of the annexation of Texas to the United States is a recent and an obvious one, which, if it were wrong, can not now be repaired. Texas is now an integral part of our Union, with its own voluntary consent. Many of us opposed the annexation with honest zeal and most earnest exertions. But who would now think of perpetrating the folly of casting Texas out of the confederacy, and throwing her back upon her own independence, or into the arms of Mexico? Who would now seek to divorce her from this Union? The Creeks and the Cherokee Indians were, by the most exceptionable means, driven from their country, and transported beyond the Mississippi river. Their lands have been fairly purchased and occupied by inhabitants of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Who would now conceive the flagrant injustice of expelling those inhabitants and restoring the Indian country to the Cherokees and Creeks, under color of repairing the original injustice? During the war of our Revolution, millions of paper money were issued by our ancestors, as

the only currency with which they could achieve our liberties and independence. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of families were stripped of their homes and their all, and brought to ruin, by giving credit and confidence to that spurious currency. Stern necessity has prevented the reparation of that great national injustice."

The sentiments and the policy recommended by Mr. Clay in this practical and eloquent speech were embodied in the following resolutions, which he read and submitted to the judgment of the meeting:—

"1. *Resolved*, as the opinion of this meeting, that the primary cause of the present unhappy war, existing between the United States of America and the United States of the republic of Mexico, was the annexation of Texas to the former: and that the immediate occasion of hostilities between the two republics arose out of the order of the president of the United States for the removal of the army under the command of General Taylor, from its position at Corpus Christi, to a point opposite Matamoras, on the east bank of the Rio Bravo, within territory claimed by both republics, but then under the jurisdiction of that of Mexico, and inhabited by its citizens; and that the order of the president for the removal of the army to that point was improvident and unconstitutional, it being without the concurrence of Congress, or even any consultation with it, although it was in session: but that Congress having, by subsequent acts, recognised the war thus brought into existence, without its previous authority or consent, the prosecution of it became thereby national.

"2. *Resolved*, That in the absence of any formal and public declaration by Congress of the objects for which the war ought to be prosecuted, the president of the United States, as chief magistrate, and as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, is left to the guidance of his own judgment to prosecute it for such purposes and objects as he may deem the honor and interest of the nation to require.

"3. *Resolved*, That by the constitution of the United States, Congress, being invested with power to declare war, and grant letters of marque and reprisal, to make rules concerning captures on land and water, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, and to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces, has the full and complete war-making power of the United States; and, so possessing it, has a right to determine upon the motives, causes, and objects, of any war, when it commences, or at any time during the progress of its existence.

"4. *Resolved*, as the further opinion of this meeting, that it is the right and duty of Congress to declare by some authentic act, for what purposes and objects the existing war ought to be further prosecuted; that it is the duty of the president in his official conduct to conform to such a declaration of Congress; and that if, after such declaration, the president should decline or refuse to endeavor, by all the means, civil, diplomatic, and military, in his power, to execute the announced will of Congress, and, in defiance of its authority, should continue to prosecute the war for purposes and objects other than those declared by that body, it would become the right and duty of Congress to adopt the most efficacious measures to arrest the further progress of the war, taking care to make ample provision for the honor, the safety and security of our armies in Mexico, in every contingency. And, if Mexico should decline or refuse to conclude a treaty with us, stipulating

for the purposes and objects so declared by Congress, it would be the duty of the government to prosecute the war, with the utmost vigor, until they were attained by a treaty of peace.

"5. *Resolved*, That we view with serious alarm, and are utterly opposed to any purpose of annexing Mexico to the United States, in any mode, and especially by conquest; that we believe the two nations could not be happily governed by one common authority, owing to their great difference of race, law, language, and religion, and the vast extent of their respective territories, and large amount of their respective populations: that such a union, against the consent of the exasperated Mexican people, could only be effected and preserved by large standing armies, and the constant application of military force; in other words, by despotic sway, exercised over the Mexican people in the first instance, but which there would be just cause to apprehend, might in process of time be extended over the people of the United States. That we deprecate, therefore, such a union, as wholly incompatible with the genius of our government, and with the character of free and liberal institutions; and we anxiously hope that each nation may be left in the undisturbed possession of its own laws, language, cherished religion, and territory, to pursue its own happiness according to what it may deem best for itself.

"6. *Resolved*, That considering the series of splendid and brilliant victories achieved by our brave armies and their gallant commanders, during the war with Mexico, unattended by a single reverse, the United States without any danger of their honor suffering the slightest tarnish, can practise the virtues of moderation and magnanimity toward their discomfited foe. We have no desire for the dismemberment by the United States of the republic of Mexico, but wish only a just and proper fixation of the limits of Texas.

"7. *Resolved*, That we do positively and emphatically disclaim and disavow any wish or desire on our part, to acquire any foreign territory whatever, for the purpose of propagating slavery, or of introducing slaves from the United States, into such foreign territory.

"8. *Resolved*, That we invite our fellow-citizens of the United States, who are anxious for the restoration of the blessings of peace, or, if the existing war shall continue to be prosecuted, are desirous that its purposes and objects shall be defined and known, who are anxious to avert present and future perils and dangers, with which it may be fraught, and who are also anxious to produce contentment and satisfaction at home, and to elevate the national character abroad, to assemble together in their respective communities and to express their views, feelings, and opinions."

The speech was often interrupted by bursts of applause; and both at its commencement and its close Mr. Clay was heartily cheered. The promulgation of its sentiments were attended with the happiest effects, not only at home in shaping public opinion, but in Mexico in influencing her public men in the adoption of temperate and pacific counsels. "It is hardly possible," wrote one of the journalists of the day, "to over-estimate the importance of this step."

From the intelligent and the right-thinking throughout the country a response arose in favor of the sentiments thus boldly

announced. The necessity for such a "voice potential" at the critical time is well told in the language of the address of the immense meeting which convened at the Tabernacle in New York, the 20th of December, 1847, to respond to the Lexington resolutions:—

"The spirit now dominant in the national councils, and rampant throughout the land, not only mocks at gray hairs and tramples on the lessons of experience, but regards with impatience and ill-disguised contempt every appeal to considerations of morality, philanthropy, or religion, in regard to the prosecution or termination of the war. The fierce bay of the bloodhound on the warm track of his prey drowns the calm voice of reason and the soft pleadings of humanity. Who that realizes the moral accountability of nations can doubt that we have fallen upon evil days?

"In this crisis a voice from the west reaches the ear and fixes the regard of the American people. A venerable patriot, illustrious by forty years of eminent service in the national councils, emerges from his honored seclusion to address words of wise admonition to his fellow-citizens. That voice, which never counselled aught to dishonor or injure this Union, is lifted up, probably for the last time, in exposure of the specious pretexts on which this war was commenced, in reprehension of its character and objects, and in remonstrance against its further prosecution. At the sound of that impressive voice, the scales of delusion fall from thousands of flashing eyes, the false glitter of the conqueror's glory vanishes, revealing the hideous lineaments of carnage; and the stern question which stung the first murderer is brought home essentially to every breast which enfolds a conscience: 'Where is thy brother?'—To what end do we despoil and slay our fellow-men guilty of being born two thousand miles southwest of us? By what divine law are we authorized thus to deface and destroy the image of God?

"The great statesman of the west was too well acquainted with human nature, and had too much experience of its worst developments, to hope that such an appeal as he has made to the nation's moral sense would not be resented and resisted. He knew that exposed depravity would pour out its vials of wrath on his devoted head; that fell rapacity would neglect for a moment its prey to tear him with its fangs; and that malice would stimulate calumny to hunt and defame him through the length and breadth of the land. Calmly he bared his breast to the storm; unflinchingly he contemplates its fiercest rage, its most dismal howlings. Shielded in the panoply of an approving conscience and of the commendation of the wise and good throughout the world, he proffers no resistance, requires no sympathy, solicits no aid. For himself he desires nothing; for his imperilled country he demands the services and the sacrifices of all her upright and patriotic sons.

"And his appeal has not been fruitless. On every side the people, aroused as by a trumpet-blast, are awaking to a consciousness of their duty. No longer sunk in apathy because they can perceive no mode in which exertion can avail, they realize at last that every honorable means should be employed to arrest the work of carnage; and they feel that, in view of the brilliant achievements of our armies, and the utter prostration of their foes, the honor of our country can best be preserved and exalted by the exercise of magnanimity toward the vanquished. The means of terminating the war have been clearly pointed out by him who is emphatically first in the affections and in the confidence of the American people, HENRY CLAY; and

it needs but that their representatives shall be faithful as he has been fearless to insure a speedy restoration of peace."

The language subsequently adopted at the meeting at Castle-Garden—the largest meeting ever gathered in this country under one roof—was:—

"*Resolved*, That we regard the late speech of Mr. Clay at Lexington, in exposure of the causes, character, and objects, of the present war on Mexico, as among the noblest and most patriotic efforts of the great and true man, who 'would rather be right than be president.'"

XXVIII.

COLONIZATION—DEATH OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

EARLY in the congressional session of 1847–'48, Mr. Clay was carried by professional business to Washington. His reception there was brilliant and hearty beyond measure. He had declined all public testimonials, but he could not evade the greetings which the people rose as one man to extend. "Mr. Clay's personal popularity suffers no abatement," writes one. "He can not move without having a throng at his heels. He lives in an atmosphere of hurrahs." The character of his journey to the seat of government may be told in his own language at the meeting of the American colonization society in January, 1848, in the hall of the house of representatives:—

"I have just terminated, a journey of considerable length and arduousness, performed in mid-winter, and surrounded at every place where I have stopped by throngs of friends, leaving absolutely no leisure whatever for that preparation which ought always to be made before a man presents himself to address so respectable and intelligent an audience as this. I come before you without a solitary note, and with very little mental preparation of any sort, absolutely with no preparedness for an elaborate address."

We have already alluded to Mr. Clay's efforts in the cause of the Colonization society. The report that he was to speak at their annual meeting called forth one of the largest assemblages ever convened in the capitol. Every nook and corner in the hall of the house was crowded, and hundreds of anxious attendants were disappointed in obtaining admission. Mr. Clay

showed no abatement of intellectual vigor or patriotic ardor. Experience had fully demonstrated the wisdom of those views to which he had given utterance almost half a century before. Time had shown that his colonization scheme, like his protective policy, was founded in justice and benevolence, and bore in itself the germ of future blessings. It had been opposed by the apathy of southern advocates of slavery, and by the perverse hostility of northern professors of philanthropy; in the words of Mr. Clay, "it had been surrounded by difficulties, and beset by enemies in front and in rear, and on both flanks. The abolitionists have assailed it, as well as those of the opposite extreme." But in spite of all obstacles, it has grown, as truth must ever grow, though slowly, yet surely.

Mr. Clay alluded to the fact that about thirty years ago, the Rev. Dr. Finney of New Jersey, and others with him, met in that hall, and consulted and agreed upon the great principles of the foundation of the society. Of that number Mr. Clay was one. At first they did not intend to do more than to establish a colony on the coast of Africa, to which the free people of color in the United States might voluntarily and with their own free consent without the least restraint, coercion, or compulsion, proceed and enjoy untrammelled those social and political privileges which under the circumstances of the case they could not enjoy here. The founder saw, what is now manifest to the country, that the people of color and the white race could not possibly live together on terms of equality. They did not stop to inquire whether this state of things was right or wrong. They took the *fact* of impossibility for these two races to live together in equal social conditions, and proceeded to operate upon that fact, without regard to the question whether the fact arose from an unworthy prejudice, that should be expelled from our breasts, or whether it was an instinct for our guidance. The simple object was to demonstrate before the world the practicability of establishing a colony of free blacks in Africa.

Utopian and impracticable as the colonizationists believed the purpose of the abolition movement to be—to emancipate without a moment's delay the whole of the black race in the United States—they did not interfere with it in any way. Their object was

to demonstrate the practicability of colonization. *That demonstration has been made.*

But it has been urged that this is the country of the black man and therefore he should not be sent to Africa, which is not his country. In some sense, those blacks who have been born upon the soil may claim this for their country; and so could the Israelites claim Egypt for their country, because during a long period of time they were captives in Egypt. So could all the Israelites born in the wilderness during their progress from Egypt to the promised land, claim the wilderness for their country; but still, in contemplating the beam which guided the progress of that most remarkable of all the families of man, neither Egypt nor the wilderness, but Canaan, was their home, and to that home they were finally led. Who, then, can doubt, in a solitary instance, that Africa is the real home of the blacks, though they may have had a casual birth upon this continent? And who can fail to see that native missionaries will be the most effective for the conversion of their African brethren, who are of the same body with themselves, and with whom they can completely harmonize in all their interests, sympathies, and affections? At this moment there have been four or five thousand colonists sent to Africa, and we have heard that there are in the republic of Liberia twenty-five places of public worship dedicated to the same Lord and Savior whom we worship, and that thousands of the natives are rushing into the colonies in order to obtain the benefits of Christian education and a knowledge of the arts.

With regard to the argument that it is impossible to transport to Africa all the free people of color in the United States, Mr. Clay remarked:—

"Why, gentlemen, if I am not mistaken, there comes yearly into the single port of New York an emigration amounting almost to the annual increase of the population in that city, and perhaps exceeding the annual increase of all the free people of color in the United States. And this is done voluntarily, upon the great motives of all human action. Thus, the German and Irish immigrants flock to our shores annually, with no considerable aid on the part of their governments and with no individual aid, in numbers equal, perhaps, to the annual increase of all the Africans in the United States, bond and free. These all come to our country in obedience to one of the laws of our nature—in pursuance of the great controlling principle of human action, and which enters into all great enterprises: they come here to better their condition; and I hope they will better their con

dition. And so it would be with all our free people of color. Were they to be transported from the United States to Africa, would not their condition be physically, morally, socially, and politically, better and happier than anything which they could attain to or hope for here? It is vain to attempt to eradicate the feeling which keeps a sunder these two classes. It is vain for the office of philosophy or humanity to attempt what is so utterly impracticable as joining together those whom God himself, by the difference of color and various other distinctions, perhaps, has declared ought to be separate. [Cheers.] Then, to send them to Africa—not by violence, not by coercion, not against their will, but with their own full consent—let me say to abolitionists and to those on the other extreme—to all men—why should not the free colored race residing among us have the option to go to Africa or remain in the United States?"

Mr. Clay compared the growth of the colony of Liberia with that of Jamestown and Plymouth. The ravages of disease had been much less in the instance of the former. Its growth, too, had been encouraging in comparison. It should be in this case as in all other settlements in new countries. There should be forerunners—pioneers—who will prepare the way, raise subsistence, build houses, make places of comfort and convenience for those who are to follow them; otherwise they may be thrown upon the shores of the continent of Africa to suffer. Better to proceed according to the laws of Nature herself—slowly, surely, and so carefully measuring every step that we take.

Mr. Clay related a case illustrative of the increased rigor of the laws against the black population in some states of the south, so that emancipation is prohibited.

"In the state of Alabama, a respectable and kind gentleman, whom I never saw in my life, devised to me in his will some twenty-five or thirty slaves, without any intimation as to the cause or motive of the bequest. I was surprised at this, but had some reason to believe, in consequence of my connection with this society, that the generous devisor had confidence in me, and that I would send them to Liberia. Accordingly I took measures to accomplish the object of their colonization, and have been happy to learn since I came to this city that twenty-three of them have actually embarked at the port of New Orleans for that colony, and the remainder will follow as soon as they are ready. Now, what would have been the condition of these poor creatures but for the existence of the colonization society? They could not have been freed in Alabama, for the laws of that state prohibit emancipation—in consequence, no doubt, of the imprudent agitation of this subject at the north. I had to take them to New Orleans as my slaves, and they were regarded as my slaves until they got out of the jurisdiction of the United States."

Here, then, appears the object of the Colonization society—that of affording individuals, as well as states, who may have the control of free people of color and slaves which they may wish

to emancipate, the opportunity of gratifying their wishes, by offering them a transportation to the shores of Africa. The abolitionists, by their opposition to colonization, have but riveted more firmly the chains of slavery.

"I would now implore all parties," Said Mr. Clay in conclusion, "I would beseech the abolitionists, and I would beseech all those who hold the doctrines of the opposite extreme, insisting upon the institution of slavery—I would beseech all men to look calmly and dispassionately at this great project which commends itself to their friendly consideration—I would beseech them to discard their prejudices, and ask them in the name of that God, under whose smiling providence I verily believe this society has thus far been conducted, and will in future continue, to look and contemplate for a moment this experiment of twenty-five years' continuance, which, without power, without revenue, without any aid except what has been furnished by the charity of men, has carried on a war—not an aggressive, but a defensive war—and transported to Africa between five and six thousand emigrants from the United States. I would ask you to look at the territory which we have acquired; three hundred and twenty miles of coast on the west of Africa, and in every port of which the slave-trade has been suppressed!"

Then there were the great objects of civilization—the benefits of the arts to be extended to the native Africans—the propagation of Christianity. "On, then, gentlemen—go on," said Mr. Clay, "in the name of the cause. I shall soon leave you and this theatre of action for ever; but I trust that the spirit which led to the formation of this society will survive me, and that, in other hands and under other auspices, this colonization society of ours may be still found asserting its sufficiency, in co-operation with the republic of Liberia, to transport to that region every free person of color who may be disposed to go there, until, I trust, the separation of the two races shall be at last completed, and other generations shall have sprung up to invoke—as in closing I now do—upon the noble cause of colonization the blessings of that God whose smile, I think, has been hitherto extended to it."

Mr. Clay sat down amid peals of applause and the hearty approbation of his audience, if we may except a few ultraists of both sides. Indeed, as Mr. Clay always takes the rational, the practicable, the just, and the conservative view of affairs, ultraism of all kinds is generally found ranged among his opponents.

The speech before the colonization society was followed, on the 11th of February, 1848, by his appearance in the Supreme court room as one of the counsel in the case of William Houston

and others *versus* the city bank of New Orleans. "At an early hour," says a correspondent, "the avenues leading to the capitol were thronged with crowds of the aged and young, the beautiful and gay, all anxious to hear—perhaps for the last time—the voice of the sage of Ashland. On no former occasion was the supreme court so densely packed—every inch of space was occupied, even to the lobbies leading to the senate. Mr. Clay rose a few minutes after eleven o'clock, the hour at which the court is organized. It has been often said, and truly, that he never was and never could be reported successfully. His magic manner, the captivating tones of his voice, and a natural grace, singular in its influence and peculiarly his own, can never be transferred to paper. To realize their charms, he must be seen and heard. His exordium was in every way becoming and appropriate. He referred with feeling to the first time on which he appeared before that tribunal—not one of those who then occupied seats on the bench remained. But it was a grateful reflection, that amid all the political shocks to which the country had been subjected, the supreme court had maintained its elevated name, its dignity, and its purity, untouched and unsuspected. He then proceeded to the argument of the cause. By the common consent of the court and the immense and enlightened audience, comprising some of the foremost minds of the nation, Mr. Clay exhibited as much vigor of intellect, clearness of elucidation, power of logic, and legal analysis and research, as he ever did in his palmiest days. Much was expected from him, but he more than realized every expectation. It was no display of oratorical powers, but a sound and strict argument, adapted to the cause and to the court."

"In his exordium," says another of his hearers, "we discern a subjective beauty, and a fitness to the peculiarity of the occasion, which rendered it eminently impressive. Involving, as it did, affecting recollections of the past, as contrasted with the present, it had in it a quality of tenderness, rendered more intense by the mellow tones of that wonderful and variable voice which Mr. Clay possesses, and which, however firm for a septuagenarian, is beginning to be touched with the tremulousness of age. The fact to which he alluded was, that he was now before an

entire new bench of judges, as compared with that in whose presence he years ago made his first legal argument. A striking fact! reminding the aged and venerable advocate of his own de cline, and the judges of their hastening destiny."

Changing the tone of his remarks, Mr. Clay replied to the gentleman, the Hon. John Sergeant, of Philadelphia, who had complained of the speed which had characterized the proceedings of counsel for the plaintiffs. Mr. Clay advocated the importance of making honorable haste in all legal matters, and, in this connection, described the following scene:—

"I happened, some years ago, in the performance of a public service, to be abroad in England, and I occasionally attended both houses of Parliament, and the courts in Westminster hall. Sir, if in contemplating those great assemblies, and those learned tribunals, I had anything to regret, upon a comparison between them and our own, of what I have witnessed when in that country, it was not that there was less eloquence or less ability either displayed in parliament, when great and momentous subjects were brought before that body, but that there was a greater economy of time. The speakers there would begin with their subject, and would end when the subject was exhausted. But, sir, when I went into either apartment of Westminster hall, where I attended, as I did once or twice, the court sitting in bank, I was there impressed still more with the economy of the despatch of business.

"I entered the court-room, I remember, very early one morning. Their lordships, the judges, were clothed with gowns like your honors, but that was the only analogy between your honors and them, for they wore, also, their flowing wigs, falling upon their shoulders. While there, there were no sparkling eyes, no bewitching smiles, no female forms; the whole room—and I think, may it please your honors, it was not larger than the half of this—contained only the judges and officers of the court; and a host of gentlemen of the legal profession. Upon the first seats the elder members of the bar, the sergeants-at-law; and upon the seats behind, the other members of the bar, all clothed in black gowns. Well, after the tipstaff had pronounced the introductory 'God save the king,' his lordship asked the oldest sergeant, 'Have yon any motion to make?'—'Yes, please your lordship; I have a case in which I wish to establish this point,' naming the point. 'Why,' said his lordship, 'you can not maintain that.'—'But," said the sergeant, "I only wish to quote a few authorities.'—'It is of no use,' said his lordship, turning to his notes, 'the proposition can not be maintained;' and the same observation was echoed along the line of judges, and the case was dismissed in less time than it takes me to describe the incident."

Mr. Clay insisted upon the importance of speed in legal matters, and created a laugh, even among the honorable judges, by speaking of a certain tradition, illustrating the length of speeches which are said to have been made by *Philadelphia lawyers*. He did not mean to convey the idea that the lawyers of the brotherly city were not learned and highly honorable men, for he remem-

bered with the greatest respect the Dallases, the Lewises, and the Ingersolls, of that city; but he did mean to say that they had a passion for *long* speeches. With regard to the delays which occurred in our courts of justice, he thought that the lawyers themselves were generally at fault, though it was sometimes the case that the judges were not quite as prompt as they might be. He spoke of the one-hour rule which prevailed in another chamber of the capitol, and suggested that the present court might gather therefrom a salutary lesson.

At this stage of his remarks, Mr. Clay entered upon a statement of the case under consideration; and his argument is represented to have been "brilliant in the extreme, sound, graphic, clear, and persuasive; while his voice and manners were more like those of a lawyer in the early prime of life than of a patriarch in his profession."

During his sojourn in Washington, Mr. Clay dined, on one occasion with Mr. Polk. "It is likely," writes a correspondent, "you have heard of his remark to Mrs. Polk. He observed with infinite grace, that he had never heard of anybody who complained in the least of *her* administration, though he had occasionally heard *some* complaint of her husband's. What a primrose path is Mr. Clay's! Clothe him never with 'saddest cypress.' Let the almond and myrtle wave over his grave!"

The fourth Monday in May, and the 7th of June, having been fixed upon by the administration party and the whigs respectively for their conventions for the nomination of presidential candidates, meetings began to be held throughout the country, at which strong preferences for Mr. Clay were enthusiastically expressed. Many good whigs thought it more expedient to put up General Taylor, and discussions, which the future only could decide, were entered upon, generally with candor and in a good spirit. New York proclaimed herself for Clay in a mass meeting at Castle-Garden, believed to be not less than ten thousand strong. "But its numbers," said the Tribune, "vast as they were, were but a single element of this immense meeting. In character, intelligence, order, and dignity, we doubt whether an assemblage more deserving of respect, was ever seen. Although the deep and ardent enthusiasm for CLAY would frequently burst out in cheers

like thunder-peals, especially at every allusion to our great leader's name, yet no word (that *we* heard) was uttered, or sentiment evinced, disrespectful to his rivals, and when Mr. White spoke of General Taylor as a gallant and able commander, the expression was warmly responded to, despite the unanimous feeling that HENRY CLAY was the man for president. Of course, when Mr CLAY's name first occurred in the address, there were such demonstrations of delight as only failed to bring down the roof above us, and the allusion to his Lexington speech was received with hardly less enthusiasm. The resolution pledging the whigs of New York to abide and sustain the choice of the whig national convention, was most heartily responded to. And when Mr. Selden appealed to all present, and especially to the reporters, to say whether they ever saw a larger, more unanimous, more enthusiastic meeting, he called attention to a truth which not even the most inveterate adversary could venture to gainsay."

We wish we could give at length the proceedings of this animated meeting, but our limits forbid. Henry Grinnell, Esq. presided, and N. B. Blunt, Esq., presented the address and resolutions. From the former, we make the following fragmentary quotations:—

"Mexico lies bleeding and prostrate at our feet. Our national honor, if ever assailed, has been fully vindicated. Vengeance has been sated with blood and carnage. We can at least afford to be magnanimous. For what purpose—to what end—is the war to be further prosecuted? If for conquest: we deny the right to continue the war for such a purpose. If for indemnity: it has already been tendered. The truth is, stripped of all false coloring, the war has assumed a new and distinct form. Territory—the extension of the so-called 'area of freedom'—a rapacious spirit of plunder—the spoliation of a weak and fallen enemy—constitute the sole grounds for a further continuance of the conflict. It can and must be terminated. Human blood must cease to flow. The cause of humanity, the honor of the country, the welfare of the people, justice and religion, imperatively demand that the contest should end. . . . . First and foremost among the many true patriots and statesmen who have raised their voices and interposed their exertions to stem this flood of injustice, and to restore the current of public opinion to its wonted channel, stands the name of HENRY CLAY of Kentucky. He needs no eulogium at our hands—his deeds are written in the chronicles of his country's glory. Pre-eminent as he has been in the cabinet, in the halls of legislation, and the field of diplomacy—the moral courage, the self-devotion, and the calm sagacity, displayed in his memorable speech at Lexington, form the crowning act in a life well spent in the service of his country, and designate him as the MAN upon whose counsels and wisdom all may rely. We, therefore, the whigs of New York, do hereby

nominate, and do earnestly recommend to the whigs of the Union, HENRY CLAY, as OUR CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

The Hon. Joseph L. White, the Hon. Dudley Selden, and Horace Greeley, Esq., addressed the meeting in eloquent and appropriate terms. "I believe," said Mr. Greeley, "that in the last election we could not have been beaten but for the unfortunate panic which broke out among our fellow-citizens of foreign birth, who feared that if the whigs should succeed they would be disfranchized, and even forbidden to live on this soil. The election of James K. Polk was thus effected by fair votes and foul. Now, fellow-citizens, one month before or after the election, Mr. Polk could not have been elected, and he, or somebody not unlike him, will be the candidate opposed to us again. Under these circumstances, Mr. Clay is the proper exponent of our principles and candidate of our party; he is the man who would have prevented the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico; he is the man who was defrauded out of his election before. Now let the people have an opportunity to retrieve their error; and I believe they will rush to his standard with unexampled enthusiasm. Let the whig banner float with the name of our tried and loved leader inscribed upon it, and I am confident that it will be borne onward to a signal and beneficent triumph."

A letter from the Hon. John M. Botts of Virginia, addressed to the editor of the Richmond Whig, was read at this meeting, and published with the proceedings. The following extracts, illustrating as they do the conflict in sentiment among whigs previous to the election of 1848, will be read with interest in connection with the political history of Mr. Clay: —

"If General Taylor is a '*no party candidate*,' which is the only position he has yet assumed, then I am not of his party, for I am a *party man*, and that *party* is the *whig party*. I have nothing to ask, and I want nothing, of Mr. Clay or General Taylor, or any other executive, and I will not do, what I would regard as a surrender of my principles, to make any man president; and, therefore, I can not advocate the nomination of a gentleman who has never filled a political position, who comes fresh from the tented field, heralded only by his military achievements, and whose political views are carefully concealed as well from his friends as his opponents.

"Let me ask one question: if General Taylor is elected as a 'no-party' candidate, will he prove a 'no-party' president? If he should, then he will not suit me or any other whig. If not, would he not disappoint those who elected him? If a majority of the people are so dissatisfied with the principles and measures of both the great parties of this country, as to elect a

president belonging to neither, could he select a whig cabinet and adopt whig measures, without a betrayal of the trust confided to him by those who elected him? or, in other words, if he is elected upon the ground that he will not avow himself a whig and commit himself to whig policy, would he not be as fully justified in selecting a locofoco as a whig cabinet—and in adopting a locofoco as whig policy?

"I have reason to believe Mr. Clay has lost no strength in those states that he carried in 1844, and that he is greatly strengthened in many that he then lost—especially in New York, which our friends assure us is beyond the possibility of a doubt—to say nothing of New Hampshire (of which many of our friends are confident), Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, together with Pennsylvania, which may be carried by selecting a suitable man to place on his ticket—say either Scott or Clayton. With these views, I shall do as I believe my constituents would do, not give him up for any man of doubtful principles and of more doubtful success.

"When I say I feel confident that Mr. Clay can be elected, I know I shall be answered—'*So you thought in* '44.' True, I did—so did we all; but that is no reason we should be deceived again—it is, on the contrary, the best reason why we should not be. I am only rendered the more cautious in my calculations by that unexpected and disastrous defeat.

"He will not only *not* have the catholic excitement, the foreign influence, the native American party, the annexation of Texas, &c., &c., to operate against him, but they will all work in his favor, and most of all, this wicked and horrible war, and the ruinous condition of the country, which will be plainly spread before every man's eyes before the election comes on, will swell his triumph, in my belief, beyond all calculation that his most sanguine friends have yet made—and if the whig party are sincere in their expression of preference for him, my advice to them is, to hold on to him as their only sheet-anchor, for the conservative principles of whiggery.

"At all events, let us await the action of a national convention. It will be time enough for us who prefer him, to give up Mr. Clay, when the whigs of the nation, in grand council assembled, shall recommend General Taylor to us as a proper and more available candidate."

What gave added interest to the great Castle-Garden meeting, was the fact that it was held on the anniversary of the day when the news of the treaty of Ghent was received at New York. Thirty-three years before, the British sloop-of-war Bramble had come into the bay, and "just as twilight was deepening into darkness, a pilot-boat came up to Whitehall, announcing her arrival with the tidings that PEACE had been made at Ghent by HENRY CLAY and his associates in that memorable commission."

On Monday, the 22d of February, at half-past one o'clock, the venerable John Quincy Adams, then in his eighty-first year, while in his seat in the house of representatives, was stricken down by paralysis, and borne to the speaker's room in the capitol. It had been the earnest wish of his heart to die like Chatham in the midst of his labors, and that wish was accomplished literally.

"This is the last of earth—I am content!" was the last memorable sentence that he uttered. The expiring statesman was placed on a cot-bed, with his head toward the west. In this condition, breathing calmly, except at intervals, and manifesting no signs of pain, he lingered, for the most part insensible, for fifty-four hours. While he lay in this state, Mr. Clay visited him, and for some minutes held the hand of his speechless and unconscious friend in silent grief. Look at that spectacle, ye who still attach any credit to the vile slander against those two noblest Americans, that there was a huckstering bargain between them for the sale of the presidency! Clay takes the hand of the dying Adams—of the mighty man, and the ancient, the eloquent counsellor, the incorruptible patriot, the laborious and brave-hearted statesman, the truly honest man! Who can doubt, that could he have spoken, the "old man eloquent" would have said of those charges against Mr. Clay, as he said of them in 1843: "As I expect shortly to appear before my God to answer for the conduct of my whole life, should those charges have found their way to the throne of eternal justice, I will, in the presence of Omnipotence, pronounce them false!"

The physician had told Mr. Clay that Mr. Adams might linger for a week or more. Mr. Clay had professional business in Philadelphia, which claimed his early attention. His friends, too, had made arrangements for his reception. Thousands, who had been expecting him, would be awaiting him on his way. Under these circumstances, he did not feel justified in disappointing public expectation. Two hours after his departure from Washington, Mr. Adams died; but it was not till he was on his journey from Baltimore to Philadelphia, that Mr. Clay received the sad intelligence.

He arrived at Baltimore the evening of the 24th, and was received at the railroad-dépôt by an immense crowd. Arrived at the residence of his friend, Christopher Hughes, the crowd, which had followed, congregated in front of the dwelling, and, amid constant and loud cheers, called for Mr. Clay to make his appearance. After a short delay, an upper window was thrown open, and Mr. Clay made his appearance, greeted by tremendous cheering. When silence was with difficulty restored, he said—

"Gentlemen, I want to know what you are making all this noise about?"

"We wanted to see you," and loud cheers, was the response.

A voice in the crowd.—"You are that same old coon yet!"

Mr. Clay.—"Exactly: I am that same old coon." Loud cheers again, and laughter.

Mr. Clay.—"Gentlemen, now I will make a compromise with you: if you will let me alone, I will let you alone!"

He here withdrew, amid the most vociferous cheering, the window was closed, and the crowd withdrew.

Early the next morning, Mr. Clay started for Philadelphia, where his reception was again as cordial and brilliant as the most extensive popular enthusiasm could make it. He here became the guest of the mayor, Mr. Swift. "You are the most unreasonable set of people I ever met!" said Mr. Clay to the immense concourse which gathered in front of the house, in the hope of getting a speech from him. "You want something to come out of my mouth, and I want to put something into it. [Laughter.] Will you agree with me on one point—that is, to go home and get your suppers, and let me get my dinner?" [Cheers and laughter.] The crowd then dispersed, after giving "three times three" for Henry Clay!

At a public reception meeting, the ensuing Saturday, at Independence hall, Mr. Clay remarked that, "but for the loss that the country has just sustained in the decease of Mr. Adams, this would have been one of the happiest occasions of his life. As it was, the loss of the purest of patriots and best of men, had caused a sensation of grief to pervade the whole country; and how much greater than those of others, must be the feelings of one who had been closely connected with him, in both public and private life—who had ever found him, at all times, and under all circumstances, the pure and elevated patriot—the tried, the faith ful friend, the wise and good man! The loss was heavy to all, but to none more so than the speaker. His heart was so surcharged with the emotions natural to the loss, that he could make no set speech; yet he could not avoid referring to the sad event."

Mr. Clay's visit to Philadelphia was connected with professional business in the settlement of a large estate, of which he

was left the executor by a former resident of that city, who died some years before in Indiana. But being so near New York, he could not well decline the pressing and unanimous invitation of her common council to pay them a visit as the city's guest. He left for New York the 7th of March, encountering there and everywhere the same hearty reception which he had before so often experienced.

The following account of Mr. Clay's reception by the corporation of New York, and of his visit in the city, was originally published in the New York Daily Tribune, from which it is here taken, with slight alterations. The reception took place on Tuesday, March 7, 1848. The Tribune says:—

"A more brilliant day for the ceremonies attendant upon the visit of Henry Clay to our city could not have been desired. The air was clear and elastic, the skies bright, and the waters of the bay as smooth as in summer. Nature seemed to have decked herself in holyday attire to welcome the illustrious statesman to the commercial metropolis of the Union.

"The splendid and spacious steamer C. Vanderbilt, had been kindly placed at the disposal of the common council by Captain Vanderbilt for the occasion. She had been newly painted and refitted for the season just commencing, and, by her beauty and convenience of her arrangements, was well adapted for the service to which she was now appropriated.

"The committee having in charge the duty of meeting Mr. Clay at Amboy and conducting him to the city, had contemplated being accompanied by some two hundred invited guests; but so great was the desire to see the city's illustrious visiter, that at least six hundred persons obtained tickets, and only the impossibility of making room for a larger number, prevented a much more crowded attendance. Among those present were the members of the common council and many eminent citizens, in both public and private life. All seemed filled with that enthusiastic attachment to Mr. Clay which he, of all men, has the power of calling forth and securing. As the Vanderbilt put off, she was loudly cheered by the multitude assembled on the wharf, and the passengers of one or two boats that she met in the passage down the bay, manifested the same sympathy in the purpose of the excursion.

The boat arrived at Amboy at about half-past eleven o'clock, and, as soon as the cars arrived, the committee proceeded on shore to receive Mr. Clay, with the Philadelphia delegation, and escort him on board. When he appeared, the air was rent with shouts, which were repeated as he passed amid the crowd, quietly bowing his response to the warm expressions of those around him. He appeared in excellent health, and bore himself erect with all the vigor of a young man. His form has lost little of its apparent strength, and his features retain the same manly and noble graciousness which so truly express the character of the man. He was conducted to the upper saloon of the Vanderbilt, where Morton M'Michael, Esq., on behalf of the Philadelphia committee, resigned him into the care of our city council in the following address:—

"'MR. PRESIDENT: The committee which speaks through me, have come

hither in the behalf of the people of Philadelphia, to transfer to your care the illustrious citizen who, for some days past, has been our honored guest. He came among us in no public capacity and on no public mission, not expecting any of the gratifications and enjoyments which there may be in loud and earnest expressions of the general regard. He came, rather anxious to avoid all ceremony and parade, and desiring only to meet his old familiar friends in the old familiar way. In this desire, it is scarcely necessary for me to say, it was impossible that he should be gratified. All hearts spontaneously rebelled against such a purpose. The whole people of Philadelphia, animated by one common impulse of affection, poured forth into the streets, thronged the roofs and windows of the houses, till they presented such a spectacle as was never seen before:—

> "You would have thought the very windows spoke
> So many greedy looks of young and old
> Darted through casements their desiring eyes
> Upon his visage: and that all the walls,
> Painted with imagery, had said aloud,
> 'Jesu preserve thee—welcome HENRY CLAY!'"

"'So it was the next day, so it was all the days that he was among us. So constant, so tireless, so enthusiastic, were the well-meant kindnesses of our people, that I for one was afraid that the object of them would be totally overwhelmed and exhausted. Those overflowing marks of love were such, indeed, as few but Henry Clay could have elicited: nay, they were such as hardly any, save himself, could have endured. They came, too, from deeper feelings than party motives: they sprang from those beautiful instincts of our spiritual nature, which prompt admiration for whatever is truly great, and noble, and exalted in man! They showed that men love and reverence those who lift themselves above the meanness and narrowness to which less gifted and elevated natures are prone, and showed that in so doing, all must deeply and truly love and reverence Henry Clay. Yes, reverence him as one whose tongue was never tainted with falsehood, nor his soul stained with shame!

"'Nor was it the members of his own party alone who thus arose to do him honor, but the members of all parties. All looked to him—all turned to him—all were irresistibly drawn to him, as to one before whom Nature herself could stand up and say to all the world, 'This is a MAN!'

"'We should feel a deep pain in thus separating from one we so love; but under a view of the cordial invitation which you have extended to him, and the general desire of all your citizens to have him among you, we feel that you are entitled to some portion of that pleasure which his presence everywhere bestows. We resign him to you in full confidence that you will welcome him as no man could be welcomed but Henry Clay!'"

Mr. M'Michael's speech was interrupted by frequent applause, and was warmly responded to at the close.

When silence was restored, Hon. Morris Franklin, president of the board of aldermen, turned to Mr. Clay and addressed him as follows:—

"On behalf of the common council of our city, and of the assembled thousands, who are now awaiting your arrival in anxious expectation, I am the honored instrument of tendering you a sincere and cordial welcome to their hospitality, and to assure you of a warm and heartfelt reception in the commercial metropolis of our country. For in the anticipation of this, your

visit, every sectional prejudice has been forgotten, and we are united as the heart of one man in extending the right hand of fellowship to so distinguished and illustrious a stranger. You have come among us, sir, not with the gilded trappings of military splendor, nor the bugle-notes of a victorious chieftain; with no public patronage with which to reward your followers, but merely as a private citizen—yet wearing upon your brow as proud a civic wreath as could be entwined by the affections of the American people for one of their noblest and most honored sons. It is, therefore, in the sincerity of our hearts, that we anticipate with pleasure the opportunity which you have afforded us of presenting to our constituents one whom all will delight to honor, who, in the enthusiasm of their feelings will hail with pleasure that hour when you shall have become their welcome and their honored guest, and they shall have seen the person and heard the voice of him, who for so many years, has been associated in their recollections with the darkest and brightest days of our country's history. For whether at foreign courts, in the domestic cabinet, or in the halls of legislation, your services will ever be appreciated by a grateful and confiding people, and when this age, with all its partialities and prejudices, shall have passed away, and the future historian shall sketch a faithful picture of the past, your name will appear in bold relief among its noblest and purest sons.

"We the more fully appreciate this visit, sir, because we know that you have yielded to our invitation, not to gratify any ambition of your own, nor to build up or establish present or posthumous fame, but to gratify the people of our own city, and to respond to the wish unanimously expressed, that once again they might be permitted to welcome as their guest the statesman whom they honor and the citizen whom they love. For had you consulted only your own feelings, or the dictates of your own judgment, you would have avoided the multitude which you are about to encounter. Sir, we are an enthusiastic people, and while we shall endeavor to consult your wishes so as to render your visit pleasant and agreeable, yet it would be too much for us to promise, or you to expect, that quiet and repose which we know you desire, and which threescore years and ten demand. As well might we undertake to lull the raging tempest, and say to the winds, 'Be still!' as to control the excitement of our people when the Sage of Ashland treads upon their soil and walks within their midst. But we can and do commend you to Him who controls the destinies of nations, to protect you as in the hollow of his hand while absent from your home, and again restore you to those domestic associations within the family circle—alas, so recently reduced! In retrospecting upon the past, or looking forward to the future, you may realize the fact, that however situated, whether upon the classic shores of Greece or among the republics of South America, whether pleading the cause of dismembered Poland, or oppressed and unhappy Ireland, the name of Henry Clay will remain as a monument of devoted patriotism, from which we and our children may derive lessons of instruction worthy of the philanthropist and the scholar, the statesman and the man! Again we welcome you on board this noble steamer; the mayor will respond to it upon our arrival, and all the people will join in one harmonious shout of 'Welcome! welcome to our homes!'"

When President Franklin had concluded, Mr. Clay replied as follows:—

"*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Council of New York:* I thank you most heartily for this interesting occasion, and thank you, sir, for the senti-

ments which you have done me the honor of expressing. I wish that I could find language to convey to you the feeling and the gratitude with which the very cordial and flattering manner of this reception is received. But the truth is, and I might as well own it, that if I ever had any great talent at public speaking, elocution, or eloquence, it can not now be exerted, and for two reasons: one is that my heart is full, and the other that I am myself the subject. And if ever I have exerted any power of eloquence, it has not been for myself, but for my country. [Loud applause.] * * * *

"And now, Mr. President, though I can not respond to your welcome in the terms of eloquence, I can at least clasp your hand, and assure you how happy I am to be once more among my fellow-citizens of New York, and to meet those who are intrusted with the high duty of directing the destinies of so great and important a city."

During the delivery of Mr. Clay's speech, the saloon deck yielded to the weight of the crowd, and gave way some three inches, and the alarm was given that it was breaking through. Many persons, in consequence, retreated to the lower deck. Mr. Clay, looking around, as if to see what was about to happen, was assured by the captain of the boat that there was no danger. "Well," said he, "I like always to know the ground I stand on." Through the whole trip he seemed in excellent spirits, and many genial sallies from his lips were received with loud satisfaction by those surrounding him.

After he had concluded speaking, there was a general rush to take him by the hand, but he obtained silence by waving a splendid bouquet, the gift doubtless of some fair Philadelphian, and said, "Gentlemen, you know I am a good deal of a compromise man. I have a compromise to propose to you, which is, that instead of your coming up to shake my hand, I shall go around and shake yours." This was unanimously agreed to, of course, and he descended upon the main deck, exchanging salutations with old friends or new ones by the way. Between High-Constable Hays and himself, a very playful meeting took place; and to whatever quarter of the boat he went, he was greeted with the same hearty cheers which welcomed him on board at first. Finally, after partaking of a lunch, he went upon the hurricane deck, whence, in the wheel-house, he had a fair view of the scenery of the bay on the way up.

On arriving at the city, instead of landing at Castle-Garden, as had been contemplated, the Vanderbilt was obliged, by the state of the tide, to land at pier No. 2. From there Mr. Clay,

accompanied by the common council, the Philadelphia delegation, and a large number of citizens, marched through the muddy streets to Castle-Garden. The crowd in the streets and on the Battery was immense, and so thick that it was difficult for the police to make way for the procession to move. As Mr. Clay passed along, he was greeted by such cheers as only the warm enthusiasm of spontaneous hearts can produce.

On entering Castle-Garden, an impressive spectacle then presented itself. The whole of that vast area was filled with people, waiting with impatience for his arrival. As soon as he entered, he was greeted by deafening cheers, which were repeated until it seemed as if the people would not have done with these proofs of their affection for their distinguished visiter. At last silence was restored, when President Franklin spoke as follows to the mayor: —

"YOUR HONOR: I have pleasure, in behalf of the committee of the common council, to commit to your charge, together with that of this vast assemblage of our fellow-citizens, the body of Henry Clay of Kentucky."

After the cheering had again subsided, his honor the mayor arose and spoke in these terms: —

"MR. CLAY: The pleasing duty has been assigned to me as the representative of the constituted authorities of the city of New York, to tender to you its hospitalities—to extend to you a cordial welcome.

"It is not necessary for me—indeed, sir, it would not become me on an occasion like the present—to advert to your many and valued public services. The whole country gratefully acknowledge the zeal, the devotion with which a whole life has been passed in upholding her interests—in defending her honor—in augmenting her prosperity—and we, sir, citizens of the great commercial metropolis of this western world, rejoice that we are permitted to testify to you personally our appreciation of the worth, the talents, the statesmanship, and the pure patriotism, which have combined to surround with a halo of imperishable glory the name of Henry Clay.

"Our welcome, sir, is not mere lip-service, but from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.

"We receive you, sir, as the honored, the cherished guest of this great city. Its inhabitants, without reference to *creeds*, or *sects*, or *parties*, have come forth to greet you, and in their name, sir, with all the warmth which words fresh from the heart can convey, I bid you WELCOME."

Mr. Clay then rose and replied as follows: —

"MR. MAYOR: I wish I could find adequate language to express to you and this audience the feelings of a grateful heart, the feelings excited by this splendid and magnificent reception. * * * * * *

"But, Mr. Mayor, the president of the councils has told you that he has committed my body to your custody. Sir, that expression could not fail to

excite some reflection in my mind, and to call up some thoughts and feelings there, an expression of which I feel bound to endeavor to make.

"My arrival here to-day, has been signalized by the discharge of cannon, by the display of flags, by the sound of gay and exulting music, and by the shouts and cheers of an affectionate multitude directed toward myself. I am proud and thankful for those evidences of regard, and of value, for the humble services of an individual whom you esteem far too highly. But, sir, these testimonies offered to the living, could not fail to remind me of the just honors about to be paid to the dead. To-morrow's sun will rise upon another and a different spectacle than that which it to-day beholds, as the venerable remains of the illustrious ex-president of the United States reach this city. Then, instead of the cheers of joy and gladness which have been uttered upon this occasion, there will be the still expression of solemn and saddened feeling. As I contemplate the scene which will be presented on that anticipated arrival, as I recollect the signal services and glorious career of the great departed, and the position to which he now has passed—a position which awaits us all—I am moved to suppress the feelings of grateful joy which would otherwise overflow within me on an occasion so honorable to myself. Ought not the contrast between this day's performances—between the joy and gladness this day manifested on the arrival of an humble individual, whose efforts in our country's behalf you much too highly appreciate, and the ceremonies which will follow to-morrow, to make a deep impression on our minds? Ought they not for the few days remaining to us to moderate the unworthy impulses which most men bring into the strife of existence—to repress and diminish the violence of party contests, and the heat and acrimony of party feeling, for the brief space which intervenes between the present moment and that moment near at hand when we shall be all laid low in the narrow house which our venerable and pure-hearted patriot now occupies?

"I hope, Mr. Mayor, that we may profit by this contrast, and hereafter entertain less of that embittered feeling which too often urges us, that we may restrain our ardor in the pursuit of cherished objects in the sense of responsibility which we ought to cherish toward the Governor of all, and in the expectation of that moment which must sooner or later bring us all to the dust.

"Mr. Mayor, I could not pass by this topic, thus suggested to me. And now, sir, will you permit me to thank yourself and the public authorities of the people of this city, for this splendid reception, and for the kindness and liberal hospitality which you have authorized me to expect at your hands?"

Mr. Clay concluded, with loud applause from the assembled multitude, by whom he had also been frequently interrupted in the course of his remarks.

The procession was then formed at the Battery, and moved up through Broadway in the appointed order, amid the cheers of the almost impassable mass who had assembled from one end of the street to the other, on this beautiful afternoon, to do honor to Henry Clay.

On the next day after his arrival, the funeral procession in honor of Mr. Adams, took place, and Mr. Clay, who participated

in it, received no visits, and avoided those manifestations of attachment which the people seemed universally to be animated with toward him. In the forenoon, however, he visited the Rutgers Young Ladies' institute, where a great number of ladies were assembled to receive him. He was addressed in behalf of the young ladies by the principal, who also read an address to him composed by members of the institution. From this address, we give one or two paragraphs, together with Mr. Clay's reply :—

"We hail you as the advocate of peace—the richest boon that can be conferred upon a nation. And while we admire the patriotism that would not spare a well-beloved son in the hour of trial, but endured with calm resignation that the fond object of a father's deep affection should be sacrificed upon the altar of his country's good; still more would we honor that moral courage that manfully maintains the right in the face of the greatest opposition, and boldly condemns the spirit of war and aggression. To such a spirit, cherished and regarded by the nation's rulers, must we be indebted for the blessings of peace in our own highly-favored land; for the extended commerce, and polished society of large and opulent cities, or the grateful retirement, and refining pleasures of the country; but most of all, for the knowledge and understanding of those arts and sciences which more adorn our country than stately edifices, or well-tilled grounds, and our institutions of learning that shall rightly train the youthful mind, and fit the *women* of America for an elevated station in this great republic. And to *you*, and men of your principles, we look for the diffusion of like mercies in a neighboring nation, whose smiling valleys and fruitful fields have been laid waste by the cruel spirit of rapine and bloodshed.

"And now, dear sir, in conclusion, we would tender our heartfelt acknowledgments for the great pleasure and honor which your visit has afforded us. The events of this day can never be forgotten by us; the remembrance of Henry Clay will ever be indelibly engraved upon our hearts.

"God bless you, and preserve you, and may your path continue to be like that of the revered one whom the nation now mourns—'shining more and more unto the perfect day.'"

Mr. Clay then replied briefly as follows :—

"I thank you, sir, and the young ladies whom you represent, for this cordial welcome and distinguished reception. Among the agreeable incidents which attended my brief visit to this city, there is no one to which I shall look with more satisfaction and delight than upon my having had occasion to meet in this place the future mothers and present daughters of my country. I did not come here for the purpose of making a speech, but I will, however, say that I trust that the noble objects which the founder of this institution had in view in its establishment, may be fully attained. I trust that the opportunities which the young ladies possess of improving their minds, cultivating their taste, expanding their understandings, by the advantages here offered, may not be lost, but that they may fulfil their high destinies, and render themselves a blessing to their parents, an ornament to their country, and acceptable to that God to whose providence I shall always pray for their prosperity fame and happiness."

Mr. Clay having concluded, withdrew, receiving at every step on the passage out of the room, the smiles of that beautiful crowd of girls, and shaking the hands and replying to the salutations and good wishes of those who happened to be near enough to speak to him.

On Thursday morning, March 9th, Mr. Clay, in company of the common council, drove out to the Institution for the Blind On arriving, he was received by the principal, who briefly addressed him, and drew forth from Mr. Clay one of the most felicitous and beautiful speeches that it was ever the fortune of those present to listen to. It was full of pathos and the eloquence of elevated sentiment. This was followed by poetical addresses to Mr. Clay from two young ladies, pupils of the institute, with which he was highly gratified.

The party then proceeded to the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, where addresses were also delivered. The distinguished visiter was greatly interested in the modes and results of the in struction administered at those admirable institutions.

It was intended to visit the High Bridge, but owing to the severity of the rain, the party returned to the city. At six o'clock, Mr. Clay dined with the common council at the New York hotel, and in the evening, appeared at the ball at the Broadway theatre. This was a most brilliant festival. Even the violent rain, which prevailed the whole evening, seemed to have made little diminution in the crowds who were present. We refer especially to the ladies, who were drawn there in large numbers by the desire of seeing the honored statesman of Ashland, who had consented to attend, principally with the desire of gratifying his fair countrywomen.

The theatre was splendidly illuminated, and the stage hung with gorgeous drapery, representing the American colors. Mr. Clay entered about nine o'clock, in company with Ex-President Van Buren, and escorted by the common council. He was received with three cheers, and immediately the company formed into double lines, extending the whole length of the stage, down which the distinguished guests walked, greeted most enthusiastically at every point, and finally took their station at the farther end, where the ladies crowded at once to take them by the hand.

Mr. Clay seemed in excellent spirits; his fine eye sparkled with kindly feeling, and the dense throng which gathered around, displayed the most marked reverence and attachment toward him.

The next morning, Friday, having been appointed for the citizens of New York to pay their personal respects to Mr. Clay, he reached the city-hall with his honor the mayor and the members of the committee of reception, at about eleven o'clock. A great number of gentlemen were there collected, waiting for his arrival; they received him with the usual manifestations. As soon as the doors of the governor's room were thrown open, the crowd began to pour through them: and a steady stream of persons, eager to exchange salutations with the illustrious visiter, occupied all the avenues to the place. It was impossible to obtain admission, except by taking a place in the mass and moving with it gradually up the stairs toward the door; and the number of persons was so great, that it must have required nearly an hour for a single individual to reach the governor's room.

In order that the thousands who had collected outside, finding it utterly impossible to effect an entrance, might not be disappointed in their wish to see him, Mr. Clay appeared on the balcony at the close of his levée. After the enthusiastic cheering with which he was received had subsided, Mr. Clay said he had come here with the expectation of shaking all his friends by the hand; he had been undergoing that operation for the last three hours—indeed, ever since he had been in the city. Instead of working twelve hours, even if he had worked twenty-four hours a day, it would not have sufficed; and as he had given all that were in the inside of the building his hand, he now gave all on the outside his heart!

On Saturday morning, Mr. Clay received the ladies of New York at the same place, and many thousands were present. Mr. Clay arrived at the appointed hour, and was received with all the honors by the mass of gentlemen and ladies assembled at the city-hall. The business of reception commenced immediately, Mr. Clay shaking hands and exchanging a pleasant word with all, receiving warmer tributes from some, and now and then carrying his politeness so far as to yield a lock of hair to the longing scissors of some patriotic matron. The ceremony was continued till

after the appointed hour, when Mr. Clay was compelled to retire, although many ladies had not yet enjoyed the pleasure of an interview.

On Saturday afternoon, Mr. Clay visited the High Bridge, in company with several members of the common council, and was highly gratified with that magnificent work. He returned to the city, and was entertained at dinner by J. Phillips Phœnix, Esq., after which he attended the performance of the oratorio of the "Creation," by the Sacred Music society. He was there much more an object of attention to the audience than the music, and in the course of the evening, briefly and felicitously replied to an address from the ladies of the society.

On Sunday morning, Mr. Clay attended St. Bartholomew's church, with his honor the mayor, where an unusually large congregation was assembled. On the way thither, he was met by a large number of Irishmen, who thus sought the opportunity of quietly expressing to him the warm feelings which his efforts in behalf of Ireland have roused in the breasts of all her sons.

On Monday morning (says the Tribune) a large assemblage was collected at the New Jersey railroad-office, foot of Liberty street, to witness the departure of Mr. Clay. A little past nine o'clock, he arrived in a carriage with his honor the mayor and the committee of reception, and was received with loud cheers by the multitude, who not only occupied the street, but the roofs of the buildings about the railroad-office, all eager to obtain a view of him. Just before the ferry-boat arrived at the wharf, Mr. Clay came forward, and bowed his farewell to the people, who returned it with cheers, after which he took his seat again in the carriage, and was driven on board the boat. As the boat put off, the assemblage again cheered loudly, and so the visit of the veteran and adored statesman to the commercial metropolis was ended.

The committee accompanied Mr. Clay to Newark, where they resigned him to the authorities of that place. He was welcomed there with the utmost enthusiasm, and after spending a short time, went on to Philadelphia, where he remained a day privately, and then returned home by way of Baltimore. The Tribune, in speaking of his visit to New York, says: "Mr. Clay has been with us

five days, and through the whole time has received such tokens of deep respect and enthusiastic attachment, as no man but himself could have elicited. We now see how firmly he stands in the affections, not of a few persons, or of any particular class, but of the whole people. If there were any doubt before, the fact is now undeniable, that no man lives who is so truly beloved revered, and trusted, by the people of this city, as Henry Clay.'

XXIX.

MR. CLAY AS A LAWYER AND AS A MAN.

Of such paramount interest have been the details of Mr. Clay's public career, that we have but little room to bestow upon his private and professional history, honorable as it has been to him. We have alluded to his early successes at the bar, but space fails us in the attempt to supply even an imperfect sketch of his numerous triumphant efforts in the sphere of his profession—efforts which have not failed in brilliancy and success with the arrival of his threescore and tenth year.

Owing to the more popular character of his political labors, he has not enjoyed, out of the boundary of the supreme court, half the reputation which was his due as a jurist of extensive attainments and profound ability. But the writer has been assured by the late Mr. Justice Story, that Mr. Clay was regarded by Chief-Justice Marshall as second in these respects to no lawyer in the country. His arguments always evinced great reflection, and oftentimes extensive legal erudition; and his appeals were of that generous and elevated character, which rejects every aid of a narrow or *pettifogging* cast. We must content ourselves with a mere reference to this department of Mr. Clay's history; referring the reader, for information in regard to it, to the reports and records of the United States courts and the courts of Kentucky.

Mr. Clay is now (1848) in his seventy-first year, and, notwithstanding his varied and arduous labors, tasking his mental and physical powers to an extraordinary degree, and the several pe-

riods of dangerous illness to which he has been subject, he bears in his personal appearance the promise of a vigorous, healthful, and protracted old age. In stature, he is tall, sinewy, erect, and commanding, with finely-formed limbs, and a frame capable of much endurance. From his features, you might at first infer that he was a hardy backwoodsman, who had been accustomed rather to the privations and trials of a frontier life, than to the arena of debate and the diplomatic table. But when you meet his full, clear gray eye, you see in its flashes the conscious power of a well-trained and panoplied intellect, as well as the glance of an intrepid soul. Its lustre gives animation to the whole countenance, and its varying expression faithfully interprets the emotions and sentiments of the orator. Much of the charm of his speaking lies in his clear, rotund, and indescribably melodious voice, which is of wide compass, and as distinct in its low as in its high tones. The effect of it, when a passion is to be portrayed, or a feeling of pathos aroused, is like that of a rich instrument upon the ear.

Nothing could be more felicitous than Mr. Clay's personal manners and address. They convey to every one the conviction that he is a true man —that there is no *sham* about him and his professions. Frank, affable, natural, and communicative, he was without assumption, as much at home among European potentates as among his own constituents at a barbecue. His perfect self-possession and repose of manner spring, not so much from long intercourse with the world and with society, as from that indigenous democratic instinct, that true nobleness of character, which looks unaffectedly to the inward man solely, and not to the outside insignia with which he may be decorated.

Never was public man so personally popular in the United States. "The true source of his extraordinary influence," says a writer of the day, "is to be found in that most potent of all human influences, *a true and ready sympathy.* There are no barriers between his heart and the hearts of others. Bring them in contact, and the efflux of his kindly feeling is instantaneous. Instead of sullenly wrapping himself in the thoughts of *self*, he thinks of *others.* His thoughts become their thoughts, and their thoughts become his thoughts. An interchange of kindly feeling

becomes spontaneous and immediate. Mr. Clay is not only a strong man in himself, but he possesses the ability to command and carry with him all human agencies and influences which come within the sphere of his action."

In his integrity and uprightness of character, no one who was ever brought in contact with him, could fail to place the most implicit reliance. "He is an honest man," says one, who knows him well; "he is a fair-dealing man; he is a true man; he is a man who believes in his own principles, who follows his own convictions, who avows his own sentiments and acts on them, who never deserted a friend, who was never deterred from his purpose, who was never seduced from what he undertook to do He is a man of *faith*, in the largest sense of that word. No man has ever been more severely tried in public life in this country; and no man ever exhibited a more sublime manhood in all his great and repeated exhibitions of that noblest of all qualities in a public man—trustworthiness. The nation may rely on him that he is what he is, and that he will do what he says he will do."

"In our opinion, the most remarkable mental endowment of Mr. Clay is *his common sense*. He is the most sagacious public man this country has produced, except Benjamin Franklin. His knowledge of affairs seems rather intuitive than the result of experience. We have heard him deliver some of his greatest speeches. We have read them all. His fame as an orator is world-wide. But what is the oratory of those great discourses? No flowers of rhetoric adorn them; no vast fund of acquired erudition enriches them. Mr. Clay hardly ever quotes from books. No elaborate argumentation. What then? The grandeur of an intellect that seems to perceive truth intuitively, united to a pathos as fervent as that of Demosthenes: this is the man, full of spirit, full of sense."

Among the eminent persons who have borne testimony to those qualities which qualify Mr. Clay so worthily for the highest office in the gift of the American people, is the late Col. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky. We are indebted to the Richmond Whig for the following anecdote:—

"On the 30th of September last, Col. Johnson being in Staunton, Virginia, a number of gentlemen paid him the respect of calling to see him. One of

the company remarked to him, 'Colonel, when you reach the railroad junction, you will be near the *Slashes of Hanover.*' The honest old warrior's face immediately lighted up with an expression of sincerity and pleasure, and he eloquently said: 'I shall be delighted to see that place. Every spot of ground Henry Clay touches he immortalizes. I have been in public life for forty years, and in that time have been associated with all the great men of the country. Leaving out Madison and Gallatin, who were old men when I first stepped upon the theatre of politics, I will place Jefferson first, then HENRY CLAY. He is a perfect Hercules in all the qualities than can adorn human nature. Some men may excel him in a single quality—for instance, Webster may be a greater logician; or some may be more renowned for deep research; but take Clay all in all, he has not an equal in the Union, in either the north or south, the east or the west. In moral courage, in physical courage, in oratory, in patriotism, and in every noble quality, he is without a superior. I have been associated with him on committees in connection with Calhoun, Lowndes, Cheves, Webster, and other distinguished individuals, but Clay was always the master-spirit. We looked up to him as the Ajax Telamon; and by his counsel we were guided in our deliberations. If the rest of the committee assembled before him, and were in doubt how to proceed, when he made his appearance, all eyes were turned upon him—and we were certain to be right when we followed his opinion. He is a great man—a very great man!'"

As a writer, Mr. Clay will creditably compare with any of the public men of the day. His style is singularly perspicuous, simple, forcible, and correct, evincing a preference for good old Saxon words over those derived from the Latin and Greek languages. In this respect it is perfectly Addisonian. His instructions to the ministers sent to the Congress of Panama, his land report of 1832, his report on the differences with France, and numerous documents which emanated from his pen while he was at the head of the department of state, may be referred to, not only as papers evincing masterly statesmanship, but as excellent specimens of English undefiled.

In his tastes and habits of life, Mr. Clay is remarkably simple and unostentatious. He is an early riser, and methodical and industrious in the disposition of his time. His punctuality is proverbial. He is quite as noted as Washington was for this good quality; which we generally find in the greatest perfection with those who have the greatest consideration for others.

In April, 1799, about a year and a half after Mr. Clay removed to Kentucky, he married Lucretia Hart, daughter of Colonel Hart, a highly respectable gentleman of Lexington. Another daughter was married to James Brown, Esq., afterward minister to France under Messrs Monroe and J. Q. Adams. Mrs. Clay was born

in 1781, at Hagerstown, Maryland, being four years younger than her husband. They have had eleven children, six daughters and five sons, and a larger number of grandchildren. Four of the daughters died young. Susan Hart, then Mrs. Duralde, of New Orleans, died at the age of twenty. Ann Brown Clay, born in 1807, married James Erwine, Esq., of New Orleans ; and is said to have borne a great resemblance to her father in her captivating social, and intellectual qualities. She died in 1835, the last of the six. The news of her death so affected Mr. Clay, that he fainted on receiving the communication. The affliction of the bereavement was most bitter.

Theodore Wythe Clay, the eldest son, was born in 1802. In consequence of an accidental injury, he became deranged, and has been for many years the inmate of an insane retreat. Thomas Hart Clay, the second son, born in 1803, is married and has a family. He is engaged chiefly in the manufacture of hemp Henry Clay, Jr., born in 1811, fell at Buena-Vista, gallantly leading his men, February, 1847. James B. Clay, born in 1817, is married and in the practice of the law at Lexington. John M. Clay, the youngest of the family, born in 1821, has also been educated for the legal profession.

The virtues of Mrs. Clay, though of the unobtrusive kind, are not the less admirable and deserving. Her benevolence, her industry, her studious attention to her household and her guests, have been the theme of eulogy with all who have visited Ashland. When General Bertrand, the faithful friend of Napoleon, was there, he was much astonished at the extent and variety of the duties discharged with so much activity and system by Mrs. Clay. Her dairy, garden, greenhouse, pleasure-grounds, and the operations of a farm of between five and six hundred acres, were all under her vigilant and comprehensive supervision.

In his domestic and social relations, no man could be more strictly honorable and blameless than Mr. Clay. The charge has been brought against him by his enemies, of having visited the gaming-table. It is admitted that, in early life, Mr. Clay had a fondness for play—not for the sake of the money sported, but for the company and the excitement. He has never played at a public table or at gambling-houses. *For upward of thirty years*

he has not played at any game of hazard. Never to his knowledge has a pack of cards been seen at Ashland. We mention these facts, not that we suppose that Mr. Clay objects to the recreation of cards, where nothing is staked, but because the grossest misrepresentations and the most exaggerated stories in regard to him, in connection with this subject, have been made current by his enemies. We have fairly stated the head and front of his offending. Many instances of the justice and magnanimity which he carries into all transactions of a pecuniary nature might be mentioned; but we forbear.

It is with Mr. Clay's public history that we have mainly to deal. The legislative annals of the nation are the sources from which it may be derived. There it stands amply and immutably recorded, through a period of more than forty years. From those magnificent quarries of the past, the materials will be drawn for a monument more perennial than marble or brass. Never were the views of a public man upon all questions of public policy more ingenuously and unequivocally expressed—more clearly and broadly defined. On no one point is there an indication of shuffling—of a disposition to evade or defer the responsibility of uttering an opinion. In contemplating his career, we are often reminded of these lines by the author of "Philip Van Artevelde:"

> "All my life long
> I have beheld with most respect the man
> Who knew himself and knew the ways before him,
> And from among them chose considerately,
> With a clear foresight, not a blindfold courage,
> And, having chosen, with a steadfast mind
> Pursued his purposes."

Such a man is Henry Clay! And in no one public act of his life does he seem to have been actuated by other than pure and patriotic motives. "I WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN BE PRESIDENT." In that expression we have a key to his conduct from the moment he first entered the national councils; and in that expression, we have an earnest of the single-heartedness of purpose with which the affairs of the country would be conducted under his administration. But the presidency could not add to

his fame. The wonder of the wise and the good that he was *not* president, would speak louder in his behalf, and be a prouder tribute to his worth, than their exultation at his success. The *absence* of his bust from the triumph, will be more noted than its presence could ever be.

Whatever the Future may have in store, "the Past is secure." His name lives in the hearts of his countrymen. His fame is incorporate with the history of the republic. May they both be blended with the highest honor which a free people can bestow!

NEW YORK, *May*, 1848.

END OF SARGENT'S LIFE OF CLAY.

XXX.*

THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST OF 1848.

Mr. Clay's name, in connection with the Presidency, was again presented to the Whig National Convention which met at Philadelphia, in June, 1848. It is due to his unchanging friends that the grounds on which they urged his nomination at this time should be fairly set forth.

There is a sense in which Mr. Clay was not, and for more than twenty years had not been, a popular man. His name was not calculated to draw to the standard on which it was inscribed that large class who are habitually spoken of as "the floating vote;" and who incline to this party or that from no regard to the principles it advocates, or the measures it supports, but simply or mainly from personal admiration of its leading candidate or exultation over his achievements. On the contrary, the Whig party, in presenting Mr. Clay for President, must count on the support of those only whose intelligent convictions had impelled them to regard with favor its distinctive objects—its leading aims and aspirations.

But with all, or nearly all, those who *did* cherish this sympathy, Mr. Clay was not only popular, but decidedly the *most* popular candidate that could be selected; he was the very man, confessedly, whom nine-tenths of the Whigs of the whole Union preferred to all other men for President. His Genius, his Talents, his Eloquence, his Patriotism, and, in the better sense, his popularity, had for twenty years rendered him the practical and conceded champion and master-spirit of the Whig party, of which he might without extravagance have been termed the creating life, the animating soul. If the question had been, "Whom do the Whigs *desire* to elect President?" it was already most emphatically decided. No one pretended to doubt that the first choice of an immense majority of the Whigs was Henry Clay.

* For this chapter, and all that follows it, the reader will hold the Editor solely responsible.

CALIFORNIA

The first question, then, for practical consideration was this—Can Mr. Clay be elected? Is the Whig party strong enough, in and of itself, to nominate the man of its choice with a reasonable probability of electing him?

Mr. Clay, it was notorious, had been repeatedly beaten; but only once when he was sustained by the full strength of the Whig party. The scrub race of 1824 had only demonstrated one thing—the hostility of the people to the abuses and corruptions of congressional caucuses. All beyond this was accidental—fortuitous. In 1832, the Anti-Jackson strength was divided by Anti-Masonry, which abstracted from Mr. Clay the votes of several States which he would otherwise have carried. And in 1844, Mr. Clay was barely beaten by the Kane Letter swindle in Pennsylvania, whereby a large body of voters were carried against him by the preposterously false and impudent, but nevertheless successful, assumption that Mr. Polk was the better Protectionist of the two, and were drawn to swell the vote of the latter under banners inscribed "Polk, Dallas, *and the Tariff of* '42"—by the terrors of Nativism which had been infused into the great body of our adopted citizens by the Church-burning and other acts of violence committed in Philadelphia, in the spring and early summer of that year—by the audacious and persistent assertion of Birney and Co. that the Annexation of Texas was as much favored by Mr. Clay as by Mr. Polk, and *more* likely to be effected by the former, because of his far greater ability and influence—and by the atrocious frauds and illegal votings, whereof the Plaquemine canvass in Louisiana afforded the most conspicuous illustration. That a majority of the legal voters of New-York and Louisiana cast their ballots for Mr. Clay, in 1844, is morally, though not legally, demonstrable. That a majority of those of Pennsylvania *would* have done so had they not been deceived and misled, is also palpable. The votes of these States, added to those actually thrown for Mr. Clay, would have given him nearly two-thirds of the entire Electoral body, and rendered his election more triumphant than was that of Mr. Polk. Yet in no canvass were Whig principles ever more plainly and thoroughly proclaimed, nor more absolutely relied on, than in that of 1844, by the supporters of Mr. Clay

The friends of Mr. Clay in 1848 argued thus—New-York, which alone defeated us in '44, is now for us heartily and reliably; she has been carried by the Whigs in the last two elections—in that of '47 by an overwhelming majority. She has elected a delegation almost unanimously for Mr. Clay, and she tells us officially and otherwise that her vote is more certain for him than for any other Whig. Now admit that we may lose some one or more of the Eleven States which voted for Mr. Clay in '44, we insist that there is at least as much probability that we shall carry Pennsylvania, Louisiana, and some other of the States which then voted for Mr. Polk, leaving New-York as clear and absolute gain, which is as much as we actually need. Since, then, it is conceded that Mr. Clay is the first choice of nearly all Whigs, and is demonstrable that he could pretty certainly be elected, we insist that he and no other is the man who ought to be nominated.

But the friends of Mr. Clay cherished serious objections, moreover, to the support of General Taylor, his leading competitor for the nomination, in view of the circumstances under which his name was presented. That General Taylor was an honest, brave, humane patriot and soldier, they were not inclined to doubt; but his life had been mainly spent in camps and forts on the frontier at or beyond the outskirts of civilization; so that he was confessedly ignorant, to a remarkable degree, of the great questions of public policy which for a generation had convulsed the country. He had never voted at any election, and no one could say when or where, prior to the suggestion of his name for the Presidency, he had evinced any decided interest in, or even familiarity with, those great beneficent principles and measures for which the Whigs had so patiently and resolutely struggled. To nominate him for President, therefore, in view of his no-party professions and the corresponding impulses which first designated him as a candidate, seemed to many of the Old Guard like abandoning the great purposes of our organization as a party, and advertising the world that we cared more for grasping the offices than for advancing our principles. Such considerations made the thought of surrendering Mr. Clay for any other candidate, but especially General Taylor, exceedingly

distasteful to a large proportion of the most zealous, intelligent, and devoted Whigs.

On the other hand, it was urged—True, General Taylor is not a Statesman of the same grade with Mr. Clay; but he is an honest, patriotic Whig, who will hear and heed advice from all those whom a Whig President *should* heed—he is eminently a man of strong common sense, of popular sympathies, of liberal views, and immensely popular with all those who are but loosely or not at all attached to any party. He is already the declared and accepted candidate of these; his nomination will be generally hailed as an omen and forerunner of triumph; and his election will do much to calm the effervescence and assuage the bitterness of party spirit, restoring, in good degree, the golden eras of Washington and Monroe.

These considerations ultimately prevailed. Indeed, it seems probable, in view of all the facts, that a majority of all the delegates went to Philadelphia expecting, if not absolutely desiring, General Taylor's nomination, though prevented by instructions and previous committals, if not by the strong repugnance of their immediate constituents, from immediately voting to produce it.

It is not likely that anything within the scope of human effort could have changed the result, yet the unwise and untimely appearance in Philadelphia, just as the Whig Convention was assembling, of General Cass, the antagonist nominee, with several of his leading advocates, did much to hasten it. The speeches made from hotel steps and windows by these gentlemen were of a peculiarly acrimonious and exasperating character, and, being addressed mainly to Whig auditors, tended to excite in their minds a most intense and overmastering desire for success at all hazards in resentment of this insolent and irritating irruption. And, as the local sentiment at Philadelphia, corroborating the indications of the political barometer at Washington, pointed strongly to General Taylor as the man with whom success was most certain, their effect on the nomination was very perceptible; and when Kentucky had been called through on the first ballot for President, and had given a majority of her votes for General Taylor over her own illustrious Statesman, in whose support she had never before wavered, it

was manifest to all but the most devoted and uncompromising supporters of Mr. Clay that no hope of his nomination remained. The Convention had been organized by the choice of Governor John M. Morehead, of North Carolina, as President, with the usual complement of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, and the following was the declared result of its several ballotings :—

First Ballot.

States.	Taylor.	Clay.	Scott.	Webster.	Clayton.	M'Lean
Maine	5	1	—	3	—	—
New Hampshire	—	—	—	6	—	—
Vermont	1	5	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts	—	—	—	12	—	—
Rhode Island	—	4	—	—	—	—
Connecticut	—	6	—	—	—	—
New York	—	29	5	1	1	—
New Jersey	3	4	—	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	8	12	6	—	—	—
Delaware	—	—	—	—	3	—
Maryland	—	8	—	—	—	—
Virginia	15	2	—	—	—	—
North Carolina	6	5	—	—	—	—
South Carolina	1	1	—	—	—	—
Georgia	10	—	—	—	—	—
Alabama	6	1	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	6	—	—	—	—	—
Louisiana	5	1	—	—	—	—
Ohio	1	1	20	—	—	1
Kentucky	7	5	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	13	—	—	—	—	—
Indiana	1	2	9	—	—	—
Illinois	4	3	—	—	—	—
Missouri	7	—	—	—	—	—
Arkansas	3	—	—	—	—	—
Michigan	—	3	2	—	—	—
Texas	3*	—	—	—	—	—
Florida	3	—	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin	1	3	—	—	—	1
Iowa	2	1	1	—	—	—
Total	111	97	43	22	4	2

Total 279. No choice.

Second Ballot.

Taylor..118 Clay..86 Scott..49 Webster..22 Clayton..4.
No choice again. Adjourned to next morning.

Third Ballot.

Taylor..133 Clay..74 Scott..54 Webster..17 Clayton..1.

Fourth Ballot.

Taylor..171 Clay..32 Scott..63 Webster..14.
Taylor over all..52.

* Cast by the Louisiana delegation, under instructions.

Whereupon General ZACHARY TAYLOR was declared the Whig candidate for President.

It was made a subject of reproach to Mr. Clay, throughout the earlier stages of the canvass which succeeded, that he did not put forth and exert his great personal influence in behalf of General Taylor, and especially to soothe the feeling of profound dissatisfaction which the preference of the latter had excited. Looking only to his own popularity and position, it would probably have been well for him to do what had been desired of him by the friends of General Taylor. Yet it is but fair to consider that the nomination of General Taylor had been made on grounds expressly and peculiarly derogatory to Mr. Clay's standing in the party and grating to his feelings — on the ground, namely, that long and efficient service in the foremost ranks of the party and a towering ascendency in the direction of its efforts, served rather to unfit than to qualify one for the bearing of its standard and the reception of its highest honors. Mr. Clay may well have said — "If General Taylor is so transcendently popular, as his friends represent him, that his nomination is equivalent to an election, why should *I* be required to take the laboring oar in the canvass? When it is notorious that his more ardent friends avowed their determination to support him to the end, whether nominated at Philadelphia or not, and when no word of his was ever uttered to rebuke that determination, why may I not await some authoritative and explicit avowal of his devotion to Whig principles before denouncing repugnance to his support as rebellion against the Whig party? Would it not seem officious and superserviceable on my part if I were to step forward unasked by General Taylor, as his champion when his especial friends have so often declared that he only needed a free course and to be let alone by the politicians to insure his enthusiastic and overwhelming triumph at the hands of the people?"

At length, however, about the 1st of September, the strong feeling of discontent in many quarters at the equivocal position still maintained by General Taylor was brought to a head by his written acceptance of a nomination made by a public meeting in Charleston, S. C., of himself for President in connection with *General Butler*, the regular candidate of the antagonist party, for

Vice-President. This, in the eyes of politicians more practiced and familiar with party usages than General Taylor, was a virtual repudiation of the Whig party as having any special claim to his fidelity or favor in case of his election to the Presidency.

An impulsive and spontaneous movement to repudiate the nomination of General Taylor and substitute that of Mr. Clay, or some other known and unflinching advocate of Whig principles, was commenced at Albany, and followed by meetings of similar import in New York and other places. These having resulted in the formal presentation of Mr. Clay, especially in New York, as a candidate for President in the pending contest, constrained him to break the silence he had hitherto observed, and peremptorily forbid the use of his name in any such connection. Still, he made no public allusion to the nomination of General Taylor; took no active part in the canvass; and, if he even voted at the Presidential Election, the fact was not publicly noted.

The contest, though much closer than the more ardent friends of General Taylor had predicted, resulted in his election. Pennsylvania decided the question in his favor, casting an unprecedented vote and giving him a handsome majority. Fifteen of the thirty States gave 163 electoral votes for General Taylor, while the other fifteen gave but 127 to General Cass, so that the former was elected by a majority of 36 electoral votes. The nomination of Mr. Van Buren for President by the National Free Soil Convention at Buffalo, and his zealous support by the Barnburner section of the Democratic party in New York, doubtless contributed materially to this result. On the 4th of March, 1849, Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, was inaugurated as President, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, as Vice-President for the ensuing four years.

During 1849, the people of Kentucky elected and held a Convention to revise their State Constitution. In view of the election, Mr. Clay addressed them a long and able letter, temperately setting forth his reasons for desiring that a plan of Gradual Emancipation and Colonization should be adopted. His views were overruled by a large majority; but their utterance is none the less creditable to their author.

XXXI.

REPLY TO CASS ON AUSTRIA—ON FUNERAL HONORS.

THE struggle for the Annexation of Texas to our Union was regarded by all discerners as marking a new era in the history of this country. From the moment the project was adopted by John Tyler as a last desperate expedient for the prolongation of his power, a perilous sectional excitement was inevitable. His Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun, in officially explaining and justifying the course of the Executive in acceding to Annexation, expressly based it on a lively apprehension that the existence and perpetuity of slavery in the Union might be endangered by its abolition in Texas, which he deemed likely to be brought about by some arrangement between that country, should it remain independent, and Great Britain. General James Hamilton, of S.C., toasted Annexation as a measure calculated to give "a Gibraltar to the South." Every vehement advocate of slavery as "a corner-stone of our republican edifice," became instinctively a champion of Annexation; every slave-trader at once prepared to forget, or to sink, all party differences in its favor; and, long before the country had been fully aroused to the true nature and magnitude of the issue, a very powerful interest, consisting in part of the stocks, bonds, &c., of Texas, had been concentrated upon the issue of Annexation, eager to make it override all others.

At the North, on the other hand, a very general aversion to the scheme was entertained. The unpopularity of Tyler, previously emphatic, was increased by this project of Annexation, on which it reflected discredit in turn. Annexation had no avowed friends in the Free States, beyond the three or four hundred persons whom the possession or the hope of spoils still attached to the waning fortunes of Tyler, and the still smaller number who were interested in Texas Stocks and Bonds. And when, by the nomination of Polk and Dallas, the Democratic party was inextricably committed to Annexation, the greater portion of its members in New York and other Free States, under the

on a resolution submitted by General Cass, directing the Committee on Foreign Affairs to inquire into the expediency of suspending diplomatic intercourse with Austria because of her barbarities inflicted on the betrayed and vanquished patriots of Hungary. General Cass, in advocating this resolution, expressly appealed to Mr. Clay for his support, intimating that his expectation was grounded on Mr. Clay's well-known sympathy with those who struggle and sacrifice for Liberty, as evinced in his eloquent and powerful efforts in behalf of South American independence. Mr. Clay was thus morally constrained to speak, and he commenced his remarks by objecting to such a proposition taking the form of a resolution of inquiry, when the facts on which action was demanded were historical and known to the whole world. He continued:—

"Sir, I think that the question ought to be treated as if it were a direct proposition to suspend diplomatic intercourse with the power indicated in the original resolution. And, sir, I have been very much struck with the want of sympathy between the premises and conclusion of the honorable senator from Michigan. In his premises he depicted the enormities of Austrian despotism. Who doubts the perpetration of those enormities? In the most glowing strains of eloquence, he portrayed to us the wrongs of suffering Hungary. Who doubts them? He speaks of the atrocious executions committed by her—the disgrace of the age, and, above all, of Austria. Who doubts it? These were the premises of the honorable senator; but what was his conclusion? It was requiring the recall of a little Chargé d'Affaires that we happen to have at Vienna! Why, the natural conclusion would be to declare war immediately against Austria, if she had committed such enormities; though, from the impossibility of coming in contact with her, this resource might be difficult of accomplishment. But, sir, there is another mode that is much more congenial, much more compatible with the course we ought to take. The exiles from suffering and bleeding Hungary are now scattered through all quarters of the globe; some have reached our hospitable shores, some are now wending their way hither, and many are scattered throughout Europe. Let the Hon. Senator bring forward some original plan for affording succor and relief to the exiles of Hungary—something that shall be worthy of their acceptance, and the bestowing of which, upon a brave and generous people, shall do honor to a country rich in boundless resources—something that shall be worthy of a country which is the asylum of the wretched and the oppressed from all quarters of the world—something that shall be worthy the acceptance of the gallantry and patriotism with which those exiles fought in defence of their own country. When the honorable senator shall have done this, then he may call on me, and call not in vain, for succor and support in behalf of a proposition such as I have indicated. . . . . Sir, unfortunately, owing to causes upon which it is not necessary for me now to dwell, some of them of a very painful nature—among which are charges against the commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army, which, if well-founded, must cover him with infamy—unfortunately,

Hungary fell suddenly, and to the surprise of the American world. She is subdued; she is crushed.

Now, if we adopt this resolution, I have been curious to satisfy myself upon what principle we can vindicate it. What principle does it involve? It involves the principle of assuming, on the part of this government, a right to pass judgment upon the conduct of Foreign Powers—a branch of the subject that has been well treated of by the senator who sits before me (Mr. Hale). Have we any such power? The most extensive bearing of the principle involved in the resolution proposed by the honorable senator from Michigan, assumes the right, on the part of this nation, to pronounce upon the conduct of all other nations, and to follow it up by some direct action, such as the suspending of intercourse. We are directing, at present, the exercise of that power toward a nation, on account of the manner in which they have conducted a war, or of the manner in which they have treated the unfortunate prisoners who were taken during the progress of that war. But where is to be the limit? You begin with war. You may extend the same principle of action to politics or religion—to society or to social principles and habits.

The honorable senator before me (Mr. Hale) has spoken of the conduct of Russia; and undoubtedly, as between Russia and Austria, I consider Russia the more culpable. It is true, she had a pretext for her interference. She was afraid of the contagion of liberty in Hungary, lest it might affect her coterminous possessions. That was the pretext for her interference. In the case, however, of Austria, though I think Hungary was right and Austria wrong in respect to the cause and object of the war, still there were relations existing between Hungary and Austria, which did not exist between Hungary and Russia. Russia's interference, then, was voluntary, spontaneous, uncalled for. She had no such pretext or ground for it as Austria had, in endeavoring to subjugate those whom she was pleased to call rebellious subjects; and yet the honorable senator has permitted Russia to pass—and, by-the-by, allow me to say that, but for the interference of Russia, Hungary would have succeeded. She *had* succeeded, and she would have eventually triumphed in the struggle with Austria. The honorable senator, instead of directing his proposition against Russia, as I would have done, directs it against Austria, the less offending power of the two, and proposes to pass Russia by unnoticed. But if the principle contained in the proposition be true, we have a right to examine into the conduct of Russia, and into that of other nations. Where, then, is the limit? You may extend it to Religion. You may extend it to the Inquisition. Have we not an equal right to say to Spain, 'Unless you abolish the inquisition, we will suspend diplomatic intercourse with you?' . . . . Sir, if we are to become the defenders of nations, the censurers of other powers, I again ask the honorable Senator where are we to stop? and why does he confine himself to Austria alone?

"Mr. President, the honorable Senator admitted that he entertained an apprehension that I was one of those stationary politicians who refuse to advance as the age advances; one of those politicians, I think his expression was, that stand still; that *he* was in favor of Progress—in favor of going ahead. Sir, I should like to understand the meaning of this word 'Progress,' of which the honorable Senator speaks. I should like to hear a definition of it. Has not this nation progressed with most astonishing rapidity in point of population? Has it not by far exceeded, in this respect, every other nation in the world; Has it not progressed in commerce and manufactures? Has it not increased in power with a rapidity greater than

has ever been known before in the case of any nation under the sun? What is the progress which the honorable Senator means? I am afraid that it is not an internal progress he is in favor of; for, whatever his own peculiar opinions may be, the school of which he is a distinguished disciple is opposed, as I understand, to the improvement of our magnificent Harbors and Rivers—of our glorious water-courses throughout the country. That is not the progress, I apprehend, which the honorable Senator is in favor of. And, again, with respect to the manufactures of the country, I do not understand the doctrines of the party to which the honorable Senator belongs to be in favor of progress there. They are for *arresting* progress. Their progress is backward in reference to these matters; not intentionally so, I admit, but by the course of their policy, they carry us back to the colonial days, when we depended upon Great Britain for everything in the way of supplies that were necessary to existence.

"What, then, is the progress which the honorable Senator seems so desirous of making? Ah! I am afraid that it is progress in foreign wars. I am afraid it is progress in foreign conquest—in territorial aggrandizement. I am afraid it is progress as the disturbers of the possessions of our neighbors throughout this continent and throughout the islands adjacent to it. If that be the progress which the honorable Senator wishes to effect, I trust that it will be long before the country engages in any such object as that; at least, at the expense of the peaceable portion of the world.

"Sir, the gentleman says—what we all know—that this is a great country, a vast country; great in fact, and will be still greater in future if we conduct things with prudence, discretion, and wisdom; but that very greatness draws after it great responsibilities, and those responsibilities should incline us to use the vast power with which we have been blessed by the kindness of Providence, so as to promote justice, so as to avoid unnecessary wars, maintaining our own rights with firmness, but invading the rights of no others. We should be content with the almost limitless extent of territory which we now possess, stretching from ocean to ocean, containing millions upon millions of acres as yet inhabited.

"Sir, if the progress which the honorable Senator means is a progress to be accomplished by foreign wars, and foreign conquest, and foreign territorial aggrandizement, I thank God that I belong to the party that is stationary—that is standing still. If that is not his object, I should like to know what he means by progress. I should like to meet with a definition of the kind of progress which he thinks it is desirable for this country to make.

"Mr. President, I have risen late in the evening, really intending to have said much less than I have said; and I must conclude by expressing the hope that the Senate of the United States, when they come to deliberate seriously upon the consequence of the adoption of such a resolution as this, will pause; that they will not open a new field of collision terminating perhaps in war, and exposing ourselves to the reäction of Foreign Powers, who, when they see us assuming to judge of their conduct, will undertake in their turn to judge of *our* conduct. We ought to recollect, that, with the sole exception of France, whose condition is yet somewhat obscured in doubt and uncertainty as to the fate of a republic which she has established, we stand the leading Republic amidst all the Powers of the earth, an example of a free Government, and that we should not venture to give to other nations even a pretext, much less cause, to separate themselves from us, by undertaking to judge of their conduct, and applying to them a rule by which we might denationalize nation after nation, according as their con-

duct may be found to correspond with our notion and judgment of what is right and proper in the administration of human affairs. Sir, it does not become us to take such perilous and unnecessary grounds, and I trust that we shall not adopt such a course. I see no necessity for referring this resolution to a committee. I think it would be unwise to adopt it, and I trust the Senate will at once negative the resolution; or, if it should be referred, confiding in the sound judgment of the Committee on Foreign Relations in anticipation, I feel perfectly sure of the rejection of the resolution by the committee."

The resolution of General Cass was not adopted in the Senate and a proposition afterward made by him to strike out of the general appropriation bill the item providing for the outfit of a Chargé d'Affaires to Austria, was, on the 16th of April, negatived, by a vote of 28 to 17.

On the 11th of February Mr. Clay proposed the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, That in future, when a member of Congress dies and has been buried in the vacation, the Senate will not feel itself called upon to extend to the memory of the deceased the honors and ceremonies which have been of late years usually awarded; but will restrict itself hereafter in the appropriation of those honors and ceremonies to cases of the death of members during the session of Congress."

This resolution coming up in order on the 28th of March, Mr. Clay, in supporting it, said:—

"There are but two causes which can justify the practice of Congress in adjourning on account of the death of a member. One is, that a member dying here, the rites of burial are due to him, and our religion and our feelings both unite in inducing us to coöperate in the performance of these rites; the other is, when a man associating with us in our public duties during the session—mingling with us upon all occasions, private as well as public—falls before the great destroyer in our midst, sympathy with him—feeling for his family—regret for the event—render the body, or a portion of the body, incompetent, for a day at least, to discharge its public duties. Both these considerations unite, when the death occurs among us; but if the death happens at a great distance from us—especially of an unknown individual, long buried, with whom there has been no association—none of those considerations and motives induce us, it strikes me, to adjourn, and discontinue the discharge of our public duties, in consequence of an event exciting no more interest to most of us than the death of any other prominent individual in public life would do. These are the considerations which I think prevailed in the Senate at the time when the subject was first suggested to them. They appear to me to call on us—and we have most of us been in Congress a length of time, and felt the inconvenience—to adopt this resolution."

Mr. Clay's proposition was earnestly opposed by Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, but was adopted without a division.

XXXII.

TEXAS ANNEXATION AND BOUNDARY—SLAVERY EXTENSION.

General Taylor, having been elected President, in November, 1848, but not yet inaugurated, Mr. Clay, on the assembling of the new Kentucky Legislature, in December, 1848, was again chosen a Senator of the United States for a full term of six years from the 4th of March, 1849. His election was unanimous.

A special session of the Senate was held at the opening of General Taylor's Administration; but Mr. Clay did not deem his attendance thereon necessary. At the opening of the regular session, however, on the 3d of December following, he took his seat in the Senate, nearly forty-three years subsequent to his first appearance as a member of that body.

The despatch of public business was for some time delayed by the failure of the House to elect a speaker. The Whig candidate was Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts; that of the Opposition was Howell Cobb, of Georgia; but there were five Southern Whigs who obstinately refused to vote for Mr. Winthrop, because of the support given by him, with a majority of the Whig members, to the Wilmot Proviso; while an equal or larger number of Free Soil Democrats withheld their support from Mr. Cobb, because he was supported and electioneered for expressly as an opponent of that Proviso. Beside these were some half dozen members elected as distinctive Free-Soilers who would vote for neither of the leading candidates; while four Whigs, two Democrats, and one Free-Soiler, were absent at the opening. The vote on the first ballot stood Cobb 103; Winthrop 96, and 22 scattering; and the contest was continued with like results until the 22d, when the House voted, by 113 to 106, that, if no choice should be effected on the first, second, or third ballot ensuing, then the candidate having *the highest vote* on the next following ballot should be declared the Speaker elect Under this resolution, Mr. Cobb was, on the 63d ballot, chosen Speaker, having 102 votes to 99 for Winthrop, and 20 scattering.

On the 7th of January, Mr. Clay rose to address the Senate

lead of such men as Silas Wright and B. F. Butler, still proclaimed their invincible hostility to any scheme of Annexation which should enure to the benefit of slavery—to any Annexation which did not guaranty equal advantage to the Free with the Slave States.

These professions were not justified by their subsequent acts—if indeed they could have been without cutting loose from and defying the bands of party. Mr. Polk having been elected as an avowed and unconditional Annexationist, and thus clothed with immense patronage and power, the triumph of Annexation was inevitable, and the imposition of conditions unpalatable to the great bulk of its supporters and patrons impossible. Feeble efforts to limit or qualify the victory of the Slave Power were made in the House by Richard D. Davis, of New York, and John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, but with no other effect than that of silencing the former into subserviency, and driving the latter out of the party. Annexation was decreed by joint resolutions of the two Houses, a day or two before Mr. Polk's formal accession to power, upon conditions which secured its whole territory to slavery, and imposed no effectual limitations on the claim of Texas to extend her dominion to the Rio Grande, and thus absorb one half of the Mexican department of Tamaulipas, a portion of Chihuahua, Coahuila, and nearly the whole vast extent of New Mexico, where the Spanish or Mexican Flag had waved in undisputed supremacy from a period long anterior to the settlement of the Cavaliers at Jamestown, or the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. And Mr. Polk, by ordering the march of a strong detachment of troops to the banks of the Rio Grande opposite Matamoros, evinced a determination to support the utmost claims of Texas with the whole power of the Government, and secure to Slavery the fullest measure of aggrandizement from its triumph.

Thus was the War with Mexico provoked and commenced; such were the aspects under which it was prosecuted. But when, after a year of unbroken success, the President applied to Congress for Three Millions of Dollars to be used, if advisable, in the negotiation of a peace, it became evident that large acquisitions of territory, even beyond the apocryphal limits of Tex-

as, were meditated; and now, the Northern Democracy, smarting under a sense of the justice of the Whig taunts that, in this whole business of Texan Annexation and Mexican War, the blood and treasure of the nation had been lavished for the extension of Slavery, were stirred up to an assertion of independence. When the $3,000,000 proposition aforesaid came up for decision in the House, a hasty consultation was held between the leading Democrats of the North, from which resulted a *Proviso*, moved by Mr. Wilmot of Pennsylvania, and hence designated by his name, declaring that no territory which might be acquired from Mexico at the close of the war should be opened to the introduction of Slaves. This Proviso was adopted by the House: nearly all the members from the Free States, without distinction of party, sustaining it; but it failed in the Senate, where it was left over unacted on, having been received from the House just previous to the hour fixed for the close of the session of 1847. And though the question was repeatedly revived during the three following sessions, and the principle of the Wilmot Proviso nearly as often reäffirmed by the House, yet it was never concurred in by the Senate, but on several occasions negatived by that body. The short session of 1848–'9 was rendered memorable by an earnest and protracted struggle, respecting the organization of the Territories acquired by conquest and treaty from Mexico—the House insisting on the interdiction of Slavery therein, and the Senate rejecting any such condition. Ultimately, the session closed as it had begun, no Wilmot Proviso having been passed, nor any legal provision made for the civil organization of the Territories.

The question of prohibiting Slavery in the Territories necessarily blended with and embarrassed the settlement of the Boundary of Texas. The historical as well as actual Territory of Texas, prior to her Annexation, stopped far short of the Rio Grande, and in fact extended no farther West and South than the valley of the Nueces; and that it did not extend beyond 34° North, is indisputable. Up to the day that General Taylor received orders from the War Department to march down to and take post on the Rio Grande, there had never been a settlement nor settler in any part of the valley of that river under the flag

of Texas. No dollar of tax had ever been collected by Texas on territory watered by the Rio Grande, nor had one of her civil officers ever served a process there. On two or three occasions, during the desultory warfare which had for years been prosecuted between Texas and Mexico, expeditions, half predatory, half military, had borne the flag of Texas to the banks of the Rio Grande, and once or twice had assailed and captured one of the Mexican cities on the right bank of that river; but they were almost immediately routed or compelled to make a hasty retreat to avoid an encounter with overwhelming force; so that the Texan flag had at no time floated for a month continuously in the Rio Grande valley. The only expedition by which Texas ever attempted the subjugation of New Mexico was surprised, defeated, and nearly every man in it made prisoner, before it had advanced within sight of Sante Fe. Yet Texas asserted on paper that her western boundary was the Rio Grande; so that Congress was impelled, in view of this assertion, to stipulate in the annexing resolutions for an express consent by Texas, that all questions of boundary between her and Mexico should be subject to settlement by the Federal Government—a requirement which was reluctantly but explicitly submitted to.

But when President Polk, by marching our army down to the Rio Grande while our Government still professed to maintain amicable relations with Mexico, had clearly assumed that the territorial rights of Texas were coëxtensive with her utmost claims, and Congress had formally asserted that in the conflicts which followed within sight of Matamoros, "American blood" had been shed on "American soil," Texas very naturally insisted that all cavil or hesitation by the Federal Government as to the rightfulness of her claim was precluded, and that its validity was fully admitted and established. Whatever objection to that claim *Mexico* might have offered, the *United States* could interpose none without an impeachment of *their own* integrity and veracity. When, therefore, the whole of New Mexico and the left bank of the lower Rio Grande became by conquest and treaty the territory of the United States, Texas took possession of the latter, and asserted her right to the former as one which the Federal Government could with decency neither gainsay nor resist. And if the party

which plunged the country into war on the assumption that Texas extended to the Rio Grande had continued in power, it is not probable that the claim would have been effectually resisted.

The election of General Taylor, however, changed materially the aspects of the case. The Whigs, as a party, had always scouted the territorial claims of Texas as preposterous, and consequently regarded the war on Mexico as originated in fraud and prosecuted in falsehood and iniquity. General Taylor himself was thoroughly convinced that Texas had no more right to New Mexico than to Oregon, and was ready as President to repel force by force, if needful, in resistance to her pretensions. And as Texas, instigated by the propagandists of Slavery in other States of the South, proclaimed and evinced a determination to vindicate her claim by the sword, a collision between her authority and that of the Union seemed, through a part of 1850, imminent—a collision in which the active support of Texas by the whole force of the Slave States, and a consequent disruption of the Union, were by many deemed inevitable.

The Democratic party of the Free States, though it had very generally professed to acquiesce in the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, and though many of its leaders in Congress and elsewhere affected great zeal for the preservation of Free Soil from the blighting tread of Slavery, manifested no disposition to resist the subjugation of New Mexico to the dominion of Slavery under the pretense of organizing it as part of the rightful territory of Texas. Having so recently and so vehemently asserted the justice of the war on Mexico, and of course affirmed the rightfulness of the territorial claims of Texas, the party could not, without palpable and glaring inconsistency, resist the acts of Texas in farther assertion of those claims and in undeniable accordance therewith. Thus, with nearly the entire South supporting the pretensions of Texas for Slavery's sake, and the North divided and paralyzed by the committal of one half its statesmen and people to those pretensions through their justification of the war on Mexico, there remained no hope of any direct action by Congress looking to the preservation of New Mexico from the doom that threatened her. The danger was great and obvious, that while Congress daily effervesced with Free Soil professions and

speeches, and a majority of the House seemed engrossed with anxiety to preserve California and Utah from the very remote and contingent peril of an establishment of Slavery therein, New Mexico might be absorbed by Texas, and thus converted into a Slavery-sustaining region as large as France, carrying the 'peculiar institution' up to 42° North or nearly the latitude of Boston. All that General Taylor's administration could have done in resistance to this consummation must have been confined to the offensive and forcible operations of Texas, for which a politic and moderate expenditure of money upon the degraded and ignorant population of New Mexico might have obviated all necessity. Had $100,000 been skilfully dispersed in New Mexico, in 1849–'50, in support of the Texan pretensions, it is probable that "the county of Santa Fe" might have been organized and the whole territory of New Mexico thereby subjected henceforth to the sovereignty and the institutions of Texas.

XXXIII.

THE SLAVERY COMPROMISE OF 1850.

SUCH were the circumstances under which Mr Clay on the 29th of January, 1850, submitted to the Senate his plan for an adjustment of the differences respecting the organization of the Territories and the interdiction of Slavery therein. The subject is so important in itself, and has so profoundly affected the subsequent politics of the country, that justice to Mr. Clay seems to require that his original propositions and the explanations which accompanied them should here be given in full. They are as follows:—

Mr. President, I hold in my hand a series of resolutions which I desire to submit to the consideration of this body. Taken together, in combination, they propose an amicable arrangement of all questions in controversy between the free and the slave states, growing out of the subject of slavery. It is not my intention, Mr. President, at this time, to enter into a full and elaborate discussion of each of these resolutions, taken separately, or the whole of them combined together, as composing a system of measures; but I desire to present a few observations upon each resolution, with the pur-

pose chiefly of exposing it fairly and fully before the Senate and before the country; and I may add, with the indulgence of the Senate, toward the conclusion, some general observations upon the state of the country, and the condition of the question to which the resolutions relate. Whether they shall or shall not meet with the approbation and concurrence of the Senate, as I most ardently hope they may, as I most sincerely believe they ought, I trust that at least some portion of the long time which I have devoted with care and deliberation, to the preparation of these resolutions, and to the presentation of this great national scheme of compromise and harmony, will be employed by each senator before he pronounces against the proposition embraced in these resolutions. The resolutions, sir, are all preceded by a short preamble, to which, of course, I attach no very great importance. The preamble and first resolution are as follows:

It being desirable for the peace, concord, and harmony of the union of these states to settle and adjust amicably all existing questions of controversy between them arising out of the institution of slavery, upon a fair, equitable, and just basis: Therefore

1st. *Resolved*, That California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application, to be admitted as one of the States of this Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction in respect to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within those boundaries.

Mr. President, it must be acknowledged that there has been some irregularity in the movements which have terminated in the adoption of a constitution by California, and in the expression of her wish, not yet formally communicated to Congress, it is true, but which may be anticipated in a few days, to be admitted into the Union as a State. There has been some irregularity in the manner in which they have framed that constitution. It was not preceded by any act of Congress authorizing the convention, and designating the boundaries of the proposed state, according to all the early practice of this government, according to all the cases of the admission of new States into this Union, which occurred, I think, prior to that of Michigan. Michigan, if I am not mistaken, was the first State which, unbidden, unauthorized by any previous act of Congress, undertook to form for herself a constitution, and to knock at the door of Congress, for admission into the Union. I recollect that at the time when Michigan thus presented herself, I was opposed, in consequence of that deviation from the early practice of the government, to the admission. The majority determined otherwise; and it must be in candor admitted by all men, that California has much more reason to do what she has done, unsanctioned and unauthorized by a previous act of Congress, than Michigan had to do what she did.

Sir, notwithstanding the irregularity of the admission of Michigan into the Union, it has been a happy event. She forms now one of the bright stars of this glorious confederacy. She has sent here to mingle in our councils senators and representatives—men eminently distinguished, with whom we may all associate with pride, with pleasure, and with satisfaction. And I trust that if California, irregular as her previous action may have been in the adoption of a constitution, but more justifiable than was the action of Michigan—if she also shall be admitted, as is proposed by this first resolution, with suitable limits, that she, too, will make her contribution of wisdom, of patriotism, and of good feeling to this body, in order to conduct the affairs of this great and boundless empire.

The resolution proposes her admission when she applies for it. There is no intention on my part to anticipate such an application, but I thought it right to present this resolution as a part of the general plan which I propose for the adjustment of these unhappy difficulties.

The second resolution, sir, is as follows:

2d. *Resolved*, That as slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by the United States from the republic of Mexico, it is inexpedient for Congress to provide by law either for its introduction into or exclusion from any part of the said territory; and that appropriate territorial governments ought to be established by Congress in all of the said territory, not assigned as the boundaries of the proposed state of California, without the adoption of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery.

This resolution, sir, proposes, in the first instance, a declaration of two truths, one of law and the other of fact. The truth of law which it declares is, that there does not exist at this time, slavery within any portion of the territory acquired by the United States from Mexico. When I say, sir, it is a truth, I speak my own solemn and deliberate conviction. I am aware that some gentlemen have held a different doctrine; but I persuade myself that they themselves, when they come to review the whole ground, will see sufficient reasons for a change, or at least a modification of their opinions; but that, at all events, if they adhere to that doctrine, they will be found to compose a very small minority of the whole mass of the people of the United States.

The next truth which the resolution asserts is, that slavery is not likely to be introduced into any portion of that territory. That is a matter of fact; and all the evidence upon which the fact rests, is, perhaps, as accessible to other senators as it is to me; but I must say that, from all I have heard or read, from the testimony of all the witnesses I have seen and conversed with, from all that has transpired and is transpiring, I do believe that not within one foot of the territory acquired by us from Mexico will slavery ever be planted, and I believe it could not be done even by the force and power of public authority.

Sir, facts are daily occurring to justify me in this opinion. Sir, what has occurred? And upon that subject, and indeed upon this whole subject, I invite senators from the free states especially to consider what has occurred even since the last session—even since the commencement of this session—since they left their respective constituencies, without an opportunity of consulting with them upon that great and momentous fact—the fact that California herself, of which it was asserted and predicted that she never would establish slavery within her limits when she came to be admitted as a state; that California herself, embracing, of all other portions of the country acquired by us from Mexico, that country into which it would have been most likely that slavery should have been introduced; that California herself has met in convention, and by a unanimous vote, embracing in that body slaveholders from the state of Mississippi, as well as from other parts, who concurred in the resolution—that California by a unanimous vote, has declared against the introduction of slavery within her limits. I think, then, that taking this leading fact in connection with all the evidence we have from other sources on the subject, I am warranted in the conclusion which constitutes the second truth which I have stated in this resolution, that slavery is "not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by us from Mexico."

Sir, the latter part of the resolution asserts that it is the duty of Congress to establish appropriate territorial governments within all the country acquired from Mexico, exclusive of California, not embracing in the acts by which these governments shall be constituted either a prohibition or an admission of slavery.

Sir, much as I am disposed to defer to high authority, anxious as I really am to find myself in a position that would enable me to co-operate heartily with the other departments of the government in conducting the affairs of this great people, I must say that I can not without a dereliction of duty consent to an

abandonment of them without government, leaving them to all those scenes of disorder, confusion, and anarchy, which I apprehend, in respect of some of them, there is too much reason to anticipate will arise. It is the duty, the solemn—I was going to add the most sacred—duty of Congress to legislate for their government if they can, and, at all events, to legislate for them, and to give them the benefit of law, and order, and security.

The next resolutions are the third and fourth, which, having an immediate connection with each other, should be read and considered together. They are as follows:

3d. *Resolved*, That the western boundary of the State of Texas ought to be fixed on the Rio del Norte, commencing one marine league from its mouth, and running up that river to the southern line of New Mexico; thence with that line eastwardly, and so continuing in the same direction to the line established between the United States and Spain, excluding any portion of New Mexico, whether lying on the east or west of that river.

4th. *Resolved*, That it be proposed to the State of Texas, that the United States will provide for the payment of all that portion of the legitimate and *bona fide* public debt of that state, contracted prior to its annexation to the United States, and for which the duties on foreign imports were pledged by the said State to its creditors, not exceeding the sum of $——, in consideration of the said dues so pledged having been no longer applicable to that object after the said annexation, but having thenceforward become payable to the United States; and upon the condition also, that the said State of Texas shall, by some solemn and authentic act of her legislature, or of a convention, relinquish to the United States any claim which it has to any part of New Mexico.

Mr. President, I do not mean now, I do not know that I shall at any time (it is a very complex subject, and one not free from difficulty) to go into the question of what are the true limits of Texas. My own opinion is, I must say, without intending by the remark to go into any argument, that Texas has not a good title to any portion of what is called New Mexico. And yet, sir, I am free to admit that, looking at the grounds which her representatives assumed, first in the war with Santa Anna in 1836, then at what transpired between Mr. Trist and the Mexican negotiators when the treaty of peace was negotiated, and then the fact that the United States have acquired all the country which Texas claimed as constituting a portion of her territory; looking at all these facts, but without attaching to them, either together or separately, the same degree of force which gentlemen who think that Texas has a right to New Mexico do, I must say that there is plausibility, to say the least of it, in the pretensions that she sets up to New Mexico. I do not think that they constitute or demonstrate the existence of a good title, but a plausible one. Well, then, sir, what do I propose? Without entering into any inquiry whether the Nueces or the Rio Grande was the true boundary of Texas, I propose, by the first of these two resolutions, that its western limits shall be fixed on the Rio del Norte, extending west from the Sabine to the mouth of the Rio del Norte, and that it shall follow up the Bravo or the Rio del Norte, to where it strikes the southern line of New Mexico, and then, diverging from that line, follow on in that direction until it reaches the line as fixed by the United States and Spain, by their treaty of 1819; and thus embracing a vast country, abundantly competent to form two or three States—a country which I think the highest ambition of her greatest men ought to be satisfied with as a State and member of this Union.

But, sir, the second of these resolutions makes a proposition to the State of Texas upon which I desire to say a few words. It proposes that the government of the United States will provide for the payment of all that portion of the debt of Texas for which the duties received upon imports from foreign countries was pledged by Texas at a time when she had authority to make pledges. How much it will amount to I have endeavored

to ascertain, but all the means requisite to the ascertainment of the sum have not been received, and it is not very essential at this time, because it is the principle and not the amount that is most worthy of consideration. Now, sir, the ground upon which I base this liability on the part of the United States to pay a specified portion of the debt of Texas is not new to me. It is one which I have again and again announced to be an opinion entertained by me. I think it is founded upon principles of truth and eternal justice. Texas, being an independent power, recognised as such by all the great powers of the earth, invited loans to be made to her, to enable her to prosecute the then existing war between her and Mexico. She told those whom she invited to make these loans, that "if you make them, the duties on foreign imports shall be sacredly pledged for the reimbursement of the loans." The loans were made. The money was received, and expended in the establishment of her liberty and her independence. After all this, she annexed herself to the United States, who thenceforward acquired the right to the identical pledge which she had made to the public creditor to satisfy the loan of money which he had advanced to her. The United States became the owners of that pledge, and the recipient of all the duties payable in the ports of Texas.

Now, sir, I do say that, in my humble judgment, if there be honor, or justice, or truth among men, we do owe to the creditors who thus advanced their money upon that pledge, the reimbursement of the money, at all events to the extent that the pledged fund would have reimbursed it, if it had never been appropriated by us to our use. We must recollect, sir, that in relation to that pledge, and to the loan made in virtue and on the faith of it, there were three parties bound—I mean after Annexation—the United States, Texas, and the creditor of Texas, who had advanced his money on the faith of a solemn pledge made by Texas.

Texas and the United States might do what they thought proper; but in justice they could do nothing to deprive the creditor of a full reliance upon the pledge upon the faith of which he had advanced his money. Sir, it is impossible now to ascertain how much would have been received from that source of revenue by the State of Texas if she had remained independent. It would be most unjust to go there now and examine at Galveston and her other ports, to ascertain how much she now receives by her foreign imports; because, by being incorporated into this Union, all her supplies, which formerly were received from foreign countries, and subject—many of them at least—to import duties, are now received by the coasting trade, instead of being received from other countries, as they would have been if she had remained independent. Considering the extent of her territory, and the rapid manner in which her population is increasing, and is likely to increase, it is probable that in the course of a few years there might have been such an amount received at the various ports of Texas—she remaining independent—as would have been adequate to the extinction of the debt to which I have referred.

But, sir, it is not merely in the discharge of what I consider to be a valid and legitimate obligation resting upon the United States to discharge the specified duty, it is not upon that condition alone that this payment is proposed to be made; it is also upon the further condition that Texas shall relinquish to the United States any claim that she has to any portion of New Mexico. Now, sir, although, as I believe, she has not a valid title to any portion of New Mexico, she has a claim; and for the sake of that general quiet and harmony, for the sake of that accommodation which ought to be as much the object of legislation as it is of individuals in their transactions in private

life, we may do now what an individual in analogous circumstances might do, give something for the relinquishment of a claim, although it should not be well founded, for the sake of peace. It is, therefore, proposed—and this resolution does propose—that we shall pay the amount of the debt contracted by Texas prior to its annexation to the United States, in consideration of our reception of the duties applicable to the extinction of that debt; and that Texas shall also, in consideration of a sum to be advanced, relinquish any claim which she has to any portion of New Mexico.

The fifth resolution, sir, and the sixth, like the third and fourth, are somewhat connected together. They are as follows:—

5th. *Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, whilst that institution continues to exist in the State of Maryland, without the consent of that State, without the consent of the people of the District, and without just compensation to the owners of slaves within the District.

6th. *But Resolved*, That it *is* expedient to prohibit within the District the slave-trade, in slaves brought into it from States or places beyond the limits of the District, either to be sold therein as merchandise, or to be transported to other markets, without the District of Columbia.

The first of these resolutions, Mr. President, in somewhat different language, asserts substantially no other principle than that which was asserted by the Senate of the United States twelve years ago, upon resolutions which I then offered, and which passed—at least the particular resolution passed—by a majority of four-fifths of the Senate. I allude to the resolution presented by me in 1838. I shall not enlarge on that resolution; it speaks for itself; it declares that the institution of slavery should not be abolished in the District of Columbia without the concurrence of three conditions; first, the assent of Maryland; second, the assent of the people within the district; and third, compensation to the owners of the slaves within the district for their property.

The next resolution proposed deserves a passing remark. It is that the slave-trade within the district ought to be abolished, prohibited. I do not mean by that the alienation and transfer of slaves from the inhabitants within this district—the sale by one neighbor to another of a slave which the one owns and the other wants, that a husband may perhaps be put along with his wife, or a wife with her husband. I do not mean to touch at all the question of the right of property in slaves among persons living within the district; but the slave-trade to which I refer was, I think, pronounced an abomination more than forty years ago, by one of the most gifted and distinguished sons of Virginia, the late Mr. Randolph. And who is there who is not shocked at its enormity? Sir, it is a great mistake at the North, if they suppose that gentlemen living in the slave States look upon one who is a regular trader in slaves with any particular favor or kindness. They are often—sometimes unjustly, perhaps—excluded from social intercourse. I have known some memorable instances of this sort. But, then, what is this trade? It is a good deal limited since the retrocession of that portion of the district formerly belonging to Virginia. There are Alexandria, Richmond, Petersburg, and Norfolk, south of the Potomac, and Baltimore, Annapolis, and perhaps other ports, north of the Potomac. Let the slave-dealer, who chooses to collect his slaves in Virginia and Maryland, go to these places; let him not come here and establish his jails, and put on his chains, and sometimes shock the sensibilities of our nature by a long train of slaves passing through that avenue leading from this Capitol to the house of the Chief Magistrate of one of the most glorious Republics that ever existed. Why should he not do it? Sir, I am sure I speak the sentiments of every Southern man, and every man coming from the slave States, when I say let

it terminate, and that it is an abomination; and there is no occasion for it; it ought no longer to be tolerated.

The seventh resolution relates to a subject embraced in a bill now under consideration by the Senate. It is as follows:—

7th, *Resolved*, That more effectual provision ought to be made by law, according to the requirement of the constitution, for the restitution and delivery of persons bound to service or labor in any State who may escape into any other State or Territory in the Union.

Sir, that is so evident, and has been so clearly shown by the debate which has already taken place on the subject, that I have not now occasion to add another word.

The last resolution of the series of eight is as follows:—

And 8th. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States; but that the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of them, depends exclusively upon their own particular laws.

It is obvious that no legislation is necessary or intended to follow that resolution. It merely asserts a truth, established by the highest authority of law in this country, and, in conformity with that decision, I trust there will be one universal acquiescence.

I should not have thought it necessary to embrace in that resolution the declaration which is embraced in it, but that I thought it might be useful in treating of the whole subject, and in accordance with the practice of our British and American ancestors, occasionally to resort to great fundamental principles, and bring them freshly and manifestly before our eyes, from time to time, to avoid their being violated upon any occasion.

Mr. President, you have before you the whole series of resolutions, the whole scheme of arrangement and accommodation of these distracting questions, which I have to offer, after having bestowed on these subjects the most anxious, intensely anxious, consideration ever since I have been in this body. How far it may prove acceptable to both or either of the parties on these great questions, it is not for me to say. I think it ought to be acceptable to both. There is no sacrifice of any principle, proposed in any of them, by either party. The plan is founded upon mutual forbearance, originating in a spirit of conciliation and concession; not of principles, but of matters of feeling. At the North, sir, I know that from feeling, by many at least cherished as being dictated by considerations of humanity and philanthropy, there exists a sentiment adverse to the institution of slavery.

Sir, I might, I think—although I believe this project contains about an equal amount of concession and forbearance on both sides—have asked from the free States of the North a more liberal and extensive concession than should be asked from the slave States. And why, sir? With you, gentlemen Senators of the free States, what is it? An abstraction, a sentiment—a sentiment, if you please, of humanity and philanthropy—a noble sentiment, when directed rightly, with no sinister or party purposes; an atrocious sentiment—a detestable sentiment—or rather the abuse of it—when directed to the accomplishment of unworthy purposes. I said that I might ask from you larger and more expansive concessions than from the slave States. And why? You are numerically more powerful than the slave States. Not that there is any difference—for upon that subject I can not go along with the ardent expression of feeling by some of my friends coming from the same class of States from which I come—not that there is any difference in valor, in prowess, in noble and patriotic daring, whenever it is required for the safety and salvation of the country, between the people of one class of

States and those of the other. You are, in point of numbers, however, greater; and greatness and magnanimity should ever be allied.

But there are other reasons why concession upon such a subject as this should be more liberal, more expansive, coming from the free than from the slave States. It is, as I remarked, a sentiment, a sentiment of humanity and philanthropy, on your side. Ay, sir, and when a sentiment of that kind is honestly and earnestly cherished, with a disposition to make sacrifices to enforce it, it is a noble and beautiful sentiment; but, sir, when the sacrifice is not to be made by those who cherish that sentiment and inculcate it, but by another people, in whose situation it is impossible, from their position, to sympathize and to share all and everything that belongs to them, I must say to you, Senators from the free States, it is a totally different question. On your side it is a sentiment without sacrifice, a sentiment without danger, a sentiment without hazard, without peril, without loss. But how is it on the other side, to which, as I have said, a greater amount of concession ought to be made in any scheme of compromise?

In the first place, sir, there is a vast and incalculable amount of property to be sacrificed, and to be sacrificed, not by your sharing in the common burdens, but exclusive of you. And this is not all. The social intercourse, habit, safety, property, life, everything, is at hazard, in a greater or less degree, in the slave States.

Sir, look at that storm which is now raging before you, beating in all its rage pitilessly on your family. They are in the South. But where are your families, where are your people, Senators from the free States? They are safely housed, enjoying all the blessings of domestic comfort, peace, and quiet, in the bosom of their own families.

Behold, Mr. President, that dwelling-house now wrapped in flames. Listen, sir, to the rafters and beams which fall in succession, amid the crash; and the flames ascending higher and higher as they tumble down. Behold those women and children who are flying from the calamitous scene, and with their shrieks and lamentations imploring the aid of high Heaven. Whose house is that? Whose wives and children are they? Yours in the free States? No. You are looking on in safety and security, whilst the conflagration which I have described is raging in the slave States, and produced, not intentionally by you, but produced from the inevitable tendency of the measures which you have adopted, and which others have carried far beyond what you have wished.

In the one scale, then, we behold sentiment, sentiment, sentiment alone; in the other property, the social fabric, life, and all that makes life desirable and happy.

But, sir, I find myself engaged much beyond what I intended, when I came this morning from my lodgings, in the exposition with which I intended these resolutions should go forth to the consideration of the world. I can not omit, however, before I conclude, relating an incident, a thrilling incident, which occurred prior to my leaving my lodgings this morning.

A man came to my room—the same at whose instance, a few days ago, I presented a memorial calling upon Congress for the purchase of Mount Vernon for the use of the public—and, without being at all aware of what purpose I entertained in the discharge of my public duty to-day, he said to me: "Mr. Clay, I heard you make a remark, the other day, which induces me to suppose that a precious relic in my possession would be acceptable to you." He then drew out of his pocket, and presented to me, the object which I now hold in my hand. And what, Mr. President, do you suppose it is? It is a fragment of the coffin of Washington—a fragment of that coffin in which

now repose in silence, in sleep, and speechless, all the earthly remains of the venerated Father of his Country. Was it portentous that it should have been thus presented to me? Was it a sad presage of what might happen to that fabric which Washington's virtue, patriotism, and valor, established? No, sir, no. It was a warning voice, coming from the grave to the Congress now in session to beware, to pause, to reflect, before they lend themselves to any purposes which shall destroy that Union which was cemented by his exertions and example. Sir, I hope an impression may be made on your mind such as that which was made on mine by the reception of this precious relic.

And, in conclusion, I now ask every Senator, I entreat you, gentlemen, in fairness and candor, to examine the plan of accommodation which this series of resolutions proposes, and not to pronounce against them until convinced after a thorough examination. I move that the resolutions be read and received.

The careful reader can not fail to perceive that Mr. Clay's propositions, though couched in language inoffensive to the pride of the South, were calculated and intended to exclude Slavery from all the territory acquired from Mexico by treaty. In authoritatively affirming that the "peculiar institution" had no legal foothold in that territory, it effectually precluded its establishment therein; since Slavery was very unlikely to be established by others than slaveholders, and these could hardly increase and multiply so as to obtain controlling power in a region where slaves could not be legally held. In proposing the extinguishment of whatever claim Texas might be supposed to have to New Mexico, he provided also for the almost certain exclusion of Slavery from the latter; since the danger was not that the people of New Mexico, present or future, would legalize Slavery, but that the extension of the jurisdiction and laws of *Texas*, so as to cover this territory, would make New Mexico slaveholding in its own despite, drawing thither slaveholders and slave-breeders, and chaining that vast region evermore to the car of the Slave-Power, as Western Virginia and the Mountain region of North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, are now chained in defiance of that natural unfitness for profitable slave-culture, which Mr. Webster so forcibly indicated as "the law of God," prohibiting Slavery, and needing no reënactment by Man.

The existence of this law is undoubted; but the fact that it is often overruled by political ligaments is equally sure. When Mr. Clay had concluded, Mr. Rusk of Texas, observed:—

"I do not intend, Mr. President, to enter into this discussion; and I rise simply for the purpose of saying that I regret extremely that the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, in his laudable desire to settle a very troublesome question, now agitating the people of the United States, should have seen proper, rather unceremoniously, as I think, to take one-half of the territory of the State I have the honor in part here to represent, to make a peace-offering to a spirit of encroachment on the constitutional rights of one-half of this Union. I do not intend to enter into any discussion of that grave and important question, nor do I intend, when the discussion of these resolutions shall arise, to put myself in opposition to the powers of oratory of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky; but I do promise now to prove, when that discussion shall arise, that the boundaries of Texas are to the Rio Grande; that no power at all exists in Congress to take cognizance of that question; and that the Congress of the United States can not interfere with the boundaries of the State of Texas, without inflicting a deeper stain on the high reputation of the government of the United States for justice, than would be done by appropriating the entire amount of territory which was acquired by all for the exclusive benefit of one-half of those who acquired it."

Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, rose to rebut the presumption of acquiescence, which the silence of Southern senators might justify, and objected to the tenor of Mr. Clay's resolutions on these, among other grounds:—

1. That in asserting the *inexpediency* of the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia by Congress, they affirm by implication, the *power* of Congress to legislate on that subject; whereas, he maintained, that Congress has no such legislative power at all.

"2. The resolutions of the honorable Senator, assert that slavery does not now exist by law in the territories recently acquired from Mexico; whereas, I am of opinion that the treaty with the Mexican Republic carried the Constitution, *with all its guaranties*, to all the territory obtained by treaty, and secured the privilege to every Southern slaveholder, to enter any part of it, attended by his slave property, and to enjoy the same therein free from all molestation or hinderance whatever."

3. He was unwilling to affirm that slavery would not be introduced into the territories.

"4. Considering, as I have several times heretofore formally declared, the title of Texas to all the territory embraced in her boundaries as laid down in her law of 1836, full, complete, and undeniable, I am unwilling to say anything, by resolution or otherwise, which may in the least degree draw that title into question, as I think is done by one of the resolutions of the honorable Senator from Kentucky."

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, also objected to the general scope and spirit of Mr. Clay's propositions, saying:—

"There is another, which I deeply regret to see introduced into this Senate by a Senator from a slaveholding State; it is that which assumes that

slavery now does not exist by law in those countries. . . . . That was the very proposition advanced by the non-slaveholding States at the last session, combated and disproved, as I thought, by gentlemen from the slaveholding States. . . . . I deem it to be my duty to enter a decided protest, on the part of Virginia, against such doctrines. They concede the whole question at once, that our people shall not go into the new territories and take their property with them; a doctrine to which I never will assent, and for which, sir, no law can be found."

To the same effect, Col. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, following, said:—

"An honorable and distinguished Senator, to whom the country has been induced to look for something that would heal the existing dissensions, instead of raising new barriers against encroachment, dashes down those heretofore erected, and augments the existing danger. A representative from one of the slaveholding States raises his voice for the first time in disregard of this admitted right. Nor, Mr. President, did he stop here. The boundary of a State, with which we have no more right to interfere than with the boundary of the State of Kentucky, is encroached upon. The United States, sir, as the agent for Texas, had a right to settle the question of boundary between Texas and Mexico. Texas was not annexed as territory, but was admitted as a State, and at the period of her admission, her boundaries were established by her Congress. She, by the terms of annexation, gave to the United States the right to define her boundary by treaty with Mexico; but the United States, in the treaty made with Mexico, subsequent to the war with that country, received from Mexico, not merely a cession of the territory that was claimed by Texas, but much which lay beyond the asserted limits. Shall we, then, acting simply as the agent of Texas in the settlement of this question of boundary, take from the principal for whom we act that territory which belongs to her, to which we asserted her title against Mexico, and appropriate it to ourselves? Why, sir, it would be a violation of justice, and of a principle of law which is so plain that it does not require one to have been bred to the profession of law to understand it. The principle I refer to is, that an agent can not take for his own benefit anything resulting from the matter in controversy, after having acquired it as belonging to the principal for whom he acts. The agent can not appropriate to himself rights acquired for his client. The right of Texas, therefore, to that boundary, was made complete by the treaty of peace, which silenced the only rival claim to the territory. It was distinctly defined by the acts of her congress before the time of annexation, and I have only to refer to those acts, to show that the boundary of Texas was the Rio Bravo del Norte, from its mouth to its source. What justice, or even decent regard for fairness, can there be, now that Texas has acceded to Annexation upon certain terms, to propose a change of boundary in violation of those terms, and by the power we hold over her as a part of the Union?"

The debate was still farther continued by Messrs. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, King of Alabama, Downs of Louisiana, Berrien of Georgia, Butler of South Carolina, all deprecating the spirit and drift of Mr. Clay's resolutions, or more mildly objecting that they conceded too much to the North; and by Mr

Clay in reply, explaining and defending them. Not one Northern senator objected that they conceded too much to the South. Mr. Downs (afterward a Compromise man), said:—

"I protest against this compromise, if so you please to call it, because in not one single point, if I clearly understand its meaning, does it propose to the benefit of the people of the South. Without attempting, in the slightest degree, to question the motives that influenced the honorable Senator in the presentation of these resolutions, I am sure the people of the South will not consider it a compromise at all, inasmuch as it gives all to one side. I can assure you, sir, that when the people of the South come to see this great compromise, and consider that it concedes a State and two or three territories to the North, and concedes the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia to the North, without any concession whatever to the South, they will not be satisfied with it. No gentleman can show me that it contains a single concession to the South, and, therefore, I protest against it."

Mr. Berrien objected to the averment that slavery has now no legal existence in the territories acquired from Mexico. He said:—

"I would not, for a single moment, have it conceived by my constituents that I could acquiesce in the propositions asserted in these resolutions. Before they can receive my concurrence, there are provisions contained in them which must be substantially modified, and there are important omissions which must be supplied. . . . . Connected as I have been in the earlier stages of this discussion—I mean at the anterior session—with the question of the validity of those laws which are supposed to exclude slavery from the territories acquired from Mexico, I may be permitted to say, to meet the declaration of opinion by the declaration of opinion, and the assertion of the readiness to maintain the opinion by argument, that the opinion which I have expressed on this subject at an anterior period, is the opinion which, after the most careful examination, the most anxious deliberation I could bestow on the subject, I now entertain, and that, with such powers as God has given me, I am ready to maintain it whenever the opportunity is offered."

In the same spirit, Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, asked:—

"What is there in the nature of a Compromise here; coupled as it is with the proposition that, by the existing laws in the Territories, it is almost certain that slaveholders can not, and have no right to, go there with their property? . . . . . I shall always think that, under a constitution giving equal rights to all parties, the slaveholding people, as such, *can* go to these Territories and retain their property there. But if we adopt this proposition of the Senator from Kentucky, it is clearly on the basis that slavery shall *not* go there. . . . . We have only asked, and it is the only Compromise to which we shall submit, that Congress shall withhold the hand of violence from the Territories. The only way in which this question can be settled, is for gentlemen at the North to withdraw all their opposition to the territorial governments, and not insist on their slavery prohibition; the Union is then safe enough."

We may not hereafter find so good an opportunity to state that

Mr. Foote of Mississippi (who afterward signalized himself as a most devoted and zealous champion of Compromise), took occasion (February 14), to renewedly assail Mr. Clay's proposition as conceding everything to the North, closing with the following chaste and dignified simile :—

"It is my opinion that the honorable Senator from Kentucky is at present playing the game of political power with our neighbors of the North in a manner decidedly unskillful. He is throwing into the hands of his adversaries all the *trump cards* in the pack, and depriving his partners and himself of the privilege both of holding *honors* and of *winning the odd tricks of legislation.* He is doing more than this, even; he generously gives his enemies *two bullets and a bragger* with the *ace* superadded, whilst he rashly stakes his all upon the imaginary potency of a mere *broken hand!* The fate of such *gaming* as this, it is most easy to predict."

The resolutions were then made the special order for the following Tuesday, when Mr. Clay addressed the Senate at length in their favor till the adjournment, resuming and concluding his argument on the following day. Having already given in full his remarks on introducing the resolutions, we need not here restate his general views. The debate was continued by Messrs. Berrien, Jefferson Davis, Downs, Miller of New Jersey, Benton, Rusk, Bell (who introduced a separate proposition), Calhoun (whose speech was read by Mr. Mason of Virginia, Mr. C. being then enfeebled by the disease of which he died a few days afterward), Walker of Wisconsin, Webster, and several others, evincing the greatest diversity of views on the general subject involved. At length, on the 11th of March, Mr. Foote of Mississippi, asked unanimous consent to the taking up of Mr. Bell's proposition, in order to refer it to a committee such as he had already proposed, to consist of thirteen Senators; six each from the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States respectively, and the thirteenth to be chosen by the twelve; said committee to be charged with the duty of maturing some scheme of Compromise for the final settlement of all pending questions relating to slavery and the territories. This was an essential modification of a kindred resolve submitted by Mr. Foote, on the 14th of February, and, though withdrawn at this time, was renewed by Mr. Foote, a few days after, and ultimately adopted. Of this Committee, Mr. Clay was unanimously chosen Chairman (April 19), Mr. Foote having declined serving thereon. The remaining members

elected by ballot, were Messrs. Cass, Dickinson, Bright, Webster, Phelps, Cooper, King, Mason, Downs, Mangum, Bell, and Berrien. The opponents of the projected compromise generally declined to vote. Mr. Clay, on the 8th of May, made an elaborate report from a majority of this committee, affirming the propriety and necessity of a Compromise, and indicating the bases on which it should be effected. These bases were substantially as follows:—

1. The admission of any new State or States formed out of Texas to be postponed until they shall hereafter present themselves to be received into the Union, when it will be the duty of Congress fairly and faithfully to execute the compact with Texas by admitting such new State or States with or without Slavery as they shall by their constitutions determine.

2. The admission forthwith of California into the Union, with the boundaries which she has proposed.

"3. The establishment of territorial governments without the Wilmot Proviso for New Mexico and Utah, embracing all the territory recently acquired by the United States from Mexico, not contained in the boundaries of California.

"4. The combination of these two last-mentioned measures in the same bill.

"5. The establishment of the western and northern boundary of Texas, and the exclusion from her jurisdiction of all New Mexico, with the grant to Texas of a pecuniary equivalent; and the section for that purpose to be incorporated into the bill admitting California, and establishing territorial governments for Utah and New Mexico.

"6. More effectual enactments to secure the prompt delivery of persons bound to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, who escape into another State. And,

"7. Abstaining from abolishing Slavery; but, under a heavy penalty, prohibiting the Slave-Trade in the District of Columbia."

The Committee's propositions differed, as will be seen, from Mr. Clay's original resolutions; first, in affirming the absolute right of any new States which may be formed out of Texas to admission into the Union on the usual terms without regard to the existence or non-existence of Slavery therein; and, secondly, in combining the admission of California in the same bill with the organization of the new territories, and the settlement of the boundary of Texas—for this also was included in the Omnibus Bill, though the fact does not appear in the committee's synopsis above given. The Fugitive Slave Law and that prohibiting the

Slave-Trade in the District of Columbia were presented in separate bills. The former was substantially the bill submitted to the Senate months before by Mr. Mason, of Virginia, as the Omnibus Bill was in good part made up of the several bills providing for the admission of California and the organization of the territories which had already been reported by Mr. Douglas from the Territorial Committee. The proposition to pay Texas a sum not then specified, but afterward fixed by Mr. Clay at $10,000,000, for the relinquishment of her claim to New Mexico, was the only portion of the plan of Compromise absolutely original with Mr. Clay.

The debate on this important Report and the leading bill accompanying it immediately commenced, and engrossed the time. of the Senate for nearly three months. More than half the Senators made set speeches thereon. The bill was assailed with equal vigor and resolution from each side of Mason and Dixon's line by Messrs. Seward, Hale, Hamlin, Davis, Baldwin, Dayton, &c., on the part of the North; and by Messrs. Hunter, Mason, Butler, Turney, Yulee, Soulé, Borland, &c., on behalf of the South. Mr. Benton was likewise among its most vigorous and indefatigable opponents—resisting it, however, not on any ground of intrinsic objection to its material provisions, but mainly on that of the incongruity of the various propositions composing it. This was, indeed, the weak point of the measure, and the able tacticians opposing it did not fail to perceive and profit by the fact. The bill was finally killed by an amendment moved by Mr. Dawson, of Georgia, and incautiously assented to by Mr. Clay, providing, in effect, that until such time as the boundary line between the State of Texas and the territory of the United States be agreed to by the legislature of Texas, the territorial government for New Mexico, authorized by this act, shall not go into operation east of the Rio Grande, nor shall any State be established for New Mexico embracing any territory east of the Rio Grande. This amendment was regarded by many friends of New Mexico who were also friends of the Compromise as exposing that territory to be overrun and swallowed up by Texas—the very danger to avert which had been the chief inducement of their assent to the Compromise. This amendment hav-

ing been carried by a vote of 30 to 28, Mr. Pearce, of Maryland, moved the striking out of all that portion of the bill which related to New Mexico which prevailed — Yeas, 33; Nays, 22 — and this proved the death-blow of the 'Omnibus.' The several portions of the bill were now successively stricken out, until there remained only the sections providing for the organization of the Territory of Utah, in which shape it was ordered to a third reading by a vote of 32 to 18. The bill in this shape passed on the 1st of August, and was followed in the course of the session by separate bills providing for the admission of California, the organization of New Mexico with the settlement of the boundary of Texas on a basis which gives Texas far more and secures to New Mexico less territory than did the proposition of Mr. Clay in the Committee of Thirteen, while providing equally with that for the payment of the full $10,000,000 to Texas. The Fugitive Slave Act and the abolition of the Slave-Trade in the District, also passed both Houses, were approved by the President, and thus became laws of the land. Mr. Clay, however, worn out by his protracted labors and anxiety in leading the defence of the Omnibus bill, left his seat and the city on the 2d of August for a season of repose and medical treatment, and did not return till near the close of the month. Of all the measures originally included in the plan of Compromise, there remained to be passed by the Senate only that providing for the abolition of the Slave-Trade in the District of Columbia, which he heartily supported.

Nothing further of moment occurred, so far as Mr. Clay was concerned, during the Session, which was closed by adjournment on the 30th of September, when Mr. Clay returned to his home in Kentucky.

The limits and scope of this work would not justify a complete history of the origin, progress, and final triumph, of the so-called Adjustment or Compromise of 1850. Our task in this place is to set forth the agency of Mr. Clay in effecting that Compromise, the motives by which he was governed, and the objects for which he struggled. The wisdom of his views, the beneficence of his measures, we leave to time and the sober judgment of the country and of mankind. There may be a far-reaching view of the

whole subject which condemns *any* compromise, however equable, as a purchase of present tranquillity at the expense of ultimate and more important good. Mr. Clay, though never justifying slavery in the abstract, nor desiring its perpetuation, much less its extension, was yet a slaveholder and the representative of slaveholders. He did not, therefore, and could not be expected to, regard the general subject as it was regarded by determined and uncompromising opponents of slavery, like Seward, Giddings, and Horace Mann. But whoever believes that he was impelled to devise and advocate the Compromise by devotion to slavery, or a desire to extend its dominion and power, does him great injustice. His views may be assailed as superficial and defective but his aims were unselfish, patriotic, and national. He labored beyond his failing strength for what he earnestly deemed the preservation of the Union and the welfare of his beloved country.

XXXIV.

THE RIVER AND HARBOR BILL OF 1851.

THE thirty-first Congress commenced its second session on the second day of December, 1850; but Mr. Clay, on whom the weight of years began to press heavily, did not take his seat until the sixteenth of that month. The session was mainly devoted to routine business, in which he took little part, but evinced, on every suitable occasion, a pervading anxiety that the Compromise measures of the preceding session should remain undisturbed. His name heads a list of forty-four members of Congress, affixed to a public pledge not to support any opponent of those measures, of whatever party, for any responsible station; and he voted uniformly against taking into consideration any memorials or remonstrances requiring the repeal or modification of any of those measures. It is hardly necessary to add, that a large majority of both Houses stood with him on this point.

He also evinced, on various occasions, an anxious, though not importunate, desire for a revision of the Tariff of 1846, to the

end that more efficient Protection might be afforded to our languishing Manufactures. In presenting some petitions for such revision (December 23, 1850), he said:—

"Mr. President, I will take occasion to say that I do hope that now, when there is an apparent calmness upon the surface of public affairs—which I hope is real, and that it will remain without disturbing the deliberations of Congress during the present session—for one, I should be extremely delighted if the subject of the Tariff of 1846 could be taken up in a liberal, kind, and national spirit; not with any purpose of reviving those high rates of Protection which at former periods of our country were established for various causes, sometimes from sinister causes, but to look deliberately at the operations of the Tariff of 1846, and, without disturbing its essential provisions, I should like a consideration to be given to the question of the prevention of frauds and great abuses of the existence of which there can be no earthly doubt. Whether some suitable legislation can not take place for that purpose, ought to be deliberately considered. We should see whether we can not, without injury, without prejudice to the general interests of the country, give some better Protection to the Manufacturing interests than is now afforded.

"The fact is no longer doubtful that the fires are extinguished and extinguishing daily in the furnaces of the country. The fact is no longer doubtful that the spindles and looms are daily stopping in the country. Whether it is possible to arrest this downward course, and to throw a little spirit of hope and encouragement into this great industrial interest without agitating the country generally, and without any extravagance of legislation, are questions, I think, very well worthy of serious consideration; and I hope, in the calm which we are at present allowed to enjoy in relation to other great topics which have so long and so disastrously agitated the country, that, at some early period during the present session, this subject will be taken up and dealt with in a spirit of kindness, and harmony, and nationality."

On the 19th of February, the bill "Making Appropriations for the Improvement of certain Harbors and Rivers," was received by the Senate from the House, where it had passed, the day previous, by a vote of 103 to 87. This bill was reported by Hon. R. M. M'Lane, of Baltimore, from the Standing Committee on Commerce, amended, on his motion, in Committee of the Whole —both Committees, as well as the House itself, having a 'Democratic' majority, who had, of course, full powers to shape the bill as they saw fit. On the final vote, however, about three-fourths of the Yeas were given by Whigs, while all the Nays, but four or five, were Democrats. The bill, having thus reached the Senate, was referred to its Committee of Commerce, by which (February 25) it was reported back without amendment. Mr. Davis of Massachusetts, in reporting it, gave notice that he should, at an early day, call it up for consideration.

On the 1st of March—there being but three days of the ession remaining—Mr. Badger, of North Carolina, moved the postponement of the previous orders in favor of taking up the River and Harbor Bill. This motion was resisted by Messrs. Bradbury, Borland, Foote, Hunter, Rusk, Turney, and Atchison, all strenuously insisting on giving precedence to various other measures. It was at once made manifest to the Senate, that the current rumor of a 'Democratic' caucus having determined that all decisive action on this bill should be staved off for the session, was well founded. Mr. Bradbury moved that Mr. Badger's motion do lie on the table, which was defeated—Yeas 23; Nays 30. After the discussion had proceeded long enough to unmask the game of the Opposition, Mr. Clay interposed as follows:—

"I wish to say one or two words only; I hope the friends of the bill—the *real* friends of the bill—will insist upon immediate action; it is now or never for the bill. If we should take up the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, we would soon have the Navy bill up, then the Army bill, and this bill will not be taken up. Sir, there is time enough for all, if we would act more and talk less."

The motion to take up finally prevailed—Yeas 31; Nays 25—and the debate thereon commenced. Mr. Davis of Massachusetts, in opening it, only said:—

"I am requested by the Committee on Commerce, which reported this bill, to say something in its support; but, in the present state of business, and the extreme pressure of time, I do not feel at liberty to go into details of this measure with any particular explanation. If we had time and opportunity, I should do it with very great pleasure, and give the Senate all the information in my power. But I can say, generally, that these appropriations are spread, I believe, over the entire country, and they amount to about two millions three hundred thousand dollars. This amount is to be applied to the harbors on the sea-coast and on the lakes, and to the rivers of the interior; and I may add that by far the great majority of them apply to works that have been long since commenced by the government, and from time to time carried forward by appropriations. Many of these works are now out of repair, and the country expects them to be put in a proper condition. With these remarks, I leave the subject to the Senate."

Mr. Clemens, of Alabama, commenced the Opposition game of moving amendments, proposing to restrict the application of the fifty thousand dollars proposed for the improvement of the Tennessee to a certain part of that river. Hereupon Messrs. Foote, Bright, and Hamlin, made speeches against the bill generally, or against particular features of it. Mr. Clay, in reply, went straight to the heart of the matter, as follows:—

"There are three modes of killing a bill. One is by meeting it boldly straightforward, coming up to the mark, and rejecting it. Another is by amendments upon amendments, trying to make it better than it was. Of course I do not speak of the motives of Senators in offering the present amendments. I speak of the effect, which is just as certain, if these amendments are adopted, as if the bill were rejected by a vote against its passage. A third mode is to speak against time when there is very little time left.

"Sir, I have risen to say to the friends of this bill, that if they desire it to pass, I trust they will vote with me against *all* amendments, and come to as speedy and rapid action as possible. Under the idea of an amendment, you will gain nothing. I think it likely there are some items that should not be in the bill; and can you expect in any human work, where there are forty or fifty items to be passed upon, to find perfection? If you do, you expect what never was done, and what you will never see. I shall vote for the bill for the sake of the good that is in it, and not against it on account of the bad it happens to contain. I am willing to take it as a man takes his wife, 'for better, for worse,' believing we shall be much more happy with it than without it.

"An honorable Senator has gotten up and told us that here is an appropriation of $2,300,000. Do you not recollect that for the last four or five years there have been *no* appropriations at all upon this subject? Look at the ordinary appropriation in 1837 of $1,307,000; for it is a most remarkable fact that those Administrations most hostile to the doctrine of Internal Improvements have been precisely those in which the most lavish expenditures have been made. Thus we are told, this morning, that there were five, six, or eight hundred thousand dollars during Gen. Jackson's administration, and $1,300,00 during the first year of Mr. Van Buren's. Now, there has been no appropriation during the last three or four years, and, in consequence of this delinquency and neglect on the part of Congress heretofore, because some $2,300,000 are to be appropriated by this bill, we are to be startled by the financial horrors and difficulties which have been presented, and driven from the duty which we ought to pursue. With regard to the appropriations made for that portion of the country from which I come—the great Valley of the Mississippi—I will say that we are a reasoning people, a feeling people, and a contrasting people; and how long will it be before the people of this vast valley will rise *en masse* and trample down your little hair-splitting distinctions about what is national, and demand what is just and fair, on the part of this Government, in relation to their great interests? The Mississippi, with all its tributaries—the Red, Wabash, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Ohio rivers—constitute a part of a great system, and if that system be not national, I should like to know one that is national. We are told here that a little work, great in its value, one for which I shall vote with great pleasure—the breakwater in the little State of Delaware—is a great national work, while a work which has for its object the improvement of that vast system of rivers which constitute the Valley of the Mississippi, which is to save millions and millions of property and many human lives, is not a work to be done, because it is not national! Why, look at the appropriations. Here was our young sister, California, admitted but the other day; $1,500,000 for a basin there to improve her facilities, and how much more for Custom-houses? Four or five hundred thousand dollars more in that single State for two objects than the totality of the sum proposed to be appropriated here. Around the margin of the coast of the Atlantic, the Mexican Gulf, and the Pacific coast, everywhere we pour out, in boundless and unmeasured streams, the treasure of the United States, but none to the

interior of the West, the Valley of the Mississippi every cent is contested and denied for that object. Will not our people draw the contrast? Talk about commerce! we have all sorts of commerce. I have no hesitation in saying that the domestic commerce of the Lakes and the Valley of the Mississippi, is greatly superior in magnitude and importance to all the foreign commerce of the country, for which these vast expenditures are made. Sir, I call upon the Northwestern Senators, upon Western Senators, upon Eastern Senators, upon Senators from all quarters of the Union, to recollect that we are parts of one common country, and that we can not endure to see, from month to month, from day to day, in consequence of the existence of snags in the Mississippi, which can be removed at a trifling expense, hundreds of lives and millions of property destroyed, in consequence of the destruction of the boats navigating these rivers, for the want of some little application of the means of our common government.

"I do not say that these people will be driven to any great and important action, threatening the integrity of the Union. No, sir; they will stand by this Union under all circumstances; they will support it, they will defend it, they will fly anywhere and everywhere to support it; but they will not endure much longer this partial, limited, exclusive appropriation of the public revenue of the country to this mere margin of the country, without doing anything for that interior which equals nearly, if it does not entirely constitute a moiety, of the population of the country.

"Mr. President, I have been drawn into these remarks very irregularly, I admit. I am delighted to see some of my Democratic friends breaking the miserable trammels of party. Nationality! Is not that a national improvement which contributes to the national power, whether the improvement be in the little State of Delaware, or in the great Valley of the Mississippi river? What makes it harder, especially in regard to the Mississippi river, is, that from the vast body of water it is impossible to make any great national improvement. All that can be done is to make small annual improvements, by clearing out trees from that great national highway, to take up the annual snags which form themselves in the river. It requires constant and incessant application of means in order to keep the stream clear. I have been drawn into these observations contrary to any purpose I had. Here is the measure before us. If gentlemen choose to exhaust the remainder of the session in useless amendments, the effect of which is to destroy the bill; if they choose to exhaust the session in speeches made from time to time, let them not charge *us* with defeating the appropriation bill. We are ready—for one, I am ready—to pass upon it item by item, and then take up the appropriation bill and do the same thing with regard to it."

The debate was continued, almost entirely by opponents of the bill, throughout the day and evening. Mr. Clemens's amendment was adopted in committee, by a vote of 27 to 23, but afterward stricken out upon consideration that any amendment to the bill, which would send it back to the House at that late hour of the session, would inevitably defeat it. Gen. Cass made a long speech in exposition of his views on the general subject; but, though there was very little "noise and confusion" prevailing in the Senate, the obscurity previously shrouding his ideas of River

and Harbor improvement was not dispelled by it. Mr. Downs, of Louisiana, moved that the bill be laid on the table; which motion was rejected—Yeas 23; Nays 34. Various motions to amend, to adjourn, &c., were voted down; but finally, it being late on Saturday night, the majority were wearied into an adjournment—Mr. Cass making the motion on the ground that it was now the Sabbath. The motion prevailed, by a vote of twenty-nine to twenty-five.

Monday was the last day of the session, and the Senate met at 10 A. M., at the earliest moment. Mr. Clay said:—

"Mr. President, I rise to make a motion to dispense with the morning business, and previous orders, in order to proceed with the unfinished business which was left in that state on Saturday last; and, while I am up, I beg leave, not to make a speech—for I should consider him worthy of almost any punishment who should make a speech on this day—but to say it is manifest to the Senate, and to the country, that there is a majority in this body in favor of the passage of that bill; and I wish to appeal to the justice, to the generosity, to the fairness of the minority, to say whether they will, if they have the power—as I know they have the power—defeat the bill by measures of delay, and procrastination? If they are determined to do it, although such a determination is incompatible with the genius of all free governments, and I should hope, also, incompatible with the sense of propriety which each individual member must feel—if there is a determination upon the part of the minority to defeat the bill, by measures to which they have the power to resort, but I am loth to believe they would use—if there is such a determination, and they will avow it, for one, as I think it of the utmost importance that great measures connected with the operations and continuance of the Government—measures of appropriation—should be adopted, notwithstanding the pain which I should feel in being obliged to submit to the action of a minority, intending to defeat the will of a majority—if such is the avowed purpose, I will myself vote for the laying this bill upon the table. I hope there will be no such purpose. I trust that we shall take up the bill and vote upon it; and I implore its friends, if they desire to pass it, to say not one word, but come to the vote upon it."

Mr. Clay paused, but no member of the minority would avow the conspiracy which had really been formed to defeat the bill by talking against time, insidious propositions of amendment, and all manner of side-blows. Although that minority had already wasted many hours in reading old reports and discussing irrelevant propositions with no other purpose than that of preventing any decisive action on the bill, yet they did not scruple to complain of a *want of time* for properly considering this subject, and on that ground demanded that the bill be given up by its friends. Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, opened by urging the ne-

cessity of action on the general appropriation bills, and arguing that it was not fair for a majority to press bills of this nature just at the close of the session. The fact that the Senate had wasted time in the discussion of other measures was cited by him to prove that no time remained for the consideration of this. Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, declaimed against reckless legislation, saying:—

"I should deem myself criminal in the highest degree, if I did not use all the means within my reach, of preventing hasty legislation upon such a subject."

Messrs. Butler, Gwin, and Bradbury, also evinced a determination to persist in the tactics whereby the passage of the bill had hitherto been impeded. Mr. Rusk, of Texas, however, took a different view, which we will present in his own words:—

"Mr. President, I desire to say only a very few words, and not with a view of delaying action on this bill. If we were within the last hour of the session, instead of within the last twenty-four, believing, as I do, that there is a majority of the Senate in favor of this bill, I would not obstruct its passage. Four years ago, I laid down the principles upon which I intend to act. When I find that there is a clear and express majority in favor of any measure, however much I may condemn it—and, by the way, the objects of this bill I *do not* condemn—I will not vote to do indirectly what I can not constitutionally do directly. If the majority choose to assume the responsibility of passing what I conceive to be a mischievous measure, upon them let it rest. But I must say, with great deference to older Senators who have moved in this matter, that I think they have taken the wrong course.'

Having listened to the objections of Senators, Mr. Clay said:—

"I at least will not be guilty of losing this or any other measure by speaking to-day. I have risen simply to call for the Yeas and Nays on the motion, and if there be really a majority against the bill in its present shape, hope they will lay it on the table."

The Yeas and Nays were ordered: the River and Harbor bill was again taken up—Yeas 30, Nays 25—and the fire of opposition, under the guise of propositions of amendment, recommenced. All were voted down, as was a proposition by Mr. Foote to lay the bill on the table. A proviso moved by Mr. Bradbury, modified by Mr. Cass, which would have virtually nullified the bill, was offered in the following words:—

"And it is hereby expressly provided that the appropriations in this bill contained shall take effect upon, and authorize the expenditure of only such

surplus or excess, as shall remain in the Treasury of the United States, after deducting from the public revenues the sums necessary to meet the appropriations that have been or shall be made by Congress, to execute existing laws, and liquidate private claims."

This proposition was defeated by a tie vote, as follows:—

YEAS—Messrs. Atchison, Berrien, Bradbury, Bright, Butler, *Cass*, Clemens, Jefferson Davis of Miss., Dawson, *Dickinson*, *Douglas*, Downs, Felch, Foote, Gwin, Hamlin, Houston, Hunter, *Wm. R. King*, Mason, Morton, Norris, Rhett, Rusk, Soulé, Sturgeon, Turney, Whitcomb and Yulee—29.

NAYS—Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Bell, Borland, Chase, Clarke, Clay, Cooper, John Davis of Mass., Dodge of Wis., Dodge of Iowa, Ewing, Greene, Hale, Jones, Mangum, Miller, Pearce, Pratt, Rantoul, Sebastian, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Underwood, Upham, Wales, and Walker—29.

Thus it will be seen that while a decided majority of the Senate were professedly favorable to the bill, some of them through a salutary fear of their constituents, yet one-half of all the members present were ready to paralyze its operation by voting in a proviso which would have precluded any action under it during the ensuing fiscal year; since it could not possibly be determined, until the close of the year, whether there would, or would not, be the requisite surplus in the Treasury.

But the bill just escaped this side-blow, and the game of proposing amendments to hang speeches upon and waste time, was resumed. An attempt to take a recess for dinner was made and defeated; a clause in the bill appropriating $25,700 "for the removal of the obstructions in the Rio Grande river, Texas," was desperately assailed as an encroachment on the joint sovereignty of Mexico over the snags, reefs, and sandbanks, to be found in that river. But the Senate refused to amend. About 8 P. M. of this last night of the session, Mr. Soulé, of Louisiana, moved to insert as follows:—

"For deepening the passes of the mouth of the Mississippi river, $130,000;"

And on this, after making a speech, he sent to the clerk's desk an elaborate report of a survey of the mouths of the Mississippi, which he insisted on having read; and on this an hour of precious time was consumed with a manifest intent of wearing out the patience of the Senate. Finally, Mr. Phelps, of Vermont, moved to dispense with the further reading, and on this an hour more was wasted, in the course of which Mr. Clay said:—

"I came to the Senate this morning, and I said that I would move to take up the bill now under consideration; but that if the minority who oppose the bill would say that, in the exercise of their parliamentary rights, they intended to resist to the utmost its passage, I would not insist upon it. I wanted an avowal; no such avowal was made. We have gone on to this time, and in what manner, the journal of our proceedings will show. The question which this day's proceedings presents is, whether the majority or the minority shall govern. No one has attempted to deprive the minority of any rights appertaining to them. I hope the other portion of this body, the majority, have their rights also, and the great question, that question which lies at the bottom of all free institutions is, whether the majority or the minority shall govern? Upon the issue of that question, I, for one, am ready to go before the country and abide their decision."

The debate still went on, another motion to lay the bill on the table was defeated by a vote of 33 to 23; and finally the question of stopping the farther reading of Mr. Soulé's report was reached and decided in the affirmative—Yeas 27, Nays 19. Then more speeches, and another proposition to postpone, which was voted down; and more speeches again, of which the burthen was the tyranny of the majority in not allowing any amendments to prevail, though every Senator knew that any amendment, however trifling, would defeat the bill; as its adoption would send it back to the House, where one-third could arrest it by objecting to a suspension of the rules in favor of taking it up.

Thus, with more speeches and more amendments, the time was worried away until midnight. That hour afforded a pretext for a new discussion as to the right of the Senate to sit longer, and the validity of its acts in case it should do so, in which another hour was consumed. This interlude closed, as every one knew it must, by the Senate resolving that each Congress has a right to sit and act until noon on the 4th of March, or for two full years from the commencement of its legal powers; but by this time Mr. Clay, bending beneath the weight of years, and worn out with severe and protracted labor, perceiving that the bill was inevitably lost, had left the Senate for the night. Finally, after dragging on till four o'clock in the morning, and the minority successfully resisting every effort to reach a decisive vote, the bill was postponed (Yeas 29, Nays 19) to 8 o'clock, in order to take up and pass the appropriation bills.

At the hour of eight, Mr. Clay was in his seat, ready for action, though many younger and stronger men were absent. But so much time was consumed in the passage of the appropriation

bills that the River and Harbor bill could not be taken up. It lay dead on the table, having been defeated by the most unscrupulous exercise of the power granted to minorities in legislative bodies for the protection of their right of discussion, with no intent that the will of a majority should thereby be frustrated. And yet, in this case, for the sake of screening three or four Democratic aspirants to the Presidency from voting on a measure with regard to which the dogmas of the South and the interests of the West came in direct collision; the precious time of the Senate was recklessly wasted, and other measures of vital importance either wholly defeated, or driven through with a haste which precluded even their reading in the Senate, though millions were voted away by them.

The effort to pass the River and Harbor bill was the last earnest Legislative struggle in which Mr. Clay was ever engaged. Though seventy-four years of age and not a member of the Committee by which the bill was reported, he took his place naturally, and by sheer force of character, at the head of the majority in that memorable though fruitless struggle. 'His eye was not dim, neither was his natural force abated;' and the spectator could not fail to admire the chivalry of nature and gallantry of bearing wherewith he led the charge against the strong *abattis* of parliamentary privilege wherewith the minority had so formidably entrenched themselves. Though the Whig party numbered far less than half the Senate, yet on this question a clear majority were constrained to range themselves under his banner; and there was something impressive in the manner wherewith Mr. Clay spoke of "We of the majority" desiring such and such action, and exhorted "you of the minority" to desist from unmanly bush-fighting, and allow the majority to pass the bill. I doubt whether there ever was an intelligent and independent legislative assembly whereof Mr. Clay, being a member, would not in time have won a majority to his side—not, perhaps, in party designation, but in substance and practice. He led because he instinctively perceived and chose the right path, in which the greater number could not choose but follow. And it was well that the last determined effort of the Great Commoner should be made in behalf of that cause which had so warmly enlisted his

youthful energies, and in whose advocacy he had first become known to the Nation. More than forty years had now elapsed since the then youthful Senator from Kentucky had proposed a deliberate, persistent, and systematic devotion of a portion of the Federal Revenues to the beneficent work of internal improvement; and it was fit that the last echo of his trumpet voice should resound through that same chamber in unwavering, undying devotion to that same great and good cause. The stag, long hunted, had returned to his native heath to die; and the baying hounds cowered before the glance of his flashing eye until it closed in death.

XXXV.

RESPONSE TO KOSSUTH—ILLNESS AND DEATH.

A BRIEF Called Session of the Senate was held from and after the close of the regular Session of Congress to dispose of a large amount of executive business which had accumulated during the regular Session, and been left over at its close unacted on. For attending this Called Session, twenty-four of the Senators received what is termed 'Constructive Mileage,' or the legal allowance for traveling expenses as though they had severally repaired to their distant homes and returned again to Washington, between the close of the Regular Session on the 3d of March, and the opening of the Called Session on the following day. The amount thus abstracted from the Treasury, as for a service never rendered, an expense never incurred, was in all about $40,000, of which over $5,000 fell to the share of Senator Gwin, of California, while other Senators from the remoter States received from Fifteen Hundred to Three Thousand dollars each. Mr. King, of Alabama, who, as President of the Senate, certified the correctness of these accounts, did not himself accept the Constructive Mileage.

Mr. Clay, it need hardly be said, utterly and disdainfully refused it, as did about half of the Senators holding over. Ever since the practice of charging Constructive Mileage had existed, Mr. Clay had been open and thorough in his denunciations of

it. When an attempt was made in the Senate to reject the nomination of Elisha Whittlesey as a Controller of the Treasury, because of Mr. Whittlesey's disallowance of the charges of Constructive Mileage in passing the accounts of the Senate's Secretary, Dickins, in 1849, Mr. Clay met the attempt with the most determined resistance. No man was ever more scrupulously and inflexibly honest in his charges against the Treasury. While other Members of Congress, even those accounted most upright and unselfish, had increased their charge for Mileage as 'the usually traveled route' from their several homes to Washington was considerably extended by the substitution of steamboat conveyance by devious rivers for the more direct, but far slower and more expensive, staging of former days, Mr. Clay had steadily refused to profit thus by the law's imperfection. He saw no reason for increasing his charge of Mileage some fifty to one hundred per cent. in the fact that he could now reach Washington more cheaply and expeditiously by taking a longer route than he had formerly been able to do by a direct one. Other Statesmen, more popular and successful than he, did not hesitate to take all that a liberal construction of the law would give them, and even add to that the proceeds of Constructive Mileage; but their example had no influence, their impunity no temptation, for Henry Clay.

Mr. Clay returned to his home on being released from his public duties at Washington, and remained there through the Summer, in delicate, though not yet broken, health; enjoying, for him, an unsual measure of quiet, and devoting himself mainly to his family, his rural pursuits, and a serene contemplation of and preparation for the great change now manifestly approaching Once during the Autumn he addressed an elaborate letter to his friends in New-York, in reply to one from them, urging therein the duty of sustaining the Compromise in all its parts, and endeavoring to calm the agitation respecting Slavery, which had so recently threatened the harmony if not the existence of our Union. This was almost, if not quite, the only occasion during the season wherein he was induced to break the silence which had now become so grateful to him.

The opening of the second session of the XXXIId Congress found him again in Washington, but unable to take his seat in the Senate. In fact, none other than a Patriot accustomed to think only of his country and his duty would have left home in his state of health for a distant field of arduous public effort. Learning from others how ill and feeble he was, I had not intended to call upon him, and remained two days under the same roof without asking permission to do so. Meantime, however, he was casually informed of my being in Washington, and sent me a request to call at his room. I did so, and enjoyed a half hour's free and friendly conversation with him, the saddest and the last! His state was even worse than I had feared; he was already emaciated, a prey to a severe and distressing cough, and complained of spells of difficult breathing. I think no physician could have judged him likely to live two months longer. Yet his mind was unclouded and brilliant as ever, his aspirations for his country's welfare as ardent; and, though all personal ambition had long been banished, his interest in the events and impulses of the day was nowise diminished. He listened attentively to all I had to say of the repulsive aspects and revolting features of the Fugitive Slave Law and the necessary tendency of its operation to excite hostility and alienation on the part of our Northern people, unaccustomed to Slavery, and seeing it exemplified only in the brutal arrest and imprisonment of some humble and inoffensive negro whom they had learned to regard as a neighbor. I think I may without impropriety say that Mr. Clay regretted that more care had not been taken in its passage to divest this act of features needlessly repulsive to Northern sentiment, though he did not deem any change in its provisions now practicable:

Four or five weeks afterward, Louis Kossuth visited Washington, in compliance with the official invitation, and in due time paid his respects personally to Mr. Clay, still confined to his sick chamber; when, after the mutual interchange of civilities, Mr. Clay said:—

"I owe you, sir, an apology for not having acceded before to the desire you were kind enough to intimate more than once to see me; but, really, my health has been so feeble that I did not dare to hazard the excitement of so interesting an interview. Besides, sir (he added, with some plea-

antry), your wonderful and fascinating eloquence has mesmerized so large a portion of our people wherever you have gone, and even some of our members of Congress (waving his hand toward the two or three gentlemen who were present), that I feared to come under its influence, lest you might shake my faith in some principles in regard to the foreign policy of this government, which I have long and constantly cherished.

"And in regard to this matter you will allow me, I hope, to speak with that sincerity and candor which becomes the interest the subject has for you and for myself, and which is due to us both, as the votaries of freedom.

"I trust you will believe me, too, when I tell you that I entertain the liveliest sympathies in every struggle for liberty in Hungary, and in every country, and in this I believe I express the universal sentiment of my countrymen. But, sir, for the sake of my country, you must allow me to protest against the policy you propose to her. Waiving the grave and momentous question of the right of one nation to assume the executive power among nations for the enforcement of international law, or of the right of the United States to dictate to Russia the character of her relations with the nations around her, let us come at once to the practical consideration of the matter.

"You tell us yourself, with great truth and propriety, that mere sympathy, or the expression of sympathy, can not advance your purposes. You require 'material aid.' And indeed it is manifest that the mere declarations of the sympathy of Congress, or of the President, or of the public, would be of little avail, unless we were prepared to enforce those declarations by a resort to arms, and unless other nations could see that preparation and determination upon our part.

"Well, sir, suppose that war should be the issue of the course you propose to us. Could we then effect anything for you, ourselves, or the cause of liberty? To transport men and arms across the ocean in sufficient numbers and quantities to be effective against Russia and Austria would be impossible. It is a fact which perhaps may not be generally known, that the most imperative reason with Great Britain for the close of her last war with us, was the immense cost of the transportation and maintenance of forces and munitions of war in such a distant theatre, and yet she had not perhaps more than 30,000 men upon this continent at any time. Upon land, Russia is invulnerable to us, as we are to her. Upon the ocean, a war between Russia and this country would result in mutual annoyance to commerce, but probably in little else. I learn recently that her war marine is superior to that of any nation in Europe, except perhaps Great Britain. Her ports are few, her commerce limited, while we, on our part, would offer as a prey to her cruisers a rich and extensive commerce.

"Thus, sir, after effecting nothing in such a war, after abandoning our ancient policy of amity and non-intervention in the affairs of other nations, and thus justifying them in abandoning the terms of forbearance and non-interference which they have hitherto preserved toward us; after the downfall, perhaps, of the friends of liberal institutions in Europe, her despots, imitating and provoked by our fatal example, may turn upon us in the hour of our weakness and exhaustion, and, with an almost equally irresistible force of reason and of arms, they may say to us, 'You have set us the example. You have quit your own to stand on foreign ground; you have abandoned the policy you professed in the day of your weakness, to interfere in the affairs of the people upon this continent, in behalf of those principles, the supremacy of which you say is necessary to your prosperity; to

your existence. We, in our own turn, believing that your anarchical doctrines are destructive of, and that monarchical principles are essential to the peace, security, and happiness of our subjects, will obliterate the bed which has nourished such noxious weeds: we will crush you as the propagandists of doctrines so destructive of the peace and good order of the world.'

"The indomitable spirit of our people might and would be equal to the emergency, and we might remain unsubdued even by so tremendous a combination; but the consequences to us would be terrible enough. You must allow me, Sir, to speak thus freely, as I feel deeply, though my opinion may be of but little import, as the expression of a dying man. Sir, the recent melancholy subversion of the republican government of France, and that enlightened nation voluntarily placing its neck under the yoke of despotism, teach us to despair of any present success for liberal institutions in Europe. They give us an impressive warning not to rely upon others for the vindication of our principles, but to look to ourselves, and to cherish with more care than ever the security of our institutions and the preservation of our policy and principles.

"By the policy to which we have adhered since the days of Washington, we have prospered beyond precedent—we have done more for the cause of liberty in the world than arms could effect. We have showed to other nations the way to greatness and happiness; and, if we but continue united as one people, and persevere in the policy which our experience has so clearly and triumphantly vindicated, we may in another quarter of a century furnish an example which the reason of the world can not resist. But if we should involve ourselves in the tangled web of European politics, in a war in which we could effect nothing, and if in that struggle Hungary should go down, and we should go down with her, where then would be the last hope of the friends of freedom throughout the world? Far better is it for ourselves, for Hungary, and for the cause of liberty, that, adhering to our wise, pacific system, and avoiding the distant wars of Europe, we should keep our lamp burning brightly on this western shore as a light to all nations, than to hazard its utter extinction, amid the ruins of fallen or falling republics in Europe."

This matured and deliberate expression of Mr. Clay's views respecting the course which our Government should pursue with regard to European Politics was the last counsel which fell from his lips with respect to public affairs. A private letter, which he had previously written, expressing a preference for Mr. Fillmore as the Whig candidate for President, was made public about the same time with this; and the preference thus expressed he cherished to the last, though he never failed to do justice to he eminent abilities and distinguished public services of Mr. Webster and General Scott. Though now on the brink of the grave, he manifested a lively interest in the doings of the Whig National Convention at Baltimore; and, when its choice had fallen upon General Scott, he expressed satisfaction and acquiescence, though his own choice had been different.

But higher themes engrossed in larger measure his time and thoughts. Mr. Clay had been through life an undoubting believer in Christian Revelation, whereof his own father had lived and died a minister, while his mother and his wife were lifelong disciples. Years ago, while yet unvisited by sickness and with the prospect of a serene old age before him, Mr. Clay had united with the Protestant Episcopal Church at Lexington, and had ever since enjoyed its communion. The chaplain of the Senate, Rev. C. M. Butler, was a minister of that church as well as a personal friend of Mr. Clay, and spent much of the Winter at the bedside of the dying man.

Mr. Clay's piety was humble and self-distrustful, but his faith was firm and unclouded; and, though his sufferings were severe and protracted, he was resigned to their infliction as the salutary discipline of a spirit which, in bygone years, had contemplated too fondly and engrossingly the fleeting vanities of earth. No hovel, no hospital, enclosed a Christian soul preparing to bid adieu to its tenement of flesh in more entire renunciation of self-righteousness, in more exclusive reliance on the mercy manifested through the world's Redeemer, than that of Henry Clay.

Though his strength declined daily, and the ability to walk, to sit, to rise, and finally to speak, had been successively withdrawn, yet so great was his natural vigor of constitution, and so far had he already outlived the expectations of his most sanguine friends, that a hope began to be cherished and expressed that his frail thread of life would endure until the approaching 4th of July, so that his soul would wing its flight to the society of his Country's departed patriots and statesmen on the 76th Anniversary of her Declaration of Independence, but the overruling fiat had otherwise decreed. On the 29th of June, at 17 minutes past 11 o'clock, while no one was apprehending his immediate departure, and when only Governor Jones, of Tennessee, was present, with his son, his host, and his faithful servant, his breathing, which had gradually grown faint and fainter, entirely ceased. So gentle and tranquil was the change, without convulsion or struggle, that his devoted attendants believed it but a momentary sleep, and bent over him in anxious hope of his speedy return to consciousness. That hope was destined not to be realized;

the mighty spirit had thus peacefully abandoned its wasted tenement and soared on wings of light to the mansions of eternal rest.

XXXVI.

EULOGIES IN CONGRESS—FUNERAL HONORS.

THE two Houses met at 12 o'clock, and the members were generally on their way to the Capitol when overtaken by the tidings of Mr. Clay's death. In the Senate, before the reading of its journal, Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, only said:—

"Mr. President, a rumor has been circulated that Henry Clay is dead. His colleague is absent, rendering the last sad offices. I therefore move that the Senate adjourn."

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate adjourned.

In the House, after the reading of the journals, Mr. Venable, of North Carolina, said:—

"In consequence of the report—which may be true—that Henry Clay, the illustrious Senator from Kentucky, breathed his last at his lodgings a few moments since, I move that the House adjourn."

This was carried without a division.

Of the next day's proceedings in both Houses, I give the full and carefully corrected report of the *The Globe*. It is as follows:—

The anticipated formal annunciation of the death of Hon. Henry Clay brought together an unusual auditory. Members of the House intermingled with Senators; the representatives of foreign sovereigns paid the tribute of their presence; Cabinet Ministers, and Heads of Bureaux, and members of the Judiciary, clustered without the bar. Of the illustrious cotemporaries of the distinguished dead but few remain; but one form attracted all eyes—the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, sat there. The General-in-Chief of the Army, Major-General Scott, too, was present. Attorney-General Crittenden, long the colleague of the deceased; the Hon. Reverdy Johnson, a cotemporary

in the Senate, and one of the Attorney-General's predecessors; and numerous others, as eminent for their eloquence and their genius, there contemplated the end of human greatness.

The Chaplain to the Senate, the Rev. C. M. Butler, in his opening prayer, supplicated for the living; but he also offered Christian consolation by speaking hopefully of the dead, whose declining days were cheered by the Gospel dispensation.

The Journal having been read, Mr. Underwood* rose and said: —

"Mr. President, I rise to announce the death of my colleague, Mr. Clay. He died at his lodgings, in the National Hotel of this city, at seventeen minutes past eleven o'clock yesterday morning, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He expired with perfect composure, and without a groan or struggle.

"By his death, our country has lost one of its most eminent citizens and statesmen; and, I think, its greatest genius. I shall not detain the Senate by narrating the transactions of his long and useful life. His distinguished services as a statesman are inseparably connected with the history of his country. As representative and speaker in the other House of Congress, as senator in this body, as secretary of state, and as envoy abroad, he has, in all these positions, exhibited a wisdom and patriotism which have made a deep and lasting impression upon the grateful hearts of his countrymen. His thoughts and his actions have already been published to the world in written biography; in congressional debates and reports; in the journals of the two Houses; and in the pages of American history. They have been commemorated by monuments erected on the wayside. They have been engraven on medals of gold. Their memory will survive the monuments of marble and the medals of gold; for these are effaced and decay by the friction of ages. But the thoughts and actions of my late colleague have become identified with the immortality of the human mind, and will pass down from generation to generation as a portion of our national inheritance incapable of annihilation, so long as genius has an admirer, or liberty a friend.

"Mr. President, the character of Henry Clay was formed and developed by the influence of our free institutions. His physical, mental, and moral faculties were the gift of God. That they were greatly superior to the faculties allotted to most men, can not be questioned. They were not cultivated, improved, and directed, by a liberal or collegiate education. His respectable parents were not wealthy, and had not the means of maintaining their children at college. Moreover, his father died when he was a boy. At an early period, Mr. Clay was thrown upon his own resources, without patrimony. He grew up in a clerk's office in Richmond, Virginia. He there studied law. He emigrated from his native State and settled in Lexington, Kentucky, where he commenced the practice of his profession before he was of full age.

"The road to wealth, to honor, and fame, was open before him. Under our constitution and laws, he might freely employ his great faculties unobstructed by legal impediments, and unaided by exclusive privileges. Very

* Joseph R. Underwood, (Whig), of Kentucky.

soon, Mr. Clay made a deep and favorable impression upon the people among whom he began his career. The excellence of his natural faculties was soon displayed. Necessity stimulated him in their cultivation. His assiduity, skill, and fidelity, in professional engagements, secured public confidence. He was elected member of the Legislature of Kentucky, in which body he served several sessions prior to 1806. In that year he was elevated to a seat in the Senate of the United States.

"At the bar and in the General Assembly of Kentucky, Mr. Clay first manifested those high qualities as a public speaker which have secured to him so much popular applause and admiration. His physical and mental organization eminently qualified him to become a great and impressive orator. His person was tall, slender, and commanding. His temperament ardent, fearless, and full of hope. His countenance clear, expressive, and variable—indicating the emotion which predominated at the moment with exact similitude. His voice, cultivated and modulated in harmony with the sentiment he desired to express, fell upon the ear like the melody of enrapturing music. His eye beaming with intelligence and flashing with coruscations of genius. His gestures and attitudes graceful and natural. These personal advantages won the prepossessions of an audience, even before his intellectual powers began to move his hearers; and when his strong common sense, his profound reasoning, his clear conceptions of his subject in all its bearings, and his striking and beautiful illustrations, united with such personal qualities, were brought to the discussion of any question, his audience was enraptured, convinced, and led by the orator as if enchanted by the lyre of Orpheus.

"No man was ever blessed by his Creator with faculties of a higher order of excellence than those given to Mr. Clay. In the quickness of his perceptions, and the rapidity with which his conclusions were formed, he had few equals, and no superior. He was eminently endowed with a nice discriminating taste for order, symmetry, and beauty. He detected in a moment everything out of place or deficient in his room, upon his farm, in his own or the dress of others. He was a skillful judge of the form and qualities of his domestic animals, which he delighted to raise on his farm. I could give you instances of the quickness and minuteness of his keen faculty of observation which never overlooked anything. A want of neatness and order was offensive to him. He was particular and neat in his handwriting, and his apparel. A slovenly blot or negligence of any sort met his condemnation; while he was so organized that he attended to, and arranged little things to please and gratify his natural love for neatness, order, and beauty, his great intellectual faculties grasped all the subjects of jurisprudence and politics with a facility amounting almost to intuition. As a lawyer, he stood at the head of his profession. As a statesman, his stand at the head of the Republican Whig party for nearly half a century, establishes his title to preëminence among his illustrious associates.

"Mr. Clay was deeply versed in all the springs of human action. He had read and studied biography and history. Shortly after I left college, I had occasion to call on him in Frankfort, where he was attending court, and well I remember to have found him with Plutarch's Lives in his hands. No one better than he knew how to avail himself of human motives, and all the circumstances which surrounded a subject, or could present them with more force and skill to accomplish the object of an argument.

"Mr. Clay, throughout his public career, was influenced by the loftiest patriotism. Confident in the truth of his convictions and the purity of his purposes, he was ardent, sometimes impetuous, in the pursuit of objects

which he believed essential to the general welfare. Those who stood in his way were thrown aside without fear or ceremony. He never affected a courtier's deference to men or opinions which he thought hostile to the best interests of his country; and hence he may have wounded the vanity of those who thought themselves of consequence. It is certain, whatever the cause, that at one period of his life Mr. Clay might have been referred to as proof that there is more truth than fiction in those profound lines of the poet:—

> 'He who ascends the mountain-top shall find
> Its loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow;
> He who surpasses or subdues mankind,
> Must look down on the hate of those below,
> Though far above the sun of glory glow,
> And far beneath the earth and ocean spread,
> Round him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
> Contending tempests on his naked head,
> And thus reward the toils which to those summits led.'

"Calumny and detraction emptied their vials upon him. But how glorious the change! He outlived malice and envy. He lived long enough to prove to the world that his ambition was no more than a holy aspiration to make his country the greatest, most powerful, and best-governed on the earth. If he desired its highest office, it was because the greater power and influence resulting from such elevation would enable him to do more than he otherwise could for the progress and advancement—first of his own countrymen, then of his whole race. His sympathies embraced all. The African slave, the Creole of Spanish America, the children of renovated, classic Greece—all families of men, without respect to color or clime, found in his expanded bosom and comprehensive intellect a friend of their elevation and amelioration. Such ambition as that is God's implantation in the human heart for raising the down-trodden nations of the earth, and fitting them for regenerated existence in politics, in morals, and religion.

"Bold and determined as Mr. Clay was in all his actions, he was, nevertheless, conciliating. He did not obstinately adhere to things impracticable. If he could not accomplish the best, he contented himself with the nighest approach to it. He has been the great compromiser of those political agitations and opposing opinions which have, in the belief of thousands, at different times, endangered the perpetuity of our Federal Government and Union.

"Mr. Clay was no less remarkable for his admirable social qualities than for his intellectual abilities. As a companion, he was the delight of his friends; and no man ever had better or truer. They have loved him from the beginning, and loved him to the last. His hospitable mansion at Ashland was always open to their reception. No guest ever thence departed without feeling happier for his visit. But, alas! that hospitable mansion has already been converted into a house of mourning; already has intelligence of his death passed with electric velocity to that aged and now widowed lady who, for more than fifty years, bore to him all the endearing relations of wife, and whose feeble condition prevented her from joining him in this city, and soothing the anguish of life's last scene by those endearing attentions which no one can give so well as a woman and a wife. May God infuse into her heart and mind the Christian spirit of submission under her bereavement! It can not be long before she may expect a reünion in Heaven. A nation condoles with her and her children on account of their irreparable loss.

"Mr. Clay, from the nature of his disease, declined very gradually. He bore his protracted sufferings with great equanimity and patience. On one occasion he said to me that when death was inevitable and must soon come, and when the sufferer was ready to die, he did not perceive the wisdom of praying to be 'delivered from sudden death.' He thought under such circumstances the sooner suffering was relieved by death the better. He desired the termination of his own sufferings, while he acknowledged the duty of patiently waiting and abiding the pleasure of God. Mr. Clay frequently spoke to me of his hope of eternal life, founded upon the merits of Jesus Christ as a Savior; who, as he remarked, came into the world to bring 'life and immortality to light.' He was a member of the Episcopalian Church. In one of our conversations he told me that, as his hour of dissolution approached, he found that his affections were concentrating more and more upon his domestic circle—his wife and children. In my daily visits he was in the habit of asking me to detail to him the transactions of the Senate. This I did, and he manifested much interest in passing occurrences. His inquiries were less frequent as his end approached. For the week preceding his death, he seemed to be altogether abstracted from the concerns of the world. When he became so low that he could not converse without being fatigued, he frequently requested those around him to converse. He would then quietly listen. He retained his mental faculties in great perfection. His memory remained perfect. He frequently mentioned events and conversations of recent occurrence, showing that he had a perfect recollection of which was said and done. He said to me that he was grate ful to God for continuing to him the blessing of reason, which enabled him to contemplate and reflect on his situation. He manifested, during his confinement, the same characteristics which marked his conduct through the vigor of his life. He was exceedingly averse to give his friends '*trouble*,' as he called it. Some time before he knew it, we commenced waiting through the night in an adjoining room. He said to me after passing a painful day, 'perhaps some one had better remain all night in the parlor.' From this he time he knew some friend was constantly at hand ready to attend to him.

"Mr. President, the majestic form of Mr. Clay will no more grace these Halls. No more shall we hear that voice which has so often thrilled and charmed the assembled representatives of the American people. No more shall we see that waving hand and eye of light, as when he was engaged in unfolding his policy in regard to the varied interests of our growing and mighty republican empire. His voice is silent on earth for ever. The darkness of death has obscured the lustre of his eye. But the memory of his services—not only to his beloved Kentucky, not only to the United States, but to the cause of human freedom and progress throughout the world—will live through future ages, as a bright example, stimulating and encouraging his own countrymen and the people of all nations in their patriotic devotions to country and humanity.

"With Christians, there is yet a nobler and a higher thought in regard to Mr. Clay. They will think of him in connection with eternity. They will contemplate his immortal spirit occupying its true relative magnitude among the moral stars of glory in the presence of God. They will think of him as having fulfilled the duties allotted to him on earth, having been regenerated by Divine grace, and having passed through the valley of the shadow of death, and reached an everlasting and happy home in that 'house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'

"On Sunday morning last, I was watching alone at Mr. Clay's bedside.

For the last hour he had been unusually quiet, and I thought he was sleeping. In that, however, he told me I was mistaken. Opening his eyes and looking at me, he said, 'Mr. Underwood, there may be some question where my remains shall be buried. Some persons may designate Frankfort. I wish to repose at the cemetery in Lexington, where many of my friends and connections are buried.' My reply was, 'I will endeavor to have your wish executed.'

"I now ask the Senate to have his corpse transmitted to Lexington, Kentucky, for sepulture. Let him sleep with the dead of that city, in and near which his home has been for more than half a century. For the people of Lexington, the living and the dead, he manifested, by the statement made to me, a pure and holy sympathy, and a desire to cleave unto them, as strong as that which bound Ruth to Naomi. It was his anxious wish to return to them before he died, and to realize what the daughter of Moab so strongly felt and beautifully expressed: 'Thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest will I die, and there will I be buried.'

"It is fit that the tomb of Henry Clay should be in the city of Lexington. In our Revolution, liberty's first libation of blood was poured out in a town of that name in Massachusetts. On hearing it, the pioneers of Kentucky consecrated the name, and applied it to the place where Mr. Clay desired to be buried. The associations connected with the name harmonize with his character; and the monument erected to his memory at the spot selected by him will be visited by the votaries of genius and liberty with that reverence which is inspired at the tomb of Washington. Upon that monument let his epitaph be engraved.

Mr. President, I have availed myself of Doctor Johnson's paraphrase of the epitaph on Thomas Hammer, with a few alterations and additions, to express in borrowed verse my admiration for the life and character of Mr. Clay, and with this heart-tribute to the memory of my illustrious colleague, I conclude my remarks:

"'Born when Freedom her stripes and stars unfurled,
When Revolution shook the startled world;
Heroes and sages taught his brilliant mind
To know and love the rights of all mankind.
"In life's first bloom his public toils began,
At once commenced the Senator and man,
In business dext'rous, weighty in debate,
Near fifty years he labored for the State.
In every speech persuasive wisdom flowed,
In every act refulgent virtue glowed;
Suspended faction ceased from rage and strife,
To hear his eloquence and praise his life.
Resistless merit fixed the Members' choice,
Who hailed him Speaker with united voice."
His talents ripening with advancing years;
His wisdom growing with his public cares;
A chosen envoy, War's dark horrors cease,
And tides of carnage turn to streams of peace.
Conflicting principles, internal strife,
Tariff and Slavery, disunion rife,
All are *compromised* by his master-hand,
And beams of joy illuminate the land.
Patriot, Christian, Husband, Father, Friend,
Thy work of life achieved a glorious end!'

"I offer the following resolutions:—

"*Resolved*, That a committee of six be appointed by the President of the Senate, to take order for superintending the funeral of Henry Clay, late a member of this body, which will take place to-morow at 12 o'clock, meridian, and that the Senate will attend the same.

"*Resolved*, That the members of the Senate, from a sincere desire of showing every

mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, will go into mourning for one month by the usual mode of wearing crape on the left arm.

"*Resolved*, As a further mark of respect entertained by the Senate for the memory of Henry Clay, and his long and distinguished services to his country, that his remains, in pursuance of the known wishes of his family, be removed to the place of sepulture selected by himself at Lexington, in Kentucky, in charge of the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, and attended by a committee of six Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, who shall have full power to carry this resolution into effect."

MR. CASS.* "Mr. President: Again has an impressive warning come to teach us that in the midst of life we are in death. The ordinary labors of this Hall are suspended, and its contentions hushed, before the power of Him who says to the storm of human passions, as He said of old to the waves of Galilee, 'PEACE, BE STILL.' The lessons of His Providence, severe as they may be, often become merciful dispensations, like that which is now spreading sorrow through the land, and which is reminding us that we have higher duties to fulfil, and graver responsibilities to encounter, than those that meet us here, when we lay our hands upon His holy word, and invoke His holy name, promising to be faithful to that Constitution which He gave us in His mercy, and will withdraw only in the hour of our blindness and disobedience, and of His own wrath.

"Another great man has fallen in our land, ripe indeed in years and in honors, but never dearer to the American people than when called from the theatre of his services and renown, to that final bar where the lofty and the lowly must all meet at last.

"I do not rise upon this mournful occasion to indulge in the language of panegyric. My regard for the memory of the dead, and for the obligations of the living, would equally rebuke such a course. The severity of truth is at once our proper duty and our best consolation. Born during the revolutionary struggle, our deceased associate was one of the few remaining public men who connect the present generation with the actors in the trying scenes of that eventful period, and whose names and deeds will soon be known only in the history of their country. He was another illustration, and a noble one, too, of the glorious equality of our institutions, which freely offer all their rewards to all who justly seek them, for he was the architect of his own fortune, having made his way in life by self-exertion; and he was an early adventurer in the great forest of the West, then a world of primitive vegetation, but now the abode of intelligence and religion, of prosperity and civilization.

"But he possessed that intellectual superiority which overcomes surrounding obstacles, and which local seclusion can not long withhold from general knowledge and appreciation. It is almost half a century since he passed through Chilicothe, then the seat of government of Ohio, where I was a member of the Legislature, on his way to take his place in this very body, which is now listening to this reminiscence, and to a feeble tribute of regard from one who then saw him for the first time, but who can never forget the impression he produced by the charms of his conversation, the frankness of his manner, and the high qualities with which he was endowed. Since then he has belonged to his country, and has taken a part, and a prominent part, both in peace and war, in all the great questions affecting her interests and her honor; and though it has been my fortune often to differ from him, yet I believe he was as pure a patriot as ever participated in the councils of a nation, anxious for the public good, and seeking to promote it during all the vicissitudes of a long and eventful life. That he exercised a powerful influence within the sphere of his action, through the whole country, indeed we

* General Lewis Cass (Democrat), of Michigan.

all feel and know; and we know, too, the eminent endowments which gave him this high distinction. Frank and fearless in the expression of his opinions, and in the performance of his duties—with rare powers of eloquence, which never failed to rivet the attention of his auditory, and which always commanded admiration, even when they did not carry conviction—prompt in decision and firm in action, and with a vigorous intellect, trained in the contests of a stirring life, and strengthened by enlarged experience and observation, joined withal to an ardent love of country, and to great purity of purpose; these were the elements of his power and success. And we dwell upon them with mournful gratification, now when we shall soon follow him to the cold and silent tomb, where we shall commit earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, but with the blessed conviction of the truth of that Divine revelation, which teaches us that there is life and hope beyond the narrow house, where we shall leave him alone to the mercy of his God and of ours.

"He has passed beyond the reach of human praise or censure; but the judgment of his contemporaries has preceded and pronounced the judgment of history, and his name and fame will shed lustre upon his country, and will be proudly cherished in the hearts of his countrymen for long ages to come. Yes, they will be cherished and freshly remembered when these marble columns that surround us, so often the witnesses of his triumphs, but in a few brief hours, when his mortal frame, despoiled of the immortal spirit, shall rest under this dome for the last time, to become the witnesses of his defeat in that final contest where the mightiest fall before the great destroyer—when these marble columns shall themselves have fallen, like all the works of man, leaving their broken fragments to tell the story of former magnificence, amid the very ruins which announce decay and desolation.

"I was often with him during his last illness, when the world and the things of the world were fast fading away before him. He knew that the silver cord was almost loosed, and that the golden bowl was breaking at the fountain; but he was resigned to the will of Providence, feeling that He who gave has the right to take away in His own good time and manner. After his duty to his Creator, and his anxiety for his family, his first care was for his country, and his first wish for the preservation and perpetuation of the Constitution and the Union, dear to him in the hour of death, as they had ever been in the vigor of life. Of that Constitution and Union whose defence, in the last and greatest crisis of their peril, had called forth all his energies, and had stimulated those memorable and powerful exertions, which he who witnessed can never forget, and which no doubt hastened the final catastrophe, a nation now deplores with a sincerity and unanimity not less honorable to themselves than to the memory of the object of their affections. And when we shall enter that narrow valley through which he has passed before us, and which leads to the judgment-seat of God, may we be able to say, through faith in His Son, our Savior, and in the beautiful language of the hymn of the dying Christian—dying, but ever-living and triumphant:—

"'The world recedes, it disappears!
Heaven opens on my eyes! my ears
With sounds seraphic ring:
Lend, lend your wings! I mount, I fly!
Oh grave where is thy victory?
Oh death where is thy sting?'

"Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

Mr. HUNTER.* "Mr. President, we have heard, with deep sensibility, what has just fallen from the Senators who have preceded me. We have heard, sir, the voice of Kentucky—and, upon this occasion, she had a right to speak—in mingled accents of pride and sorrow; for it has rarely fallen to the lot of any State to lament the loss of such a son. But Virginia, too, is entitled to her place in this procession; for she can not be supposed to be unmindful of the tie which bound her to the dead. When the earth opens to receive the mortal part which she gave to man, it is then that affection is eager to bury in its bosom every recollection but those of love and kindness. And, sir, when the last sensible tie is about to be severed, it is then that we look with anxious interest to the deeds of the life, and to the emanations of the heart and the mind, for those more enduring monuments which are the creation of an immortal nature.

"In this instance, we can be at no loss for these. This land, sir, is full of the monuments of his genius. His memory is as imperishable as American history itself, for he was one of those who made it. Sir, he belonged to that marked class who are the men of their century; for it was his rare good fortune not only to have been endowed with the capacity to do great things, but to have enjoyed the opportunities of achieving them. I know, sir, it has been said and deplored, that he wanted some of the advantages of an early education; but it, perhaps, has not been remembered that, in many respects, he enjoyed such opportunities for mental training as can rarely fall to the lot of man. He had not a chance to learn as much from books, but he had such opportunities of learning from men as few men have ever enjoyed. Sir, it is to be remembered that he was reared at a time when there was a state of society in the Commonwealth which gave him birth, such as has never been seen there before nor since. It was his early privilege to see how justice was administered by a Pendleton and a Wythe, with the last of whom he was in the daily habit of familiar intercourse He had constant opportunities to observe how forensic questions were managed by a Marshall and a Wickham. He was old enough, too, to have heard and to have appreciated the eloquence of a Patrick Henry, and of George Keith Taylor. In short, sir, he lived in a society in which the examples of a Jefferson, and a Madison, and a Monroe, were living influences, and on which the setting sun of a Washington cast the mild effulgence of its departing rays.

"He was trained, too, as has been well said by the Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass), at a period when the recent revolutionary struggle had given a more elevated tone to patriotism and imparted a higher cast to public feeling and to public character. Such lessons were worth, perhaps, more to him than the whole encyclopædia of scholastic learning. Not only were the circumstances of his early training favorable to the development of his genius, but the theatre upon which he was thrown was eminently propitious for its exercise. The circumstances of the early settlement of Kentucky, the generous, daring, and reckless character of the people—all fitted it to be the theatre for the display of those commanding qualities of heart and mind, which he so eminently possessed. There can be little doubt but that those people and their chosen leader exercised a mutual influence upon each other; and no one can be surprised that, with his brave spirit and commanding eloquence, and fascinating address, he should have led not only there but elsewhere.

"I did not know him, Mr. President, as you did, in the freshness of his

* Robert M. T. Hunter (State Rights Democrat) of Virginia.

prime, or in the full maturity of his manhood. I did not hear him, sir, as you have heard him, when his voice roused the spirit of his countrymen for war—when he cheered the drooping, when he rallied the doubting, through all the vicissitudes of a long and doubtful contest. I have never seen him, sir, when, from the height of the chair, he ruled the House of Representatives by the energy of his will, or when upon the level of the floor he exercised a control almost as absolute, by the mastery of his intellect. When I first knew him, his sun had a little passed its zenith. The effacing hand of time had just begun to touch the lineaments of his manhood. But yet, sir, I saw enough of him to be able to realize what he might have been in the prime of his strength, and in the full vigor of his maturity. I saw him, sir, as you did, when he led the 'Opposition' during the administration of Mr. Van Buren. I had daily opportunities of witnessing the exhibition of his powers during the extra session under Mr. Tyler's administration. And I saw, as we all saw, in a recent contest, the exhibition of power on his part, which was most marvelous in one of his years.

"Mr. President, he may not have had as much of analytic skill, as some others, in dissecting a subject. It may be, perhaps, that he did not seek to look quite so far ahead as some who have been most distinguished for political forecast. But it may be truly said of Mr. Clay, that he was no exaggerator. He looked at events through neither end of the telescope, but surveyed them with the natural and the naked eye. He had the capacity of seeing things as the people saw them, and of feeling things as the people felt them. He had, sir, beyond any other man whom I have ever seen, the true mesmeric touch of the orator—the rare art of transferring his impulses to others. Thoughts, feelings, emotions, came from the ready mould of his genius, radiant and glowing, and communicated their own warmth to every heart which received them. His, too, was the power of wielding the higher and intenser forms of passion with a majesty and an ease which none but the great masters of the human heart can ever employ. It was his rare good fortune to have been one of those who form, as it were, a sensible link and a living tradition which connects one age with another, and through which one generation speaks its thoughts and feelings, and appeals to another. And, unfortunate is it for a country, when it ceases to possess such men, for it is to them that we chiefly owe the capacity to maintain the unity of the great Epos of human history, and preserve the consistency of political action.

"Sir, it may be said that the grave is still new-made which covers the mortal remains of one of those great men who have been taken from our midst, and the earth is soon to open to receive another. I know not, sir, whether it can be said to be a matter of lamentation, so far as the dead are concerned, that the thread of this life has been clipped when once it has been fully spun. They escape the infirmities of age, and they leave an imperishable name behind them. The loss, sir, is not theirs, but ours; and a loss the more to be lamented that we see none to fill the places thus made vacant on the stage of public affairs. But it may be well for us, who have much more cause to mourn and to lament such deaths, to pause amidst the business of life for the purpose of contemplating the spectacle before us, and of drawing the moral from the passing event. It is when death seizes for its victims those who are, by 'a head and shoulders, taller than all the rest,' that we feel most deeply the uncertainty of human affairs, and that 'the glories of our mortal state are shadows, not substantial things.' It is, sir, in such instances as the present that we can best study by the light of example the true object of life, and the wisest ends of human pursuit."

Mr. HALE.* "Mr. President, I hope I shall not be considered obtrusive, if on this occasion, for a brief moment, I mingle my humble voice with those that, with an ability that I shall neither attempt nor hope to equal, have sought to do justice to the worth and memory of the deceased, and at the same time appropriately to minister to the sympathies and sorrows of a stricken people. Sir, it is the teaching of inspiration that 'no man liveth and no man *dieth* unto himself.'

"There is a lesson taught no less in the death than in the life of every man—eminently so in the case of one who has filled a large space and occupied a distinguished position in the thoughts and regard of his fellow-men. Particularly instructive at this time is the event which we now deplore, although the circumstances attending his decease are such as are calculated to assuage rather than aggravate the grief which it must necessarily cause. His time had fully come. The three score and ten marking the ordinary period of human life had for some years been passed, and, full of years and of honors, he has gone to his rest. And now, when the nation is marshalling itself for the contest which is to decide 'who shall be greatest,' as if to chasten our ambition, to restrain and subdue the violence of passion, to moderate our desires and elevate our hopes, we have the spectacle of one who, by the force of his intellect, and the energy of his own purpose, had achieved a reputation which the highest official honors of the Republic might have illustrated, but could not have enhanced, laid low in death—as if, at the very outset of this political contest, on which the nation is now entering, to teach the ambitious and aspiring the end of human pursuits and earthly honor. But, sir, I do not intend to dwell on that moral which is taught by the silent lips and closed eye of the illustrious dead, with a force such as no man ever spoke with; but I shall leave the event, with its silent and mute eloquence, to impress its own appropriate teachings on the heart.

"In the long and eventful life of Mr. Clay, in the various positions which he occupied, in the many posts of public duty which he filled, in the many exhibitions which his history affords of untiring energy, of unsurpassed eloquence, and of devoted patriotism, it would be strange indeed if different minds, as they dwell upon the subject, were all to select the same incidents of his life as preëminently calculated to challenge admiration and respect.

"Sir, my admiration, ay, my affection, for Mr. Clay was won and secured many years since, even in my school-boy days—when his voice of counsel, encouragement, and sympathy, was heard in the other Hall of this Capitol, in behalf of the struggling colonies of the southern portion of this continent, who, in pursuit of their inalienable rights, in imitation of our own forefathers, had unfurled the banner of liberty, and, regardless of consequences, had gallantly rushed into that contest where 'life is lost, or freedom won.' And again, sir, when Greece, rich in the memories of the past, awoke from the slumber of ages of oppression and centuries of shame, and resolved

'To call her virtues back, and conquer time and fate,'—

there, over the plains of that classic land, above the din of battle and the clash of arms, mingling with the shouts of the victors and the groans of the vanquished, were heard the thrilling and stirring notes of that same eloquence, excited by a sympathy which knew no bounds, wide as the world, pleading the cause of Grecian liberty before the American Congress, as if to pay back to Greece the debt which every patriot and orator felt was her

* John P. Hale (Free Soil Democrat) of New Hampshire.

due. Sir, in the long and honorable career of the deceased, there are many events and circumstances upon which his friends and posterity will dwell with satisfaction and pride, but none which will preserve his memory with more unfading lustre to future ages than the course he pursued in the Spanish-American and Greek revolutions."

Mr. CLEMENS.* "Mr. President: I should not have thought it necessary to add anything to what has already been said, but for a request preferred by some of the friends of the deceased. I should have been content to mourn him in silence, and leave it to other tongues to pronounce his eulogy. What I have now to say shall be brief—very brief.

"Mr. President, it is now less than three short years ago since I first entered this body. At that period it numbered among its members many of the most illustrious statesmen this Republic has ever produced, or the world has ever known. Of the living it is not my purpose to speak; but in that brief period death has been busy here; and, as if to mark the feebleness of human things, his arrows have been aimed at the highest, the mightiest of us all. First died Calhoun. And well, sir, do I remember the deep feeling evinced on that occasion by him whose death has been announced here to-day, when he said: 'I was his senior in years—in nothing else. In the course of nature I ought to have preceded him. It has been decreed otherwise: but I know that I shall linger here only a short time, and shall soon follow him.' It was genius mourning over his younger brother, and too surely predicting his own approaching end.

"He, too, sir, is now gone from among us, and left none like him behind. That voice, whose every tone was music, is hushed and still. That clear, bright eye, is dim and lustreless, and that breast, where grew and flourished every quality which could adorn and dignify our nature, is cold as the clod that soon must cover it. A few hours have wrought a mighty change—a change for which a lingering illness had, indeed, in some degree, prepared us, but which, nevertheless, will still fall upon the nation with crushing force. Many a sorrowing heart is now asking, as I did yesterday, when I heard the first sound of the funeral bell—

> 'And is he gone?—the pure of the purest,
> The hand that upheld our bright banner the surest,
> Is he gone from our struggles away?
> But yesterday lending a people new life,
> Cold, mute, in the coffin to-day.'

"Mr. President, this is an occasion when eulogy must fail to perform its office. The long life which is now ended is a history of glorious deeds too mighty for the tongue of praise. It is in the hearts of his countrymen that his best epitaph must be written. It is in the admiration of a world that his renown must be recorded. In that deep love of country which distinguished every period of his life, he may not have been unrivaled. In loftiness of intellect he was not without his peers. The skill with which he touched every chord of the human heart may have been equaled. The iron will, the unbending firmness, the fearless courage, which marked his character, may have been shared by others. But where shall we go to find all those qualities united, concentrated, blended into one brilliant whole, and shedding a lustre upon one single head, which does not dazzle the beholder only because it attracts his love and demands his worship?

"I scarcely know, sir, how far it may be allowable, upon an occasion like this, to refer to party struggles which have left wounds not yet entirely

* Jeremiah Clemens (Union Democrat), of Alabama.

healed. I will venture, however, to suggest, that it should be a source of consolation to his friends that he lived long enough to see the full accomplishment of the last great work of his life, and to witness the total disappearance of that sectional tempest which threatened to overwhelm the Republic in ruins. Both the great parties of the country have agreed to stand upon the platform which he erected, and both of them have solemnly pledged themselves to maintain unimpaired the work of his hands. I doubt not the knowledge of this cheered him in his dying moments, and helped to steal away the pangs of dissolution.

"Mr. President, if I knew anything more that I could say, I would gladly utter it. To me he was something more than kind, and I am called upon to mingle a private with a public grief. I wish that I could do something to add to his fame. But he built for himself a monument of immortality, and left to his friends no task but that of soothing their own sorrow for his loss. We pay to him the tribute of our tears. More we have no power to bestow. Patriotism, honor, genius, courage, have all come to strew their garlands about his tomb; and well they may, for he was the peer of them all."

Mr. Cooper.* "Mr. President, it is not always by words that the living pay to the dead the sincerest and most eloquent tribute. The tears of a nation, flowing spontaneously over the grave of a public benefactor, is a more eloquent testimonial of his worth and of the affection and veneration of his countrymen, than the most highly-wrought eulogium of the most gifted tongue. The heart is not necessarily the fountain of words, but it is always the source of tears, whether they be of joy, gratitude, or grief. But sincere, truthful, and eloquent, as they are, they leave no permanent record of the virtues and greatness of him on whose tomb they are shed. As the dews of heaven falling at night are absorbed by the earth, or dried up by the morning sun, so the tears of a people, shed for their benefactor, disappear without leaving a trace to tell the future generations of the services, sacrifices, and virtues, of him to whose memory they were a grateful tribute. But as homage paid to virtue is an incentive to it, it is right that the memory of the good, the great, and noble of the earth should be preserved and honored.

"The ambition, Mr. President, of the truly great is more the hope of living in the memory and estimation of future ages than of possessing power in their own. It is this hope that stimulates them to perseverance; that enables them to encounter disappointment, ingratitude, and neglect, and to press on through toils, privations, and perils to the end. It was not the hope of discovering a world, over which he should himself exercise dominion, that sustained Columbus in all his trials. It was not for this he braved danger, disappointment, poverty, and reproach. It was not for this he subdued his native pride, wandered from kingdom to kingdom, kneeling at the feet of princes a suppliant for means to prosecute his sublime enterprise. It was not for this, after having at last secured the patronage of Isabella, that he put off in his crazy and ill-appointed fleet into unknown seas, to struggle with storms and tempests, and the rage of a mutinous crew. It was another and nobler kind of ambition that stimulated him to contend with terror, superstition, and despair, and to press forward on his perilous course, when the needle in his compass, losing its polarity seemed to unite with the fury of the elements and the insubordination of his crew in turning him back from his perilous but glorious enterprise. It was the hope which was

* James Cooper (Whig) of Pennsylvania.

reallzed at last, when his ungrateful country was compelled to inscribe, as an epitaph on his tomb—

'Columbus has given a new world to the kingdoms of Castile and Leon,

that enabled him at first to brave so many disappointments, and at last to conquer the multitude of perils that beset his pathway on the deep. This, sir, is the ambition of the truly great—not to achieve present fame, but future immortality. This being the case, it is befitting here to-day to add to the life of Henry Clay, the record of his death, signalized as it is by a nation's gratitude and grief. It is right that posterity should learn from us, the cotemporaries of the illustrious deceased, that his virtues and services were appreciated by his country, and acknowledged by the tears of his countrymen poured out upon his grave.

"The career of Henry Clay was a wonderful one. And what an illustration of the excellence of our institutions would a retrospect of his life afford! Born in an humble station, without any of the adventitious aids of fortune by which the obstructions on the road to fame are smoothed, he rose not only to the most exalted eminence of position, but likewise to the highest place in the affections of his countrymen. Taking into view the disadvantages of his early position, disadvantages against which he had always to contend, his career is without a parallel in the history of great men. To have seen him a youth, without friends or fortune, and with but a scanty education, who would have ventured to predict for him a course so brilliant and beneficent, and a fame so well deserved and enduring? Like the pine, however, which sometimes springs up amidst the rocks on the mountain side, with scarce a crevice in which to fix its roots or soil to nourish them, but which, nevertheless, overtops all the trees of the surrounding forest, Henry Clay, by his own inherent, self-sustaining energy and genius, rose to an altitude of fame almost unequaled in the age in which he lived. As an orator, legislator, and statesman, he had no superior. All his faculties were remarkable, and in remarkable combination. Possessed of a brilliant genius and a fertile imagination, his judgment was sound, discriminating, and eminently practical. Of an ardent and impetuous temperament, he was nevertheless persevering and firm of purpose. Frank, bold, and intrepid, he was cautious in providing against the contingencies and obstacles which might possibly rise up in the road to success. Generous, liberal, and entertaining broad and expanded views of national policy, in his legislative course he never transcended the limits of a wise economy.

"But, Mr. President, of all his faculties, that of making friends and attaching them to him was the most remarkable and extraordinary. In this respect, he seemed to possess a sort of fascination, by which all who came into his presence were attracted toward and bound to him by ties which neither time nor circumstances had power to dissolve or weaken. In the admiration of his friends was the recognition of the divinity of intellect; in their attachment to him a confession of his generous personal qualities and social virtues.

"Of the public services of Mr. Clay, the present occasion affords no room for a sketch more extended than that which his respected colleague [Mr. Underwood] has presented. It is, however, sufficient to say, that for more than forty years he has been a prominent actor in the drama of American affairs. During the late war with England his voice was more potent than any other in awakening the spirit of the country, infusing confidence into the people, and rendering available their resources for carrying on the contest. In our domestic controversies, threatening the peace of the country and the

integrity of the Union, he has always been first to note danger as well as to suggest the means of averting it. When the waters of the great political deep were upheaved by the tempest of discord, and the ark of the Union, freighted with the hopes and destinies of freedom, tossing about on the raging billows, and drifting every moment nearer to the vortex which threatened to swallow it up, it was his clarion voice, rising above the storm, that admonished the crew of impending peril, and counseled the way to safety.

"But, Mr. President, devotedly as he loved his country, his aspirations were not limited to its welfare alone. Wherever freedom had a votary, that votary had a friend in Henry Clay; and in the struggle of the Spanish colonies for independence, he uttered words of encouragement which have become the mottoes on the banners of freedom in every land. But neither the services which he has rendered his own country, nor his wishes for the welfare of others, nor his genius, nor the affection of friends, could turn aside the destroyer. No price could purchase exemption from the common lot of humanity. Henry Clay, the wise, the great, the gifted, had to die; and his history is summed up in the biography which the Russian poet has prepared for all, kings and serfs, viz:—

'Born, living, dying,
Quitting the still shore for the troubled wave,
Struggling with storm-clouds, over shipwrecks flying,
And casting anchor in the silent grave.'

"But though time would not spare him, there is still this of consolation: He died peacefully and happy, ripe in renown, full of years and of honors, and rich in the affections of his country. He enjoyed, too, the unspeakable satisfaction of closing his eyes while the country he had loved so much and served so well was still in the enjoyment of peace, happiness, union, and prosperity—still advancing in all the elements of wealth, greatness, and power.

"I know, Mr. President, how unequal I have been to the apparently self-imposed task of presenting, in an appropriate manner, the merits of the illustrious deceased. But if I had remained silent on an occasion like this, when the hearts of my constituents are swelling with grief, I would have been disowned by them. It is for this reason—that of giving utterance to their feelings as well as of my own—that I have trespassed on the time of the Senate. I would that I could have spoken fitter words; but, such as they are, they were uttered by the tongue in response to the promptings of the heart."

Mr. Seward.* "Mr. President, fifty years ago, Henry Clay, of Virginia, already adopted by Kentucky, then as youthful as himself, entered the service of his country, a Representative in the unpretending Legislature of that rising State; and having thenceforward pursued, with ardor and constancy, the gradual paths of an aspiring change through Halls of Congress, foreign courts, and Executive councils, he has now, with the cheerfulness of a patriot, and the serenity of a Christian, fitly closed his long and arduous career, here in the Senate, in the full presence of the Republic, looking down upon the scene with anxiety and alarm—not merely a Senator like one of us who yet remain in the Senate-House, but filling that character which, though it has no authority of law and was assigned without suffrage, Augustus Cæsar nevertheless declared was above the title of Emperor, *Primus inter Illustres*—the Prince of the Senate.

* William H. Seward (Free Soil Whig), of New York.

"Generals are tried, Mr. President, by examining the campaigns they have lost or won, and Statesmen by reviewing the transactions in which they have been engaged. Hamilton would have been unknown to us had there been no Constitution to be created, as Brutus would have died in obscurity had there been no Cæsar to be slain.

"Colonization, Revolution, and Organization—three great acts in the drama of our national progress—had already passed when the Western patriot appeared on the public stage. He entered in that next division of the majestic scenes which was marked by an inevitable rëaction of political forces, a wild strife of factions, and ruinous embarrassments in our foreign relations. This transition stage is always more perilous than any other in the career of nations, and especially in the career of Republics. It proved fatal to the Commonwealth of England. Searcely any of the Spanish-American States has yet emerged from it; and it has more than once been sadly signalized by the ruin of the Republican cause in France.

"The continuous administration of Washington and John Adams, had closed under a cloud which had thrown a broad, dark shadow over the future; the nation was deeply indebted at home and abroad, and its credit was prostrate. The revolutionary factions had given place to two inveterate parties, divided by a gulf which had been worn by the conflict in which the Constitution was adopted, and made broader and deeper by a war of prejudices concerning the merits of the belligerents in the great European struggle that then convulsed the civilized world. Our extraordinary political system was little more than an ingenious theory, not yet practically established. The Union of the States was as yet only one of compact; for the political, social, and commercial necessities to which it was so marvelously adapted, and which, clustering thickly upon it, now render it indissoluble, had not then been broadly disclosed, nor had the habits of acquiescence, and the sentiments of loyalty, always slow of growth, fully ripened. The bark that had gone to sea, thus unfurnished and untried, seemed quite certain to founder by reason of its own inherent frailty, even if it should escape unharmed in the great conflict of nations, which acknowledged no claims of justice, and tolerated no pretensions of neutrality. Moreover, the territory possessed by the nation was inadequate to commercial exigencies, and indispensable social expansion; and yet no provision had been made for enlargement, nor for extending the political system over distant regions, inhabited or otherwise, which must inevitably be acquired. Nor could any such acquisition be made without disturbing the carefully-adjusted balance of powers among the members of the Confederacy.

"These difficulties, Mr. President, although they grew less with time and by slow degrees, continued throughout the whole life of the Statesman whose obsequies we are celebrating. Be it known, then—and I am sure that history will confirm the instruction—that conservatism was the interest of the nation, and the responsibility of its rulers, during the period in which he flourished. He was ardent, bold, generous, and even ambitious; and yet, with a profound conviction of the true exigencies of the country, like Alexander Hamilton, he disciplined himself, and trained a restless nation, that knew only self-control, to the rigorous practice of that often humiliating conservatism which its welfare and security in that peculiar crisis so imperiously demanded.

"It could not have happened, sir, to any citizen to have acted alone, nor even to have acted always the most conspicuous part in a trying period so long protracted. Henry Clay, therefore, shared the responsibilities of Government with not only his proper cotemporaries, but also survivors of the

Revolution, as well as also many who will now succeed himself. D cacy forbids my naming those who retain their places here; but we may, ' hout impropriety, recall among his compeers a Senator of vast resources nd inflexible resolve, who has recently withdrawn from this Chamber, bu I trust not altogether from public life (Mr. Benton); and another, who, sur passing all his cotemporaries within his country, and even throughout the world, in the proper eloquence of the forum, now, in autumnal years, for a second time, dignifies and adorns the highest seat in the Executive Council (Mr. Webster). Passing by these eminent and noble men, the shades of Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Monroe, Madison, and Jefferson, rise up before us—Statesmen whose living and local fame has ripened already into historical and world-wide renown.

"Among geniuses so lofty as these, Henry Clay bore a part in regulating the constitutional freedom of political debate; establishing that long-contested and most important line which divides the sovereignty of the several States from that of the States confederated; asserting the right of neutrality, and vindicating it by a war against Great Britain, when that just but extreme measure became necessary; adjusting the terms on which that perilous, yet honorable contest, was brought to a peaceful close; perfecting the Army, and the Navy, and national fortifications: settling the fiscal and financial policy of the Government in more than one crisis of apparently-threatened revolution; asserting and calling into exercise the powers of the Government for making and improving internal communications between the States; arousing and encouraging the Spanish-American colonies on this continent to throw off the foreign yoke, and to organize governments on principles congenial to our own, and thus creating external bulwarks for our own national defence; establishing equal and impartial peace and amity with all existing maritime Powers; and extending the constitutional organization of Government over vast regions, all secured in his lifetime by purchase or by conquest, whereby the pillars of the Republic have been removed from the banks of the St. Mary's to the borders of the Rio Grande, and from the margin of the Mississippi to the Pacific coast. We may not yet discuss the wisdom of the several measures which have thus passed in review before us, nor of the positions which the deceased Statesman assumed in regard to them, but we may, without offence, dwell upon the comprehensive results of them all.

"The Union exists in absolute integrity, and the Republic in complete and triumphant development. Without having relinquished any part of their individuality, the States have more than doubled already, and are increasing in numbers and growing in political strength and expansion more rapidly than ever before. Without having absorbed any State, or having even encroached on any State, the Confederation has opened itself so as to embrace all the new members who have come; and now, with capacity for further and indefinite enlargement, has become fixed, enduring, and perpetual. Although it was doubted, only half a century ago, whether our political system could be maintained at all, and whether, if maintained, it could guaranty the peace and happiness of society, it stands now confessed by the world the form of government not only most adapted to empire, but also most congenial with the constitution of human nature.

"When we consider that the nation has been conducted to this haven, not only through stormy seas, but altogether also without a course and without a star; and when we consider, moreover, the sum of happiness that has already been enjoyed by the American people, and still more the influence which the great achievements is exerting on the advancement and meliora

tion of the condition of mankind, we see at once that it might have satisfied the highest ambition to have been, no matter how humbly, concerned in so great a transaction.

"Certainly, sir, no one will assert that Henry Clay in that transaction performed an obscure or even a common part. On the contrary, from the day on which he entered the public service, until that on which he passed the gates of death, he was never a follower, but always a leader: and he marshaled either the party which sustained, or that which resisted, every great measure, equally in the Senate and in the popular canvass. And he led where duty seemed to him to indicate, reckless whether he encountered one President or twenty Presidents, whether he was opposed by factions or even by the whole people. Hence it has happened that, although that people are not yet agreed among themselves on the wisdom of all or perhaps of even any of his great measnres, yet they are nevertheless unanimous in acknowledging that he was at once the greatest, the most faithful, and the most reliable of their statesmen. Here the effort at discriminating praise of Henry Clay in regard to his public policy must stop, even on this sad occasion, which awakens the ardent liberality of his generous survivors.

"But his personal qualities may be discussed without apprehension. What were the elements of the success of that extraordinary man? You, sir, knew him longer and better than I, and I would prefer to hear you speak of them. He was indeed eloquent—all the world knows that. He held the keys to the hearts of his countrymen, and he turned the wards within them with a skill attained by no other master.

"But eloquence was nevertheless only an instrument, and one of many that he used. His conversation, his gestures, his very look, was magisterial, persuasive, seductive, irresistible. And his appliance of all these was courteous, patient, and indefatigable. Defeat only inspired him with new resolution. He divided opposition by his assiduity of address, while he rallied and strengthened his own bands of supporters by the confidence of success which, feeling himself, he easily inspired among his followers. His affections were high, and pure, and generous, and the chiefest among them was that one which the great Italian poet designated as the charity of native land. In him that charity was an enduring and overpowering enthusiasm, and it influenced all his sentiments and conduct, rendering him more impartial between conflicting interests and sections, than any other statesman who has lived since the Revolution. Thus with great versatility of talent, and the most catholic equality of favor, he identified every question, whether of domestic administration or foreign policy, with his own great name, and so became a perpetual Tribune of the people. He needed only to pronounce in favor of a measure or against it, here, and immediately popular enthusiasm, excited as by a magic wand, was felt, overcoming and dissolving all opposition in the Senate-Chamber.

"In this way he wrought a change in our political system, that I think was not foreseen by its founders. He converted this branch of the Legislature from a negative position, or one of equilibrium between the Executive and the House of Representatives, into the active ruling power of the Republic. Only time can disclose whether this great innovation shall be beneficent, or even permanent.

"Certainly, sir, the great lights of the Senate have set. The obscuration is not less palpable to the country than to us, who are left to grope our uncertain way here, as in a labyrinth, oppressed with self-distrust. The time, too, presents new embarrassments. We are rising to another and more sublime stage of national progress—that of expanding wealth and rapid territorial aggrandizement.

Our institutions throw a broad shadow across the St. Lawrence, and, stretching beyond the valley of Mexico, reach even to the plains of Central America, while the Sandwich Islands and the shores of China recognize their renovating influence. Wherever that influence is felt, a desire for protection under those institutions is awakened. Expansion seems to be regulated not by any difficulties of resistance, but by the moderation which results from our own internal constitution. No one knows how rapidly that restraint may give way. Who can tell how far or how fast it ought to yield? Commerce has brought the ancient continents near to us, and created necessities for new positions—perhaps connections or colonies there—and with the trade and friendship of the elder nations their conflicts and collisions are brought to our doors and to our hearts. Our sympathy kindles, or indifference extinguishes, the fires of freedom in foreign lands. Before we shall be fully conscious that a change is going on in Europe, we may find ourselves once more divided by that eternal line of separation that leaves on the one side those of our citizens who obey the impulses of sympathy, while on the other are found those who submit only to the counsels of prudence. Even prudence will soon be required to decide whether distant regions, East and West, shall come under our own protection, or be left to aggrandize a rapidly-spreading domain of hostile despotism.

"Sir, who among us is equal to these mighty questions? I fear there is no one. Nevertheless, the example of Henry Clay remains for our instruction. His genius has passed to the realms of light, but his virtues still live here for our emulation. With them there will remain also the protection and favor of the Most High, if by the practice of justice and the maintenance of freedom we shall deserve them. Let, then, the bier pass on. We will follow with sorrow, but not without hope, the reverend form that it bears to its final resting-place; and then, when that grave opens at our feet to receive so estimable a treasure, we will invoke the God of our fathers to send us new guides, like him that is now withdrawn, and give us wisdom to obey their instructions."

Mr. G. W. Jones.* "Mr. President: Of the vast number who mourn the departure of the great man whose voice has so often been heard in this Hall, I have peculiar cause to regret that dispensation which has removed him from among us. He was the guardian and director of my collegiate days; four of his sons were my college mates and warm friends. My intercourse with the father was that of a youth and a friendly adviser. I shall never cease to feel grateful to him—to his now heart-stricken and bereaved widow and children, for their many kindnesses to me during four or five years of my life. I had the pleasure of renewing my acquaintance with him, first, as a delegate in Congress, while he was a member of this body from 1835 to 1839, and again in 1848, as a member of this branch of Congress; and during the whole of which period, some eight years, none but the most kindly feeling existed between us.

"As an humble and unimportant Senator, it was my fortune to coöperate with him throughout the whole of the exciting session of 1849–'50—the labor and excitement of which is said to have precipitated his decease. That coöperation did not end with the accordant vote on this floor, but, in consequence of the unyielding opposition to the series of measures known as the 'Compromise,' extended to many private meetings held by its friends, at all of which Mr. Clay was present. And whether in public or

* George W. Jones (Democrat), of Iowa.

private life, he everywhere continued to inspire me with the most exalted estimate of his patriotism and statesmanship. Never shall I forget the many ardent appeals he made to Senators, in and out of the Senate, in favor of the settlement of our then unhappy sectional differences.

"Immediately after the close of that memorable session of Congress, during which the nation beheld his great and almost superhuman efforts upon this floor to sustain the wise counsels of the 'Father of his Country,' I accompanied him home to Ashland, at his invitation, to revisit the place where my happiest days had been spent, with the friends who there continued to reside. During that, to me, most agreeable and instructive journey, in many conversations, he evinced the utmost solicitude for the welfare and honor of the Republic, all tending to show that he believed the happiness of the people and the cause of liberty throughout the world depended upon the continuance of our glorious Union, and the avoidance of those sectional dissensions which could but alienate the affections of one portion of the people from another. With the sincerity and fervor of a true patriot, he warned his companions in that journey to withhold all aid from men who labored, and from every cause which tended, to sow the seeds of disunion in the land; and to oppose such, he declared himself willing to forego all the ties and associations of mere party.

"At a subsequent period, sir, this friend of my youth, at my earnest and repeated entreaties, consented to take a sea-voyage from New York to Havana. He remained at the latter place a fortnight, and then returned by New Orleans to Ashland. That excursion by sea, he assured me, contributed much to relieve him from the sufferings occasioned by the disease which has just terminated his eventful and glorious life. Would to Heaven that he could have been persuaded to abandon his duties as a Senator, and to have remained during the past winter and spring upon that Island of Cuba! The country would not now, perhaps, have been called to mourn his loss.

"In some matters of policy connected with the administration of our General Government, I have disagreed with him, yet the purity and sincerity of his motives I have never doubted; and as a true lover of his country, as an honorable and honest man, I trust his example will be reverenced and followed by the men of this and of succeeding generations."

Mr. Brooke.* "Mr. President: As an ardent personal admirer and political friend of the distinguished dead, I claim the privilege of adding my humble tribute of respect to his memory, and of joining in the general expression of sorrow that has gone forth from this Chamber. Death, at all times, is an instructive monitor as well as a mournful messenger; but when his fatal shaft hath stricken down the great in intellect and renown, how doubly impressive the lesson that it brings home to the heart that the grave is the common lot of all—the great leveler of all earthly distinctions! But at the same time we are taught that in one sense the good and great can never die; for the memory of their virtues and their bright example will live through all coming time in an immortality that blooms beyond the grave. The consolation of this thought may calm our sorrow; and, in the language of one of our own poets, it may be asked:—

'Why weep ye, then, for him, who, having run
The bound of man's appointed years, at last,
Life's blessings all enjoyed, life's labors done,
Serenely to his final rest has passed;
While the soft memory of his virtues yet
Lingers, like twilight hues when the bright sun has set?'

* Walter Brooke (Union, late Whig), of Mississippi.

"It would be doing no injustice, sir, to the living or the dead to say that no better specimen of the true American character can be found in our history than that of Mr. Clay. With no adventitious advantages of birth or fortune, he won his way by the efforts of his own genius to the highest distinction and honor. Ardently attached to the principles of civil and religious liberty, patriotism was with him both a passion and a sentiment—a passion that gave energy to his ambition, and a sentiment that pervaded all his thoughts and actions, concentrating them upon his country as the idol of his heart. The bold and manly frankness in the expression of his opinions which always characterized him has often been the subject of remark; and in all his victories it may be truly said he never 'stooped to conquer.' In his long and brilliant political career, personal considerations never for a single instant caused him to swerve from the strict line of duty, and none have ever doubted his deep sincerity in that memorable expression to Mr. Preston, 'Sir, I had rather be right than be President.'

"This is not the time nor the occasion, sir, to enter into a detail of the public services of Mr. Clay, interwoven as they are with the history of the country for half a century; but I can not refrain from adverting to the last crowning act of his glorious life—his great effort in the Thirty-first Congress for the preservation of the peace and integrity of this great Republic—as it was this effort that shattered his bodily strength and hastened the consummation of death. The Union of the States, as being essential to our prosperity and happiness, was the paramount proposition in his political creed, and the slightest symptom of danger to its perpetuity filled him with alarm, and called forth all the energies of his body and mind. In his earlier life he had met this danger and overcome it. In the conflict of contending factions it again appeared; and, coming forth from the repose of private life, to which age and infirmity had carried him, with unabated strength of intellect, he again entered upon the arena of political strife, and again success crowned his efforts, and peace and harmony were restored to a distracted people. But, unequal to the mighty struggle, his bodily strength sank beneath it, and he retired from the field of his glory to yield up his life as a holy sacrifice to his beloved country. It has well been said that peace has its victories as well as war; and how bright upon the page of history will be the record of this great victory of intellect, of reason, and of moral suasion, over the spirit of discord and sectional animosities!

"We this day, Mr. President, commit his memory to the regard and affection of his admiring countrymen. It is a consolation to them and to us to know that he died in full possession of his glorious intellect, and, what is better, in the enjoyment of that 'peace which the world can neither give' nor take away. He sank to rest as the full-orbed king of day, unshorn of a single beam, or rather like the planet of morning, his brightness was but eclipsed by the opening to him of a more full and perfect day—

> 'No waning of fire, no paling of ray,
> But rising, still rising, as passing away,
> Farewell, gallant eagle, thou'rt buried in light—
> God speed thee to heaven, lost star of our night.'"

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and, in pursuance thereof, the President *pro tem.* made the following appointments:—

Committee of Arrangements:

Mr. Hunter,	Mr. Jones, of Iowa,	Mr. Bright,
Mr. Dawson,	Mr. Cooper,	Mr. Smith.

Pall-Bearers:

Mr. Cass,	Mr. Dodge, of Wis.,	Mr. Atchison,
Mr. Mangum,	Mr. Pratt,	Mr. Bell.

Committee to attend the remains of the deceased to Kentucky:

Mr. Underwood,	Mr. Cass,	Mr. Houston,
Mr. Jones, of Tenn.,	Mr. Fish,	Mr. Stockton.

On motion by Mr. Underwood, it was

"*Resolved*, That as an additional mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn."

The House met at the usual hour, but was not called to order till ten minutes past two o'clock, in consequence of the death of Mr. Clay, the formal announcement of which was to be received from the Senate.

Rev. C. M. Butler (Chaplain), then addressed the Throne of Grace as follows:

"Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we beseech Thee to look upon us in love, to forgive us our sins, and to bestow upon us Thy blessing. Take us as a nation into Thy holy keeping. Bless the President and Congress of these United States, and all who are in authority; enable them faithfully and fraternally to accomplish Thy will, that they may enjoy Thy perpetual benediction.

"Heavenly Father, Thou hast in thy wise Providence seen fit to take out of this world the soul of him at whose departure a nation weeps. We bow in resignation to Thy blessed will, and acknowledge that Thou doest all things well. We thank Thee for the signal public services which the departed statesman, whose death we mourn to-day, was permitted to render to his country. We thank Thee for the circumstances of mercy and consolation connected with his sickness and his death. We thank Thee for the grace that sustained him in submissive patience amidst his protracted suffering, and for the testimony which Thou didst enable him to give to the power and excellency of thy gospel. We bless Thee that we are permitted to think of him, whose long suffering we mourn, as now resting in the peace and paradise of God.

"We commend to Thy fatherly care the bereaved wife, the children and the relatives of the departed. Remember them, O Lord, in mercy. Sanctify Thy fatherly correction to them. Endow their souls with patience under their affliction, and with resignation to Thy blessed will. Comfort them with a sense of Thy goodness, and enable them to prepare to follow him who has gone before them to that better world, where God wipes away all tears from those whom death has swallowed up in victory.

"We beseech Thee to bless this dispensation of Thy Providence to the members of this Congress here and now assembled, and to all who are engaged in the public service. Teach them that the glory of man is as the flower of the grass—that the fashion of this world passeth away. Teach them the folly of ambition, the sin of strife, and the nothingness of renown. Make them so to lay to heart this lesson of mortality as to live above the world, to seek Thy favor, to study Thy law, and in all their actions to aim at Thy glory, at the good of their own souls, and of the souls of their fellow men.

"And when we are called to go the way of all the earth, may we depart in the confidence of a certain faith—in the comfort of a reasonable, religious, and holy hope—in favor with Thee, our God, and perfect charity with the world. All of which we ask in the name and for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Savior. Amen."

The Journal of yesterday having been read,

A message was received from the Senate by the hands of Ashbury Dickins, Esq., its Secretary, announcing the death of Henry Clay, late Senator from Kentucky, and the adoption of the foregoing resolutions of that body.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE* rose and said:—

"Mr. Speaker: I rise to perform the melancholy duty of announcing to this body the death of Henry Clay, late a Senator in Congress from the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

"Mr. Clay expired at his lodgings in this city yesterday morning, at seventeen minutes past eleven o'clock, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His noble intellect was unclouded to the last. After protracted sufferings, he passed away without pain; and so gently did the spirit leave his frame, that the moment of departure was not observed by the friends who watched at his bedside. His last hours were cheered by the presence of an affectionate son, and he died surrounded by friends who, during his long illness, had done all that affection could suggest to soothe his sufferings.

"Although this sad event has been expected for many weeks, the shock it produced, and the innumerable tributes of respect to his memory exhibited on every side, and in every form, prove the depth of the public sorrow and the greatness of the public loss.

"Imperishably associated as his name has been for fifty years with every great event affecting the fortunes of our country, it is difficult to realize that he is indeed gone forever. It is difficult to feel that we shall see no more his noble form within these walls—that we shall hear no more his patriot tones, now rousing his countrymen to vindicate their rights against a foreign foe, now imploring them to preserve concord among themselves. We shall see him no more. The memory and the fruits of his services alone remain to us. Amidst the general gloom, the Capitol itself looks desolate, as if the genius of the place had departed. Already the intelligence has reached almost every quarter of the Republic, and a great people mourn with us, to-day, the death of their most illustrious citizen. Sympathizing, as we do, deeply, with his family and friends, yet private affliction is absorbed in the general sorrow. The spectacle of a whole community lamenting the loss of a great man, is far more touching than any manifestation of private grief. In speaking of a loss which is national, I will not attempt to describe the universal burst of grief with which Kentucky will receive these tidings. The attempt would be vain to depict the gloom that will cover her people, when they know that the pillar of fire has been removed which has guided their footsteps for the life of a generation.

"It is known to the country that, from the memorable session of 1849–'50, Mr. Clay's health gradually declined. Although several years of his Senatorial term remained, he did not propose to continue in the public service longer than the present session. He came to Washington chiefly to defend,

* John C Breckinridge (Democrat), of Kentucky.

if it should become necessary, the measures of Adjustment, to the adoption of which he so largely contributed; but the condition of his health did not allow him, at any time, to participate in the discussions of the Senate. During the winter he was confined almost wholly to his room, with slight changes in his condition, but gradually losing the remnant of his strength. During the long and dreary winter, he conversed much and cheerfully with his friends, and expressed a deep interest in public affairs. Although he did not expect a restoration to health, he cherished the hope that the mild season of spring would bring to him strength enough to return to Ashland, and die in the bosom of his family. But alas! spring that brings life to all nature, brought no life nor hope to him. After the month of March, his vital powers rapidly wasted, and for weeks he lay patiently awaiting the stroke of death. But the approach of the destroyer had no terrors for him. No clouds overhung his future. He met the end with composure, and his pathway to the grave was brightened by the immortal hopes which spring from the Christian faith.

"Not long before his death, having just returned from Kentucky, I bore to him a token of affection from his excellent wife. Never can I forget his appearanee, his manner, or his words. After speaking of his family, his friends, and his country, he changed the conversation to his own future, and looking on me with his fine eye undimmed, and his voice full of its original compass and melody, he said, 'I am not afraid to die, sir. I have hope, faith, and some confidence. I do not think any man can be entirely certain in regard to his future state, but I have an abiding trust in the merits and mediation of our Savior.' It will assuage the grief of his family to know that he looked hopefully beyond the tomb, and a Christian people will rejoice to hear that such a man in his last hours reposed with simplicity and confidence on the promises of the Gospel.

"It is the custom, on occasions like this, to speak of the parentage and childhood of the deceased, and to follow him, step by step, through life. I will not attempt to relate even all the great events of Mr. Clay's life, because they are familiar to the whole country, and it would be needless to enumerate a long list of public services which form a part of American history.

"Beginning life as a friendless boy, with few advantages save those conferred by nature, while yet a minor he left Virginia, the State of his birth, and commenced the practice of law at Lexington, in Kentucky. At a bar remarkable for its numbers and talent, Mr. Clay soon rose to the first rank. At a very early age, he was elected from the county of Fayette to the General Assembly of Kentucky, and was the Speaker of that body. Coming into the Senate of the United States, for the first time, in 1806, he entered upon a parliamentary career, the most brilliant and successful in our annals. From that time, he remained habitually in the public eye. As a Senator, as a member of this House, and its Speaker, as a representative of his country abroad, and as a high officer in the Executive department of the Government, he was intimately connected for fifty years with every great measure of American policy. Of the mere party measures of this period, I do not propose to speak. Many of them have passed away, and are remembered only as the occasion for the great intellectual efforts which marked their discussion. Concerning others, opinions are still divided. They will go into history, with the reasons on either side rendered by the greatest intellects of the time.

"As a leader in a deliberative body, Mr. Clay had no equal in America. In him, intellect, person, eloquence, and courage, united to form a character

fit to command. He fired with his own enthusiasm, and controlled by his amazing will, individuals and masses. No reverse could crush his spirit, nor defeat reduce him to despair. Equally erect and dauntless in prosperity and adversity, when successful, he moved to the accomplishment of his purposes with severe resolution; when defeated, he rallied his broken bands around him, and from his eagle-eye shot along their ranks the contagion of his own courage. Destined for a leader, he everywhere asserted his destiny. In his long and eventful life, he came in contact with men of all ranks and professions, but he never felt that he was in the presence of a man superior to himself. In the assemblies of the people, at the bar, in the Senate—everywhere within the circle of his personal presence, he assumed and maintained a position of preëminence.

"But the supremacy of Mr. Clay as a party leader, was not his only nor his highest title to renown. That title is to be found in the purely patriotic spirit which, on great occasions, always signalized his conduct. We have had no statesman who, in periods of real and imminent public peril, has exhibited a more genuine and enlarged patriotism than Henry Clay. Whenever a question presented itself actually threatening the existence of the Union, Mr. Clay, rising above the passions of the hour, always exerted his powers to solve it peacefully and honorably. Although more liable than most men, from his impetuous and ardent nature, to feel strongly the passions common to us all, it was his rare faculty to be able to subdue them in a great crisis, and to hold toward all sections of the Confederacy the language of concord and brotherhood.

"Sir, it will be a proud pleasure to every true American heart to remember the great occasions when Mr. Clay has displayed a sublime patriotism—when the ill-temper engendered by the times, and the miserable jealousies of the day, seemed to have been driven from his bosom, by the expulsive power of nobler feelings—when every throb of his heart was given to his country, every effort of his intellect dedicated to her service. Who does not remember the three periods when the American system of Government was exposed to its severest trials; and who does not know that when History shall relate the struggles which preceded the dangers which were averted by the Missouri Compromise, the Tariff Compromise of 1833, and the Adjustment of 1850, the same pages will record the genius, the eloquence, and the patriotism of Henry Clay?

"Nor was it in Mr. Clay's nature to lag behind until measures of adjustment were matured, and then come forward to swell a majority. On the contrary, like a bold and real statesman, he was ever among the first to meet the peril, and hazard his fame upon the remedy. It is fresh in the memory of us all that, when lately the fury of sectional discord threatened to sever the Confederacy, Mr. Clay, though withdrawn from public life, and oppressed by the burden of years, came back to the Senate, the theatre of his glory, and devoted the remnant of his strength to the sacred duty of preserving the union of the States.

"With characteristic courage, he took the lead in proposing a scheme of settlement. But, while he was willing to assume the responsibility of proposing a plan, he did not, with petty ambition, insist upon its adoption to the exclusion of other modes; but, taking his own as a starting-point for discussion and practical action, he nobly labored with his compatriots to change and improve it in such form as to make it an acceptable adjustment. Throughout the long and arduous struggle, the love of country expelled from his bosom the spirit of selfishness, and Mr. Clay proved, for the third time, that though he was ambitious, and loved glory, he had no ambition to mount

to fame on the confusions of his country. And this conviction is lodged in the hearts of the people; the party measures and the party passions of former times have not, for several years, interposed between Mr. Clay and the masses of his countrymen. After 1850, he seemed to feel that his mission was accomplished, and during the same period, the regards and affections of the American people have been attracted to him in a remarkable degree. For many months the warmest feelings—the deepest anxieties of all parties centered upon the dying statesman; the glory of his great actions shed a mellow lustre on his declining years, and to fill the measure of his fame, his countrymen, weaving for him the laurel wreath, with common hands, did bind it about his venerable brows, and send him, crowned, to history.

"The life of Mr. Clay, sir, is a striking example of the abiding fame which surely awaits the direct and candid statesman. The entire absence of equivocation or disguise in all his acts, was his master-key to the popular heart; for while the people will forgive the errors of a bold and open nature, he sins past forgiveness who deliberately deceives them. Hence Mr. Clay, though often defeated in his measures of policy, always secured the respect of his opponents without losing the confidence of his friends. He never paltered in a double sense. The country never was in doubt as to his opinions or his purposes. In all the contests of his time, his position on great public questions was as clear as the sun in the cloudless sky. Sir, standing by the grave of this great man, and considering these things, how contemptible does appear the mere legerdemain of politics! What a reproach is his life on that false policy which would trifle with a great and upright people! If I were to write his epitaph, I would inscribe as the highest eulogy, on the stone which shall mark his resting-place, 'Here lies a man who was in the public service for fifty years, and never attempted to deceive his countrymen.'

"While the youth of America should imitate his noble qualities, they may take courage from his career, and note the high proof it affords that, under our equal institutions, the avenues to honor are open to all. Mr. Clay rose by the force of his own genius, unaided by power, patronage, or wealth. At an age when our young men are usually advanced to the higher schools of learning, provided only with the rudiments of an English education, he turned his steps to the West, and, amidst the rude collisions of a border life, matured a character whose highest exhibitions were destined to mark eras in his country's history. Beginning on the frontiers of American civilization, the orphan boy, supported only by the consciousness of his own powers, and by the confidence of the people, surmounted all the barriers of adverse fortune, and won a glorious name in the annals of his country. Let the generous youth, fired with honorable ambition, remember that the American system of government offers on every hand bounties to merit. If, like Clay, orphanage, obscurity, poverty, shall oppress him; yet if, like Clay, he feels the Promethean spark within, let him remember that his country, like a generous mother, extends her arms to welcome and to cherish every one of her children whose genius and worth may promote her prosperity or increase her renown.

"Mr. Speaker, the signs of wo around us, and the general voice, announce that another great man has fallen. Our consolation is that he was not taken in the vigor of his manhood, but sunk into the grave at the close of a long and illustrious career. The great statesmen who have filled the largest space in the public eye, one by one, are passing away. Of the three great leaders of the Senate, one alone remains, and he must follow soon. We shall witness no more their intellectual struggles in the American forum; but the

monuments of their genius will be cherished as the common property of the people, and their names will continue to confer dignity and renown upon their country.

"Not less illustrious than the greatest of these will be the name of Clay—a name pronounced with pride by Americans in every quarter of the globe; a name to be remembered while history shall record the struggles of modern Greece for freedom, or the spirit of liberty burn in the South American bosom; a living and immortal name—a name that would descend to posterity without the aid of letters, borne by tradition from generation to generation. Every memorial of such a man will possess a meaning and a value to his countrymen. His tomb will be a hallowed spot. Great memories will cluster there, and his countrymen, as they visit it, may well exclaim—

'Such graves as his are pilgrim shrines,
Shrines to no creed confined;
The Delphian vales, the Palestines,
The Meccas of the mind.'

"Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolutions:—

"*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives of the United States has received, with the deepest sensibility, intelligence of the death of Henry Clay.

"*Resolved*, That the officers and members of the House of Representatives will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days, as a testimony of the profound respect this House entertains for the memory of the deceased.

"*Resolved*, That the officers and members of the House of Representatives, in a body, will attend the funeral of Henry Clay, on the day appointed for that purpose by the Senate of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this House, in relation to the death of Henry Clay, be communicated to the family of the deceased by the Clerk.

"*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect for the memory of the deceased, this House do now adjourn."

Mr. Ewing* rose and said: "A noble heart has ceased to beat for ever. A long life of brilliant and self-devoted public service is finished at last, and we now stand at its conclusion, looking back through the changeful history of that life to its beginning, contemporaneous with the very birth of the Republic, and its varied events mingled in our hearts and our memories—with the triumph and calamities, the weakness and the power, the adversity and prosperity of a country we love so much. As we contemplate this sad event in this place, the shadows of the past gather over us; the memories of events long gone crowd upon us, and the shades of departed patriots seem to hover about us, waiting to receive into their midst the spirit of one who was worthy to be a colaborer, with them in a common cause, and to share in the rewards of their virtues. Henceforth he must be to us as one of them.

"They say he was ambitious. If so, it was a grievous fault, and grievously has he answered it. He has found in it naught but disappointment. It has but served to aggravate the mortification of his defeats, and furnish an additional lustre to the triumph of his foes. Those who come after us may, ay, they will, inquire why his statue stands not among the statues of those whom men thought ablest and worthiest to govern.

"But his ambition was a high and holy feeling, unselfish, magnanimous. Its aspirations were for his country's good, and its triumph was his country's prosperity. Whether in honor or reproach, in triumph or defeat, that heart of his never throbbed with one pulsation save for her honor and her welfare. Turn to him in that last, best deed, and crowning glory of a life so full of public service and of honor, when his career of personal ambition was

* Presley Ewing (Whig), of Kentucky.

finished for ever. Rejected again and again by his countrymen; just abandoned by a party which would scarce have had an existence without his genius, his courage, and his labors, that great heart, ever firm and defiant to the assaults of his enemies, but defenceless against the ingratitude of friends, doubtless wrung with the bitterest mortification of his life; then it was, and under such circumstances as these, the gathering storm rose upon his country. All eyes turned to him; all voices called for those services which, in the hour of prosperity and security, they had so carelessly rejected. With no misanthropic chagrin, with no morose, selfish resentment, he forgot all but his country and that country endangered. He returns to the scene of his labors and his fame, which he had thought to have left for ever. A scene—that American Senate-Chamber, clothed in no gorgeous drapery, shrouded in no superstitious awe or ancient reverence for hereditary power, but to a reflecting American mind more full of interest, of dignity, and of grandeur, than any spot on this broad earth, not made holy by religion's consecrating seal. See him as he enters there, tremblingly, but hopefully, upon the last, most momentous, perhaps most doubtful conflict of his life. Sir, many a gay tournament has been more dazzling to the eye of fancy, more gorgeous and imposing in the display of jewelry and cloth of gold, in the sound of heralds' trumpets, in the grand array of princely beauty and of royal pride. Many a battle-field has trembled beneath a more ostentatious parade of human power, and its conquerors have been crowned with laurels, honored with triumphs, and apotheosized amid the demigods of History; but to the thoughtful, hopeful, philanthropic student of the annals of his race, never was there a conflict in which such dangers were threatened, such hopes imperiled, or the hero of which deserved a warmer gratitude, a nobler triumph, or a prouder monument.

"Sir, from that long, anxious, and exhausting conflict he never rose again. In that last battle for his country's honor, and his country's safety, he received the mortal wound which laid him low; and we now mourn the death of a martyred patriot.

"But never, in all the grand drama which the story of his life arrays, never has he presented a sublimer or a more touching spectacle than in those last days of his decline and death. Broken with the storms of state, wounded and scathed in many a fiery conflict, that aged, worn, and decayed body, in such mournful contrast with the never-dying strength of his giant spirit, he seemed a proud and sacred, though a crumbling monument of past glory. Standing among us like some ancient colossal ruin amid the degenerate and more diminutive structures of modern times, its vast proportions magnified by the contrast, he reminded us of those days when there were giants in the land, and we remembered that even then there was none whose prowess could withstand his arm. To watch him in that slow decline, yielding with dignity, and as it were inch by inch, to that last enemy, as a hero yields to a conquering foe, the glorious light of his intellect blazing still in all its wonted brilliancy, and setting at defiance the clouds that vainly attempted to obscure it, he was more full of interest than in the day of his glory and his power. There are some men whose brightest intellectual emanations rise so little superior to the instincts of the animal, that we are led fearfully to doubt that cherished truth of the soul's immortality, which, even in despair, men press to their doubting hearts. But it is in the death of such a man as he that we are reassured by the contemplation of a kindred though superior spirit, of a soul which, immortal like his fame, knows no old age, no decay, no death.

"The wondrous light of his unmatched intellect may have dazzled a

world: the eloquence of that inspired tongue may have enchanted millions, but there are few who have sounded the depths of that noble heart. To see him in sickness and in health, in joy and in sadness, in the silent watches of the night and in the busy daytime—this it was to know and love him. To see the impetuous torrent of that resistless will; the hurricane of those passions, hushed in peace, breathe calm and gently as a summer zephyr; to feel the gentle pressure of that hand in the grasp of friendship which in the rage of fiery conflict could hurl scorn and defiance at his foe; to see that eagle eye, which oft would burn with patriotic ardor, or flash with the lightning of his anger, beam with the kindliest expressions of tenderness and affection—then it was, and then alone, we could learn to know and feel that that heart was warmed by the same sacred fire from above which enkindled the light of his resplendent intellect. In the death of such a man even patriotism itself might pause, and for a moment stand aloof while friendship shed a tear of sorrow upon his bier.

> 'His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, *This was a man!*'

"But who can estimate his country's loss? what tongue portray the desolation which, in this house, throughout this broad land, hangs a gloomy pall over his grief-stricken countrymen? How poorly can words like mine translate the eloquence of a whole people's grief for a patriot's death! For a nation's loss let a nation mourn. For that stupendous calamity to our country and mankind, be the heavens hung with black; let the wailing elements chant his dirge, and the universal heart of man throb with one common pang of grief and anguish."

Mr. CASKIE.* "Mr. Speaker: I must try to lay a single laurel leaf in that open coffin which is already garlanded by the eloquent tributes to the illustrious departed, which have been heard in this now solemn Hall—for I come, sir, from the district of his birth. I represent on this floor that old Hanover so proud of her Henrys—her Patrick Henry, and her Henry Clay. I speak for a people among whom he has always had as earnest and devoted friends as were ever the grace and glory of a patriot and statesman.

"I shall attempt no sketch of his life. That you have had from other and abler hands than mine. Till yesterday that life was, of his own free gift, the property of his country; to-day it belongs to her history. It is known to all, and will not be forgotten. Constant, stern opponent of his political school as has been my State, I say for her, that nowhere in this broad land are his great qualities more admired, or his death more mourned, than in Virginia. Well may this be so; for she is his mother, and he was her son.

"Mr. Speaker, when I remember the party strifes in which he was so much mingled, and through which we all more or less have passed, and then survey this scene, and think how far, as the lightning has borne the news that he is gone, half-masted flags are drooping and church-bells are tolling, and men are sorrowing—I can but feel that it is good for man to die. For when death enters, oh! how the unkindnesses, and jealousies, and rivalries of life do vanish, and how, like incense from an altar, do peace and friendship, and all the sweet charities of our nature, rise around the corpse which was once a man.

"And of a truth, Mr. Speaker, never was more of veritable, noble manhood cased in mortal mould than was found in him to whose memory this

* John S. Caskie (Democrat) of Richmond District, Virginia.

brief and humble, but true and heartfelt, tribute is paid. But his eloquent voice is hushed, his high heart is stilled. 'Like a shock of corn fully ripe, he has been gathered to his fathers.' With more than threescore years and ten upon him, and honors clustered thick about him, in the full possession of unclouded intellect, and all the consolations of Christianity, he has met the fate which is evitable by none. Lamented by all his countrymen, his name is bright on Fame's immortal roll. He has finished his course, and he has his crown. What more fruit can life bear? What can it give that Henry Clay has not gained?

"Then, Mr. Speaker, around his tomb should be heard not only the dirge that wails his loss, but the jubilant anthem which sounds that on the world's great battle-field another victory has been won, another incontestable greatness achieved."

Mr. CHANDLER* said: "Mr. Speaker, it would seem as if the solemn invocation of the honorable gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Ewing] was receiving an early answer, and that the heavens are hung in black, and the wailing elements are singing the funeral dirge of Henry Clay. Amid this elemental gloom and the distress which pervades the nation at the death of Henry Clay, private grief should not obtrude itself upon notice, nor personal anguish seek for utterance. Silence is the best exponent of individual sorrow, and the heart that knoweth its own bitterness shrinks from an exposition of its affliction.

"Could I have consulted my own feelings on the event which occupies the attention of the House at the present moment, I should even have forborne attendance here, and, in the solitude and silence of my chamber, have mused upon the terrible lesson which has been administered to the people and the nation. But I represent a constituency who justly pride themselves upon the unwavering attachment they have ever felt and manifested to Henry Clay—a constant, pervading, hereditary love; the son has taken up the father's affection, and, amid all the professions of political attachments to others, whom the accidents of party have made prominent, and the success of party has made powerful, true to his own instincts, and true to the sanctified legacy of his father, he has placed the name of Henry Clay forward and preëminent as the exponent of what is greatest in statesmanship, and purest in patriotism. And even, sir, when party fealty caused other attachments to be avowed for party uses, the preference was limited to the occupancy of office, and superiority admitted for Clay in all that is reckoned above party estimation.

"Nor ought I to forbear to add that, as the senior member of the delegation which represents my Commonwealth, I am requested to utter the sentiments of the people of Pennsylvania at large, who yield to no portion of this great Union in their appreciation of the talents, their reverence for the lofty patriotism, their admiration of the statesmanship, and hereafter their love of the memory of Henry Clay.

"I can not, therefore, be silent on this occasion, without injustice to the affections of my constituency, even though I painfully feel how inadequate to the reverence and love my people have toward that statesman must be all that I have to utter on this mournful occasion.

"I know not, Mr. Chairman, where now the nation is to find the men she needs in peril—either other calls than those of politics are holding in abeyance the talents which the nation may need, or else a generation is to pass undistinguished by the greatness of our statesmen. Of the noble minds

* Joseph R. Chandler (Whig) of Philadelphia city, Pa.

that have swayed the Senate, one yet survives in the maturity of powerful intellect, carefully disciplined and nobly exercised. May He who has thus far blessed our nation, spare to her and the world, that of which the world must always envy our country the possession. But my business is with the dead.

"The biography of Henry Clay, from his childhood upward, is too familiar to every American, for me to trespass on the time of this House by a reference directly thereto; and the honorable gentlemen who have preceded me have, with affectionate hand and appropriate delicacy, swept away the dust which nearly fourscore years have scattered over a part of the record, and have made our pride greater in his life, and our grief more poignant at his death, by showing some of those passages which attract respect to our republican institutions, of which Mr. Clay's whole life was the able support and most successful illustration.

"It would, then, be a work of supererogation for me to renew that effort, though inquiry into the life and conduct of Henry Clay would present new themes for private eulogy, new grounds for public gratitude.

"How rare is it, Mr. Speaker, that the great man living, can, with confidence, rely on extensive personal friendship, or, dying, think to awaken a sentiment of regret beyond that which includes the public loss or the disappointment of individual hopes! Yet, sir, the message which yesterday went forth from this city, that Henry Clay was dead, brought sorrow, personal, private, special sorrow, to the hearts of thousands, each of whom felt that from his own love for, his long attachment to, his disinterested hopes in, Henry Clay, he had a particular sorrow to cherish and express, which weighed upon his heart, separate from the sense of national loss.

"No man, Mr. Speaker, in our nation, had the art so to identify himself with public measures of the most momentous character, and to maintain, at the same time, almost universal affection, like that great statesman. His business, from his boyhood, was with national concerns, and he dealt with them as with familiar things. And yet his sympathies were with individual interests, enterprises, affections, joys, and sorrows; and while every patriot bowed in humble deference to his lofty attainments and heartfelt gratitude for his national services, almost every man in this vast Republic knew that the great statesman was, in feeling and experience, identified with his own position. Hence, the universal love of the people; hence, their enthusiasm in all times, for his fame. Hence, sir, their present grief.

"Many other public men of our country have distinguished themselves, and brought honor to the nation, by superiority in some peculiar branch of the public service; but it seems to have been the gift of Mr. Clay to have acquired peculiar eminence in every path of duty he was called to tread. In the earnestness of debate, which great public interests and distinguished opposing talents excited in this House, he had no superior in energy, force, or effect. Yet as the presiding officer, by blandness of language, and firmness of purpose, he soothed and made orderly; and thus, by official dignity, he commanded the respect which energy had secured to him on the floor.

Wherever official or social duties demanded an exercise of his power, there was a preëminence which seemed prescriptively his own. In the lofty debate of the Senate and the stirring harangues to popular assemblages, he was the orator of the nation, and of the people; and the sincerity of purpose and the unity of design evinced in all he said or did, fixed in the public mind a confidence strong and expansive as the affections he had won.

"Year after year, sir, has Henry Clay been achieving the work of the

mission with which he was intrusted; and it was only when the warmest wishes of his warmest friends were disappointed that he entered on the fruition of a patriot's highest hopes, and stood in the full enjoyment of that admiration and confidence which nothing but the antagonism of party relations could have divided.

"How rich that enjoyment must have been, it is only for us to imagine. How eminently deserved it was, we and the world can attest.

"The love and the devotion of his political friends were cheering and grateful to his heart, and were acknowledged in all his life—were recognized even to his death.

"The contest in the Senate-Chamber or the forum was rewarded with success achieved, and the great victor could enjoy the ovation which partial friendship or the gratitude of the benefited prepared. But the triumph of his life was no party achievement. It was not in the applause which admiring friends and defeated antagonists offered to his measureless success that he found the reward of his labors and comprehended the extent of his mission.

"It was only when friends and antagonists paused in their contests, appalled at the public difficulties and national dangers which had been accumulating, unseen and unregarded; it was only when the nation itself felt the danger, and acknowledged the inefficacy of party action as a remedy, that Henry Clay calculated the full extent of his powers, and enjoyed the reward of their saving exercise. Then, sir, you saw, and I saw, party designations dropped, and party allegiance disavowed, and anxious patriots, of all localities and names, turn toward the country's benefactor as the man for the terrible exigencies of the hour; and the sick chamber of Henry Clay became the Delphos, whence were given out the oracles that presented the means and the measures of our Union's safety. There, sir, and not in the high places of the country, were the labors and sacrifices of half a century to be rewarded and closed. With his right yet in that Senate which he had entered the youngest, and lingered till the eldest, member, he felt that his work was done, and the object of his life accomplished. Every cloud that had dimmed the noonday lustre had been dissipated; and the retiring orb, which sunk from the sight of the nation in fullness and in beauty, will yet pour up the horizon a posthumous glory that shall tell of the splendor and greatness of the luminary that has passed away."

Mr. Bayly.* "Mr. Speaker: Although I have been all my life a party opponent of Mr. Clay, yet from my boyhood I have been upon terms of personal friendship with him. More than twenty years ago, I was introduced to him by my father, who was his personal friend. From that time to this, there has existed between us as great personal intimacy as the disparity in our years and our political difference would justify. After I became a member of this House, and upon his return to the Senate, subsequent to his resignation in 1842, the warm regard upon his part for the daughter of a devoted friend of forty years' standing, made him a constant visitor at my house, and frequently a guest at my table. These circumstances make it proper that, upon this occasion, I should pay this last tribute to his memory. I not only knew him well as a statesman, but I knew him better in the most unreserved social intercourse. The most happy circumstance, as I esteem it, of my political life has been, that I have thus known each of our great Congressional triumvirate.

* Gen. Thomas H. Bayly (Democrat) of Virginia.

"I, sir, never knew a man of higher qualities than Mr. Clay. His very faults originated in high qualities. With greater self-possession, with greater self-reliance, than any man I ever knew, he possessed moral and physical courage to as high a degree as any man who ever lived. Confident in his own judgment, never doubting as to his own course, fearing no obstacle that might lie in his way, it was almost impossible that he should not have been imperious in his character. Never doubting himself as to what he thought duty and patriotism required at his hands, it was natural that he should sometimes have been impatient with those more doubting and timid than himself. His were qualities to have made a great general, as they were qualities that did make him a great statesman, and these qualities were so obvious that during the darkest period of our late war with Great Britain, Mr. Madison had determined, at one time, to make him General-in-Chief of the American army.

"Sir, it is but a short time since the American Congress buried the first one that went to the grave of that great triumvirate. We are now called upon to bury another. The third, thank God! still lives, and long may he live to enlighten his countrymen by his wisdom, and set them the example of exalted patriotism. Sir, in the lives and characters of these great men, there is much resembling those of the great triumvirate of the British Parliament. It differs principally in this: Burke preceded Fox and Pitt to the tomb. Webster survives Clay and Calhoun. When Fox and Pitt died, there were no others to fill their place. Webster still lives, now that Calhoun and Clay are dead, the unrivaled statesman of his country. Like Fox and Pitt, Clay and Calhoun lived in troubled times. Like Fox and Pitt they were each of them the leader of rival parties. Like Fox and Pitt they were idolized by their respective friends. Like Fox and Pitt, they died about the same time, and in the public service; and as has been said of Fox and Pitt, Clay and Calhoun died with 'their harness upon them.' Like Fox and Pitt—

> 'With more than mortal powers endowed,
> How high they soared above the crowd;
> Theirs was no common party race,
> Jostling by dark intrigue for place—
> Like fabled gods, their mighty war
> Shook realms and nations in its jar.
> Beneath each banner, proud to stand,
> Looked up the noblest of the land.
>
> * * * *
>
> 'Here let their discord with them die.
> Speak not for those a separate doom,
> Whom fate made brothers in the tomb;
> But search the land of living men,
> Where wilt thou find their like again?'

Mr. VENABLE.* "Mr. Speaker: I trust that I shall be pardoned for adding a few words upon this sad occasion. The life of the illustrious statesman which has just terminated is so interwoven with our history, and the lustre of his great name so profusely shed over its pages, that simple admiration of his high qualities might well be my excuse. But it is a sacred privilege to draw near—to contemplate the end of the great and good. It is profitable as well as purifying to look upon and realize the office of death in removing all that can excite jealousy or produce distrust, and to gaze upon the virtues which like jewels have survived his powers of destruction. The light which radiates from the life of a great and patriotic statesman is

ham W. Venable (State Rights Democrat), of North Carolina.

often dimmed by the mists which party conflicts throw around it. But the blast which strikes him down purifies the atmosphere which surrounded him in life, and it shines forth in bright examples and well-earned renown. It is then that we witness the sincere acknowledgment of gratitude by a people who, having enjoyed the benefits arising from the services of an eminent statesman, embalm his name in their memory and hearts. We should cherish such recollections as well from patriotism as self-respect. Ours, sir, is now the duty, in the midst of sadness, in this high place, in the face of our Republic, and before the world, to pay this tribute by acknowledging the merits of our colleague whose name has ornamented the Journals of Congress for near half a century. Few, very few, have ever combined the high intellectual powers and distinguished gifts of this illustrious Senator. Cast in the finest mould by nature, he more than fulfilled the anticipations which were indulged by those who looked to a distinguished career as the certain result of that zealous pursuit of fame and usefulness upon which he entered in early life. Of the incidents of that life it is unnecessary for me to speak—they are as familiar as household words, and must be equally familiar to those who come after us. But it is useful to refresh memory by recurrence to some of the events which marked his career. We know, sir, that there is much that is in common in the histories of distinguished men. The elements which constitute greatness are the same in all times; hence those who have been the admiration of their generations present in their lives much which, although really great, ceases to be remarkable, because illustrated by such numerous examples—

> 'But there are deeds which should not pass away,
> And names that must not wither.'

"Of such deeds the life of Henry Clay affords many and bright examples. His own name, and those with whom he associated, shall live with a freshness which time can not impair, and shine with a brightness which passing years can not dim. His advent into public life was as remarkable for the circumstances as it was brilliant in its effect. It was at a time in which genius and learning, statesmanship and eloquence, made the American Congress the most august body in the world. He was the cotemporary of a race of statesmen—some of whom then administering the Government, and others retiring and retired from office—presented an array of ability unsurpassed in our history. The elder Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Clinton, Gallatin, and Monroe, stood before the Republic in the maturity of their fame while Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, Lowndes, Crawford, Gaston, Randolph, and Cheves, with a host of others, rose a bright galaxy upon our horizon. He who won his spurs in such a field earned his knighthood. Distinction amid such competition was true renown—

> 'The fame which a man wins for himself is best—
> That he may call his own.'

"It was such a fame that he made for himself in that most eventful era in our history. To me, sir, the recollection of that day, and of the events which distinguish it, is filled with an overpowering interest. I never can forget my enthusiastic admiration of the boldness, the eloquence, and the patriotism of Henry Clay during the war of 1812. In the bright array of talent which adorned the Congress of the United States; in the conflict growing out of the political events of that time; in the struggles of party, and amid the gloom and disasters which depressed the spirits of most men, and well nigh paralyzed the energies of the Administration, his cheerful face, high bearing, commanding eloquence, and iron will, gave strength

and consistency to those elements which finally gave not only success but glory to the country. When dark clouds hovered over us, and there was little to save from despair, the country looked with hope to Clay and Calhoun, to Lowndes, and Crawford, and Cheves, and looked not in vain. The unbending will, the unshaken nerve, and the burning eloquence of Henry Clay did as much to command confidence and sustain hope as even the news of our first victory after a succession of defeats. Those great names are now canonized in history; he, too, has passed to join them on its pages. Associated in his long political life with the illustrious Calhoun, he survived him but two years. Many of us heard his eloquent tribute to his memory in the Senate-chamber on the annunciation of his death. And we this day unite in a similar manifestation of reverential regard to him whose voice shall never more charm the ear, whose burning thoughts, borne on that medium, shall no more move the hearts of listening assemblies.

"In the midst of the highest specimens of our race, he was always an equal; *he was a man among men.* Bold, skillful, and determined, he gave character to the party which acknowledged him as a leader; impressed his opinions upon their minds, and an attachment to himself upon their hearts. No man, sir, can do this without being eminently great. Whoever attains this position, must first overcome the aspirations of antagonist ambition, quiet the clamors of rivalry, hold in check the murmurs of jealousy, and overcome the instincts of vanity and self-love in the masses thus subdued to his control. But few men ever attain it. Very rare are the examples of those whose plastic touch forms the minds and directs the purposes of a great political party. This infallible indication of superiority belonged to Mr. Clay. He has exercised that control during a long life; and now, through our broad land the tidings of his death, borne with electric speed, have opened the fountains of sorrow. Every city, town, village, and hamlet, will be clothed with mourning; along our extended coast, the commercial and military marine, with flags drooping at half-mast, own the bereavement; State-houses draped in black, proclaim the extinguishment of one of the great lights of Senates; and minute-guns sound his requiem!

"Sir, during the last five years, I have seen the venerable John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay, pass from among us, the legislators of our country. The race of giants who 'were on the earth in those days' is well-nigh gone. Despite their skill, their genius, their might, they have sunk under the stroke of time. They were our admiration and our glory; a few linger with us, the monuments of former greatness, the beacon-lights of a past age. The death of Henry Clay can not fail to suggest melancholy associations to each member of this House. These walls have reëchoed the silvery tones of his bewitching voice; listening assemblies have hung upon his lips. The chair which you fill has been graced by his presence, while his commanding person, and unequaled parliamentary attainments, inspired all with deference and respect. Chosen by acclamation, because of his high qualifications, he sustained himself before the House and the country. In his supremacy with his party, and the uninterrupted confidence which he enjoyed to the day of his death, he seems to have almost discredited the truth of those lines addressed to Cæsar—

> 'Non possunt primi esse omnes omni in tempore,
> Summum ad gradum cum claritatis veneris,
> Consistes ægre, et citius, quam ascendas, cades.'*

> * 'All can not be at all times first:
> To reach the topmost step of glory; to stand there
> More hard. Even swifter than we mount we fall.'

"If not at all times first, he stood equal with the foremost, and a brilliant, rapid rise knew no decline in the confidence of those whose just appreciation of his merits had confirmed his title to renown.

"The citizens of other countries will deplore his death; the struggling patriots who on our own continent were cheered by his sympathies, and who must have perceived his influence in the recognition of their independence by this Government, have taught their children to venerate his name. He won the civic crown, and the demonstrations of this hour own the worth of civil services.

"It was with great satisfaction that I heard my friend from Kentucky [Mr. Breckinridge], the immediate representative of Mr. Clay, detail a conversation which disclosed the feelings of that eminent man in relation to his Christian hope. These, Mr. Speaker, are rich memorials, precious reminiscences. A Christian statesman is the glory of his age, and his memory will be glorious in after-times; it reflects a light coming from a source which clouds can not dim nor shadows obscure. It was my privilege, also, a short time since, to converse with this distinguished statesman on the subject of his hopes in a future state. Feeling a deep interest, I asked him frankly what were his hopes in the world to which he was evidently hastening. 'I am pleased,' said he, 'my friend, that you have introduced the subject. Conscious that I must die very soon, I love to meditate upon the most important of all interests. I love to converse and to hear conversations about them. The vanity of the world, and its insufficiency to satisfy the soul of man, has been long a settled conviction of my mind. Man's inability to secure by his own merits the approbation of God, I feel to be true. I trust in the atonement of the Savior of men, as the ground of my acceptance and my hope of salvation. My faith is feeble, but I hope in His mercy and trust in His promises.' To such declarations I listened with the deepest interest, as I did on another occasion, when he said: 'I am willing to abide the will of Heaven, and ready to die when that will shall determine it.'

"He is gone, sir, professing the humble hope of a Christian. That hope, alone, sir, can sustain you, or any of us. There is one lonely and crushed heart that has bowed before this afflictive event. Far away, at Ashland, a widowed wife, prevented by feeble health from attending his bedside and soothing his painful hours, she has thought even the electric speed of the intelligence daily transmitted of his condition, too slow for her aching, anxious bosom. She will find consolation in his Christian submission, and will draw all of comfort that such a case admits from the assurance that nothing was neglected by the kindness of friends which could supply her place. May the guardianship of the widow's God be her protection, and His consolations her support!"

Mr. Haven* said: "Mr Speaker, representing a constituency distinguished for the constancy of its devotion to the political principles of Mr. Clay, and for its unwavering attachment to his fortunes and his person—sympathizing deeply with those whose more intimate personal relations with him have made them feel most profoundly this general bereavement—I desire to say a few words of him, since he has fallen among us, and been taken to his rest.

"After the finished eulogies which have been so eloquently pronounced by the honorable gentlemen who have preceded me, I will avoid a course of remark which might otherwise be deemed a repetition, and refer to the bearing of some of the acts of the deceased upon the interests and destinies of

* Solomon G. Haven (Whig), of Erie (formerly Mr. Fillmore's) District, New York.

my own State. The influence of his public life, and of his *purely American character*, the benefits of his wise forecast, and the results of his efforts for wholesome and rational progress, are nowhere more strongly exhibited than in the State of New York.

"Our appreciation of his anxiety for the general diffusion of knowledge and education, is manifested in our twelve thousand public libraries, our equal number of common schools, and a large number of higher institutions of learning—all of which drew portions of their support from the share of the proceeds of the public lands, which his wise policy gave to our State. Our whole people are thus constantly reminded of their great obligations to the statesman whose death now afflicts the nation with sorrow. Our extensive public works attest our conviction of the utility and importance of the system of Internal Improvements he so ably advocated; and their value and productiveness afford a most striking evidence of the soundness and wisdom of his policy. Nor has his influence been less sensibly felt in our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. Every department of human industry acknowledges his fostering care, and the people of New York are, in no small measure, indebted to his statesmanship for the wealth, comfort, contentment, and happiness so widely and generally diffused throughout the State.

"Well may New York cherish his memory and acknowledge with gratitude the benefits that his life has conferred. That memory will be cherished throughout the Republic.

"When internal discord and sectional strife have threatened the integrity of the Union, his just weight of character, his large experience, his powers of conciliation and acknowledged patriotism, have enabled him to pacify the angry passions of his countrymen, and to raise the bow of promise and of hope upon the clouds which have darkened the political horizon.

"He has passed from among us, ripe in wisdom and pure in character—full of years and full of honors. He has breathed his last amidst the blessings of a united and a grateful nation.

"He was, in my judgment, particularly fortunate in the time of his death.

"He lived to see his country, guided by his wisdom, come once again unhurt out of trying sectional difficulties and domestic strife; and he has closed his eyes in death upon that country while it is in the enjoyment of profound peace, busy with industry, and blessed with unequaled prosperity.

It can fall to the lot of but few to die amidst so warm a gratitude flowing from the hearts of their countrymen; and none can leave a brighter example or a more enduring fame.

"Mr. Brooks.* Mr. Speaker, I rise to add my humble tribute to the memory of a great and good man now to be gathered to his fathers. I speak for and from a community, in whose hearts is enshrined the name of him whom we mourn; who, however much Virginia, the land of his birth, or Kentucky, the land of his adoption, may love him, is, if possible, loved where I live yet more. If idolatry had been Christian, or allowable even, he would have been our idol. But, as it is, for a quarter of a century now, his bust, his portrait, or some medal, has been one of our household gods, gracing not alone the saloon, and the halls of wealth, but the humblest room or workshop of almost every mechanic or laborer. Proud monuments of his policy as a statesman, as my colleague has justly said, are all about us, and we owe to him, in a good degree, our growth, our greatness, our prosperity and happiness, as a people.

* James Brooks (Union Whig), of New York city

"The great field of Henry Clay, Mr. Speaker, has been here, on the floor of this House, and in the other wing of the Capitol. He has held other posts of higher nominal distinction, but they are all eclipsed by the brilliancy of his career as a Congressman. What of glory he has acquired, or what most endears him to his countrymen, have been won here, amid these pillars, under these domes of the Capitol.

'*Si quæris monumentum circumspice.*'

"The mind of Mr. Clay has been the governing mind of the country more or less, ever since he has been on the stage of public action. In a minority, or a majority—more, perhaps, even in a minority than in the majority—he seems to have had some commission, divine as it were, to persuade, to convince, to govern other men. His patriotism, his foresight, his grand conceptions, have created measures which the secret fascination of his manners, in-door, or his irresistible eloquence without, have enabled him almost always to frame into laws.

"Adverse Administrations have yielded to him, or been borne down by him, or he has taken them captive as a leader, and carried the country and Congress with him. This power he has wielded now for nearly half a century, with nothing but reason and eloquence to back him. And yet, when he came here, years ago, he came from a then frontier State of this Union, heralded by no loud trumpet of fame, nay, quite unknown, unfortified even by any position, social or pecuniary; to quote his own words, his only 'heritage had been infancy, indigence, and ignorance.'

"In these days, Mr. Speaker, when mere civil qualifications for high public place—when long civil training and practical statesmanship—are held subordinate, a most discouraging prospect would be before our rising young men, were it not for some such names as Lowndes, Crawford, Clinton, Gaston, Calhoun, and Clay, scattered along the pages of our history, as stars or constellations in a cloudless sky. They shine forth, and show us that if the Chief-Magistracy can not be won by such qualifications, a memory among men can be—a hold upon posterity as firm, as lustrous—nay, more imperishable. In the Capitolium of Rome there are long rows of marble slabs, on which are recorded the names of the Roman Consuls; but the eye wanders over this wilderness of letters but to light up and to kindle upon some Cato or Cicero. To win such fame, thus unsullied, as Mr. Clay has won, is worth any man's ambition. And how was it won? By courting the shifting gales of popularity? No, never! By truckling to the schemes, the arts, and seductions of the demagogue? Never, never! His hardest battles as a public man—his greatest, most illustrious achievements—have been against, at first, an adverse public opinion. To gain an imperishable name, he has often braved the perishable popularity of the moment. That sort of courage which, in a public man, I deem the highest of all courage; that sort of courage most necessary under our form of government to guide as well as to save a State, Mr. Clay was possessed of—more than any public man I ever knew. Mere physical courage, valuable, indispensable though it be, we share but with the brute—but moral courage, to dare to do right, amid all temptations to do wrong, is, as it seems to me, the very highest species, the noblest heroism, under institutions like ours. "I had rather be right than be President," was Mr. Clay's sublime reply when pressed to refrain from some measure that would mar his popularity. These lofty words were a clue to his whole character—the secret of his hold upon the heads as well as hearts of the American people—nay, the key to his immortality.

"Another of the keys, Mr. Speaker, of his universal reputation, was his intense nationality. When taunted but recently, almost within our hearing, as it were, on the floor of the Senate, by a Southern Senator, as being a Southern man unfaithful to the South, his indignant but patriotic exclamation was: 'I know no *South*—no North, no East, no West.' The country, the *whole* country, loved, adored, reverenced such a man. The soil of Virginia may be his birthplace: the sod of Kentucky will cover his grave—what was mortal they claim—but the spirit, the soul, the genius of the mighty man, the immortal part, these belong to his country and to his God."

Mr. FAULKNER.* "After the many able and eloquent addresses to which we have listened this morning, I fear, sir, that it will not be in my power to add anything to the interest of this occasion. And yet, representing, as I do, in part, that State which gave birth to the distinguished man whose death has this day been announced on this floor, and having for many years held toward him the most cordial relations of friendship, personal and political, I feel that I should fail to discharge an appropriate duty, if I permitted this occasion to pass by without some expression of the feeling which such an event is so well calculated to elicit. It is true, sir, that this intelligence does not fall upon our ears unexpectedly; for months the public mind has been prepared for the great national loss which we now deplore; and yet, as familiar as the daily and hourly reports have made us with his hopeless condition and gradual decline, and although

> 'Like a shadow thrown
> Softly and sweetly from a passing cloud,
> Death fell upon him,'

it is impossible that a light of such surpassing splendor should be, as it is now, forever extinguished from our view, without producing a shock, deeply and painfully felt to the utmost limits of this great Republic. Sir, we all feel that a mighty intellect has passed from among us; but, happily for this country, happily for mankind, not until it had accomplished to some extent the exalted mission for which it had been sent upon this earth—not until it had reached the full maturity of its usefulness and power—not until it had shed a bright and radiant lustre over our national renown—not until time had enabled it to bequeath the rich treasures of its thought and experience for the guidance and instruction of the present and of succeeding generations.

"Sir, it is difficult—it is impossible—within the limit allowed for remarks upon occasions of this kind, to do justice to a great historical character like Henry Clay. He was one of that class of men whom Scaliger designates as *homines centarii*—men that appear upon the earth but once in a century. His fame is the growth of years, and it would require time to unfold the elements which have combined to impart to it so much of stability and grandeur. Volumes have already been written, and volumes will continue to be written, to record those eminent and distinguished public services which have placed him in the front rank of American statesmen and patriots. The highest talent, fired by a fervid and patriotic enthusiasm, has already and will continue to exhaust its powers, to portray those striking and generous incidents of his life, those shining and captivating qualities of his heart, which have made him one of the most beloved, as he was one of the most admired, of men; and yet the subject itself will remain as fresh and exhaustless as if hundreds of the best intellects of the land had not

* Charles James Faulkner (Unionist, late Whig), of Virginia.

quaffed the inspiration of their genius from the ever-gushing and overflowing fountains of his fame. It is impossible that a reputation so grand and colossal as that which attaches to the name of Henry Clay, could rest for its base upon any single virtue, however striking, or upon any single act, no matter how marked or distinguished. Such a reputation as he has left behind him, could only be the result of a long life of illustrious public service. And such it truly was. For nearly half a century, he has been a prominent actor in all the stirring and eventful scenes of American history; fashioning and moulding many of the most important measures of public policy by his bold and sagacious mind, and arresting others by his unconquerable energy and resistless force of eloquence. And, however much the members of this body may differ in opinion as to the wisdom of many of his views of national domestic policy, there is not one upon this floor—no, sir, not one in this nation—who will deny to him frankness and directness as a public man—a genius for statesmanship of the highest order—extraordinary capacities for public usefulness, and an ardent and elevated patriotism, without stain and without reproach.

"In referring to a career of public service so varied and extended as that of Mr. Clay, and to a character so rich in every great and manly virtue, it is only possible to glance at a few of the most prominent of those points of his personal history which have given to him so distinguished a place in the affections of his countrymen.

"In the whole character of Mr. Clay, in all that attached or belonged to it, you find nothing that is not essentially American. Born in the darkest period of our revolutionary struggle—reared from infancy to manhood among those great minds which gave the first impulses to that mighty movement—he early imbibed and sedulously cherished those great principles of civil and political liberty, which he so brilliantly illustrated in his subsequent public career, and which has made his name a watchword of hope and consolation to the oppressed of all the earth. In his intellectual training, he was the pure creation of our own republican soil. Few if any allusions are to be seen in his speeches or writings to ancient or modern literature, or to the thoughts and ideas of other men. His country—*its* institutions—*its* policy—*its* interests—*its* destiny—form the exclusive topics of these eloquent harangues which, while they are destitute of the elaborate finish, have all the ardor and intensity of thought, the earnestness of purpose, the cogency of reasoning, the vehemence of style, and the burning patriotism—which mark the productions of the great Athenian orator.

"One of the most distinguishing characteristics of Mr. Clay as a public man, was his loyalty to truth and to the honest convictions of his own mind. He deceived no man—he would not permit his own heart to be deceived by any of those seductive influences which too often warp the judgment of men in public life. He never paused to consider how far any step which he was about to take would lead to his own personal advancement; he never calculated what he might lose or what he might gain by his advocacy of, or his opposition to, any particular measure. His single inquiry was, 'Is it right?' Is it in accordance with the Constitution of the land? Will it redound to the permanent welfare and interest of the country? When satisfied upon these points, his determination was fixed—his purpose was immovable. 'I had rather be right than President,' was the expression of his genuine feelings; and the principle by which he was controlled in his public career—a saying worthy of immortality, and proper to be inscribed upon the heart of every young man in this Republic. And yet, sir, with all of that personal and moral intrepidity which so eminently marked

the character of Mr. Clay—with his well-known inflexibility of purpose, and unyielding determination—such was the genuine sincerity of his patriotism, and such his thorough comprehension of those principles of compromise, upon which the whole structure of our Government was founded, that no one was more prompt to relax the rigor of his policy the moment he perceived that it was calculated to disturb the harmony of the States, or endanger, in any degree, the stability of the Government. With him, the love of this Union was a passion—an absorbing sentiment which gave color to every act of his public life. It triumphed over party; it triumphed over policy; it subdued the natural fierceness and haughtiness of his temper, and brought him into the most kindly and cordial relations with all those who, upon all other questions, were deeply and bitterly opposed to him. It has been asserted, sir, upon high medical authority, and doubtless with truth, that his life was, in all probability, shortened ten years by the arduous and extraordinary labors which he assumed at the memorable session of 1850. If so, he has added the crowning glory of the Martyr to the spotless fame of the Patriot; and we may well hope that a great national pacification, purchased at such a sacrifice, will long continue to cement the bonds of this great and glorious Union.

"Mr. Clay possessed, in an eminent degree, the qualities of a great popular leader, and History, I will assume to say, affords no example, in any Republic, ancient or modern, of any individual that so fearlessly carried out the convictions of his own judgment, and so sparingly flattered the prejudices of popular feeling, who for so long a period exercised the same controlling influence over the public mind. Earnest in whatever measures he sustained—fearless in attack—dexterous in defense—abounding in intellectual resource—eloquent in debate—of inflexible purpose, and with a courage never to submit or yield, no man ever lived with higher qualifications to rally a desponding party, or to lead an embattled host to victory. That he never attained the highest post of honorable ambition in this country, is not to be ascribed to any want of capacity as a popular leader; nor the absence of those qualities which attract the fidelity and devotion of 'troops' of admiring friends. It was the fortune of Napoleon, at a critical period of his destiny, to be brought into collision with the star of Wellington, and it was the fortune of Henry Clay to have encountered, in his political orbit, another great and original mind, gifted with equal power for commanding success, and blessed with more fortunate elements, concurring at the time, of securing popular favor. The struggle was such as might have been anticipated, from the collision of two such fierce and powerful rivals.

"For nearly a quarter of a century, this great Republic has been convulsed to its centre by the divisions which have sprung from their respective opinions, policy, and personal destinies; and even now, when they have both been removed to a higher and better sphere of existence, and every unkind feeling has been quenched in the triumphs of the grave, this country still feels, and for years will continue to feel, the influence of these agitations to which their powerful and impressive characters gave impulse.

"But I must pause. If I were to attempt to present all the aspects in which the character of this illustrious man will challenge the applause of history, I should fatigue the House and violate the just limit allowed for such remarks.

"I can not conclude, however, without making some more special allusion to Mr. Clay, as a native of that State which I have the honor in part to represent upon this floor. We are all proud, and very properly proud, of the distinguished men to whom our respective States have given birth.

It is a just and laudable emulation, and one, in a confederated government like ours, proper to be encouraged. And while men like Mr. Clay very rapidly rise above the confined limits of State reputation and acquire a national fame, in which all claim and all have an equal interest, still there is a propriety and fitness in preserving the relation between the individual and his State. Virginia has given birth to a large number of men who have, by their distinguished talents and services, impressed their names upon the hearts and memories of their countrymen; but, certainly, since the colonial era, she has given birth to no man who, in the massive and gigantic proportions of his character, and in the splendor of his native endowments, can be compared to Henry Clay. At an early age he emigrated from his native State, and found a home in Kentucky. In a speech which he delivered in the Senate of the United States in February, 1842, and which I well remember, upon the occasion of his resigning his seat in that body, he expressed the wish that when that event should occur, which has now clothed the city in mourning, and filled the nation with grief, 'that his earthly remains should be laid under the green sod of Kentucky, with those of her gallant and patriotic sons.'

"Sir, however gratifying it might be to us that those remains should be transferred to his native soil, and there mingle with the ashes of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Lee, and Henry, we can not complain of the very natural preference which he has there himself expressed. If Virginia did give him birth, Kentucky has nourished him in his manhood—has freely lavished upon him her highest honors—has shielded him from harm when the clouds of calumny and detraction gathered heavily and loweringly about him, and she has watched over his fame with the tenderness and zeal of a mother. Sir, it is not to be wondered that he should have expressed the wish which he did, to be laid by the side of her gallant and patriotic sons. Happy Kentucky! Happy in having an adopted son so worthy of her best honors. Happy in the unshaken fidelity and loyalty with which, for near half a century, those honors have been so steadfastly and gracefully accorded to him.

"Sir, while Virginia, in the exercise of her own just judgment, has differed from Mr. Clay in some of his views of national policy, she has never, at any period of his public career, failed to regard him with pride as one of her most distinguished sons; to honor the purity and the manliness of his character, and to award to him the high credit of an honest and sincere devotion to his country's welfare. And now, sir, that death has extinguished for ever the workings of that mighty intellect, and sealed in eternal silence those eloquent lips upon whose accents thousands have so often hung in rapture, I shall stand justified in saying that a wail of lamentation will be heard from her people—her whole people—reverberating through her mountains and valleys, as deep, as genuine, and as sincere as that which I know will swell the noble hearts and the heaving bosoms of the people of his own cherished and beloved Kentucky.

"Sir, as I walked to the Capitol this morning, every object which attracted my eye admonished me that a national benefactor had departed from among us. He is gone! Henry Clay, the idol of his friends, the ornament of the Senate-chamber, the pride of his country, he whose presence gathered crowds of his admiring fellow-men around him, as if he had been one descended from above, has passed forever from our view.

'His soul, enlarged from its vile bonds, has gone
To that refulgent world where it shall swim
In liquid light, and float on seas of bliss.'

But the memory of his virtues and of his services will be gratefully embalmed in the hearts of his countrymen, and generations yet unborn will be taught to lisp with reverence and enthusiasm the name of Henry Clay."

Mr. Parker* said: "Mr. Speaker, this is a solemn—a consecrated hour. And I would not detain the members of the House from indulging in the silent eloquence of their own feelings, so grateful to hearts chastened as ours.

"But I can not restrain an expression from a bosom pained with its fullness.

"When my young thoughts first took cognizance of the fact that I have a country, my eye was attracted by the magnificent proportions of Henry Clay.

"The idea absorbed me then, that he was, above all other men, the embodiment of my country's genius.

"I have watched him; I have studied him; I have admired him—and, God forgive me! for he was but a man, 'of like passions with us'—I fear I have *idolized* him, until this hour.

"But he has gone from among men; and it is for us now to awake and apply ourselves, with renewed fervor and increased fidelity, to the welfare of the country, HE loved so well and served so truly and so long—the glorious country yet saved to us!

"Yes, Henry Clay has fallen at last!—as the ripe oak falls, in the stillness of the forest. But the verdant and gorgeous richness of his glories will only fade and wither from the earth, when his country's history shall have been forgotten.

"'One generation passeth away and another generation cometh.' Thus it hath been from the beginning; and thus it will be, until time shall be no longer.

"Yesterday morning, at eleven o'clock, the spirit of Henry Clay—so long the pride and glory of his own country, and the admiration of all the world—was yet with us, though struggling to be free. Ere 'high noon' came, it had passed over 'the dark river,' through the gate, into the celestial city, inhabited by all the 'just made perfect.'

"May not our rapt vision contemplate him there, this day, in sweet communion with the dear friends that have gone before him!—with Madison, and Jefferson, and Washington, and Henry, and Franklin—with the eloquent Tully, with the 'divine Plato,' with Aaron, the Levite, who could 'speak well'—with all the great and good, since and before the flood!

"His princely tread has graced these aisles for the last time. These halls will wake no more to the magic music of his voice.

"Did that tall spirit, in its ethereal form, enter the courts of the upper sanctuary, bearing itself comparably with the spirits there, as was his walk among men?

"Did the mellifluous tones of his greeting there enrapture the hosts of Heaven, comparably with his strains 'to stir men's blood' on earth!

"Then, may we not fancy, when it was announced to the inhabitants of that better country: 'HE COMES!—HE COMES!'—there was a rustling of angel-wings—a thrilling joy—*up there*, only to be witnessed once in an earthly age!

"Adieu!—a last adieu to thee, Henry Clay!

"The hearts of all thy countrymen are melted, on this day, because of the thought that thou art gone.

* Samuel W. Parker (Whig), of Indiana.

"Could we have held the hand of the 'insatiate archer,' thou hadst not died; but thou wouldst have tarried with us, in the full grandeur of thy greatness, until we had no longer need of a country.

"But we thank our Heavenly Father that thou wast given to us; and that thou didst survive so long.

"We would cherish thy memory while we live, as our country's JEWEL—than which none is richer. And we will teach our children the lessons of matchless patriotism thou hast taught us; with the fond hope that our LIBERTY and our UNION may only expire with 'the last of earth.'"

MR. GENTRY* said: "Mr. Speaker, I do not rise to pronounce a eulogy on the life and character and public services of the illustrious orator and statesman whose death this nation deplores. Suitably to perform that task, a higher eloquence than I possess might essay in vain. The gushing tears of the nation, the deep grief which oppresses the hearts of more than twenty millions of people, constitute a more eloquent eulogium upon the life, and character, and patriotic services of Henry Clay, than the power of language can express. In no part of our country is that character more admired, or those public services more appreciated, than in the State which I have the honor, in part, to represent. I claim for the people of that State, a full participation in the general wo which the sad announcement of to-day will everywhere inspire."

MR. BOWIE† "I rise not to utter the measured phrases of premeditated wo, but to speak as would my constituents speak, if they stood around the grave now opened to receive the mortal remains, not of a statesman only, but of a beloved friend. If there is a State in this Union, other than Kentucky, which sends up a wail of more bitter and sincere sorrow than another, that State is Maryland. In her midst, this departed Statesman was a frequent and a welcome guest. At many a board, and many a fireside, his noble form was the light of the eyes and the idol of the heart. Throughout her borders, in cottage, hamlet, and cities, his name is a household word, his thoughts are familiar sentences. Though not permitted to be first at his cradle, Maryland would be last at his tomb. Through all the phases of political fortune, amid all the storms which darkened his career, Maryland cherished him in her inmost heart, as the most gifted, patriotic, and eloquent of men; and for him daily, to this hour, prayers ascend, night and morning, for his temporal and eternal welfare. Maryland would, in the language of inspiration, exclaim: 'This day hath a prince and a ruler fallen in Israel!' Daughters of America, weep for him who hath 'clothed you in scarlet and fine linen!'

"The husbandman at his plough, the artisan at the anvil, the seaman on the mast, will pause and drop a tear when he hears that Clay is no more.

"The advocate for freedom in both hemispheres, he will be lamented alike on the shores of the Hellespont and the banks of the Mississippi and Orinoco. The freed men of Liberia, learning and practicing the art of self-government, and civilizing Africa, have lost a patron and protector, a father and friend. America mourns the departure of a luminary, which enlightened and illustrated the continent; the United States, a counsellor of deepest wisdom and purest purpose; mankind, the advocate of human rights and constitutional liberty."

* Meredith P. Gentry (Whig), of Tennessee.

† Richard J. Bowie (Whig), of Maryland.

MR. WALSH* said: "Mr. Speaker, the illustrious man whose death we this day mourn, was so long my political leader—so long almost the object of my personal idolatry, that I can not allow that he shall go down to the grave, without a word at least of affectionate remembrance—without a tribute to a memory, which will exact tributes as long as a heart shall be found to beat within the bosom of civilized man, and human agency shall be adequate in any *form* to give them an expression. And even, sir, if I had no heart-felt sigh to pour out here—if I had no tear for that coffin's lid, I should do injustice to those whose representative in part I am, if I did not in this *presence*, and at this time, raise my voice to swell the accents of the profoundest public sorrow.

"The State of Maryland has always vied with Kentucky in love and adoration of his name. Her people have gathered around him, with all the fervor of a first affection, and with more than its *duration*. Troops of friends have ever clustered about his pathway with a personal devotion, which each man of them regarded as the highest individual honor—friends, sir, to whose firesides the tidings of his death will go with all the withering influences which are felt when household ties are severed.

"I wish, sir, I could offer now a proper memorial for such a subject, and such an affection. But, as I strive to utter it, I feel the disheartening influence of the well known truth, that in view of death all minds sink into triteness. It would seem, indeed, sir, that the great leveler of our race would vindicate his *title* to be so considered, by making all men think alike in regard to his visitation—'The thousand thoughts that begin and end in one,'—the *desolation* here—the eternal hope *hereafter*—are influences felt alike by the lowest intellect and the loftiest genius.

"Mr. Chairman, a statesman for more than fifty years in the councils of his country, whose peculiar charge it was to see that the Republic suffered no detriment—a patriot for all times, all circumstances, and all emergencies—has passed away from the trials and triumphs of the world, and gone to his reward. Sad as are the emotions which such an event would ordinarily excite, their intensity is deeply heightened by the matters so fresh within the memories of us all—

> 'Oh! think how to his latest day,
> When Death, just hovering, claimed his prey,
> With Palinurus' unaltered mood,
> Firm at his dangerous post he stood,
> Each call for needful rest repelled,
> With dying hand the rudder held;
> Then, while on freedom's thousand plains
> One unpolluted church remains,
> Whose peaceful bells ne'er sent around;
> The bloody tocsin's maddening sound;
> But still, upon the hallowed day,
> Convoke the swains to praise and pray,
> While faith and civil peace are dear,
> Greet his cold marble with a tear:
> He who preserved them—Clay lies here!'

"In a character, Mr. Speaker, so illustrious and beautiful, it is difficult to select any point for particular notice from those which go to make up its noble proportions; but we may now, around his honored grave, call to grateful recollection that invincible spirit which no personal sorrow could sully, and no disaster could overcome. Be assured, sir, that he has in this regard, left a legacy to the young men of the republic almost as sacred and as dear as that liberty of which his life was a blessed illustration.

* Thomas Yates Walsh (Whig), of Maryland.

"We can all remember, sir, when adverse political results disheartened his friends, and made them feel even as men without hope, his own clarion voice was still heard in the assertion and the pursuit of rights, as bold and as eloquent as when it first proclaimed the freedom of the seas, and its talismanic tones struck off the badges of bondage from the lands of the Incas and the plains of Marathon.

"Mr. Speaker, in the exaltation of the statesman, he did not forget the duties of the man. He was an affectionate adviser on all points wherein inexperienced youth might require counsel. He was a disinterested sympathizer in personal sorrows that called for consolation. He was ever upright and honorable in all the duties incident to his relations in life.

"To an existence so lovely, Heaven in its mercy granted a fitting and appropriate close. It was the prayer, Mr. Speaker, of a distinguished citizen, who died some years since in this metropolis, even while his spirit was fluttering for its final flight, that he might depart gracefully. It may not be presumptuous to say, that what was in that instance the aspiration of a chivalric *gentleman*, was in this the realization of the dying Christian, in which was blended all that human dignity could require, with all that Divine Grace had conferred; in which the firmness of the man was only transcended by the fervor of the penitent.

"A short period before his death, he remarked to one by his bedside, that he was fearful he was becoming selfish, as his thoughts were entirely withdrawn from the world, and centered upon eternity. This, sir, was but the purification of his noble spirit from all the dross of earth—a happy illustration of what the religious muse has so sweetly sung:

'No sin to stain—no lure to stay
The soul, as home she springs;
Thy sunshine on her joyful way,
Thy freedom in her wings.'

"Mr. Speaker, the solemnities of this hour may soon be forgotten. We may come back from the new-made grave only still to show that we consider 'eternity the bubble, life and time the enduring substance.' We may not pause long enough by the brink, to ask which of us revelers of the day shall next be at rest. But be assured, sir, that upon the records of mortality will never be inscribed a name more illustrious than that of the statesman, patriot, and friend, whom the nation mourns."

The SPEAKER: * "The Chair asks leave to give notice to the House, that members of the Senate and House will form a procession at the National Hotel to-morrow, at twenty minutes past eleven, to accompany the remains of Mr. Clay to the Capitol for funeral ceremonies. The remains will pass thence to the cars, and depart for Kentucky."

The question was then put, on the adoption of the resolutions proposed by Mr. Breckinridge, and they were unanimously adopted,

And the House adjourned.

* Linn Boyd (Democrat), of Kentucky.

THE FUNERAL AT THE CAPITOL.

IN SENATE, THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1852.

Pursuant to the arrangements prescribed by the committee of the Senate, the members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, together with public bodies and associations, military companies, and civic authorities, assembled at the National Hotel, where the body had lain since life departed; and thence the melancholy funeral *cortége* passed to the Senate-chamber, so long the theatre of his glories.

As the body was borne to the centre of the Chamber, the Rev. Dr. Butler, Chaplain to the Senate, in full canonicals, read part of the Episcopal ritual—"I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord." In consonance with the solemn service over the dead was the scene there presented—sombre and sad.

The President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives were seated with the President of the Senate. The body of the Senate, the representatives of State sovereignties, were grouped, on the two innermost semi-circular rows of chairs, around the lifeless form of their late colleague. The committee of arrangements, and the committee to convey the body to Kentucky, and the pall-bearers, with the Kentucky delegation in the House of Representatives, as chief mourners, and a few personal devoted friends, were also in close proximity to the inanimate form of the deceased.

The members of the House of Representatives filled the outer circles, except such parts as were devoted to the large diplomatic corps, the Cabinet of the President of the United States, the officers of the Army and Navy, among whom were Major-General Scott, commander-in-chief, and Commodore Morris. With the Municipal Councils of the city of Washington, were the officers of neighboring cities, and others, official and unofficial.

Mr. James Maher, the public gardener, placed a fragrant shield of sweetly-culled flowers upon the sarcophagus, as a memorial of affection for the deceased statesman within. The pure white and brightly-variegated flowers contrasted sadly with the rich folding drapery of black cloth, relieved though it was by silver ornaments. The sarcophagus in which the remains were inurned, resembles the outlines of the human body. The handles, the face-plate, the plate for inscribing the name, and other plates, are of massive silver, beautifully wrought and chased, having appropriate emblems, among which appear wreaths of laurel and oak, with a full-blown rose, and sprig of oak with its acorns detached from their parent stem, showing the work of the fell destroyer. Amidst the contemplations to which this scene gave being, the Chaplain's voice broke on the listening ear—"But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?" The answer was furnished by the residue of the 15th chapter of 1st Corinthians, which the Chaplain impressively read for the consolation of the bereaved living.

"How is the strong staff broken and the beautiful rod!" (Jeremiah xlviii. 17,) was the suggestive text of the following impressive discourse:

"Before all hearts and minds in this august assemblage, the vivid image of ONE MAN stands. To some aged eye, he may come forth, from the dim past, as he appeared in the neighboring city of his native State, a lithe and ardent youth, full of promise, of ambition, and of hope. To another, he may appear as, in a distant State, in the courts of justice, erect, high-strung, bold, wearing fresh forensic laurels on his young and open brow. Some may see him in the earlier and some in the later stages of his career on this auspicious theatre of his renown; and to the former he will start out, on the background of the past, as he appeared in the neighboring Chamber, tall, elate, impassioned, with flashing eye and suasive gesture, and clarion voice, as already acknowledged 'Agamemnon, King of Men;' and to others he will again stand in this Chamber 'the strong staff' of the bewildered and staggering State, and 'the beautiful rod,' rich with the blossoms of genius, and of patriotic love and hope, the life of youth still remaining to give animation, grace, and exhaustless vigor, to the wisdom, the experience, and gravity of age. To others he may be present as he sat in the chamber of sickness, cheerful, majestic, gentle—his mind clear, his heart warm, his hope fixed on heaven, peacefully preparing for his last great change. To the memory of the minister of God, he appears as the penitent, humble, and peaceful Christian, who received him with the affection of a father, and joined with him in solemn sacrament and prayer with the gentleness of a woman and humility of a child. 'Out of the strong came forth sweetness.' 'How is the strong staff broken and the beautiful rod!' But not before this assembly only does the venerable image of the departed statesman this day distinctly stand. For more than a thousand miles—East, West, North, and South—it is known and remembered, that at this place and hour a nation's representatives assemble to do honor to him whose fame is now a nation's heritage. A nation's mighty heart throbs against this Capitol, and beats through you. In many cities, banners droop, bells toll, cannons boom, funeral draperies wave. In crowded streets and on surrounding wharves, upon steamboats, and upon cars, in fields, in workshops, in homes, in schools, millions of men, women, and children, have their thoughts fixed upon this scene, and say mournfully to each other, 'This is the hour in which, at the capital, the nation's representatives are burying Henry Clay.' Burying Henry Clay? Bury the records of your country's history—bury the hearts of living millions—bury the mountains, the rivers, the lakes, and the spreading lands from sea to sea, with which his name is inseparably associated, and even then you would not bury Henry Clay—for he is in other lands and speaks in other tongues, and to other times, than ours.

"A great mind, a great heart, a great orator, a great career, have been consigned to history. She will record his rare gifts of deep insight, keen discrimination, clear statement, rapid combination, plain, direct, and convincing logic. She will love to dwell on that large, generous, magnanimous, open, forgiving heart. She will linger with fond delight on the recorded or traditional stories of an eloquence that was so masterful and stirring, because it was but himself struggling to come forth on the living words—because, though the words were brave and strong, and beautiful and melodious, it was felt that, behind them, there was a soul, braver, stronger, more beautiful, and more melodious than language could express. She will point to a career of statesmanship which has, to a remarkable degree, stamped itself on the public policy of the country, and reached in beneficent practical results the

fields, the looms, the commercial marts, and the quiet homes of all the land, where his name was with the departed father, and is with the living children, and will be with successive generations, an honored household word.

"I feel, as a man, the grandeur of this career. But as an immortal, with this broken wreck of mortality before me, with this scene as the 'end-all' of human glory, I feel that no career is truly great but that of him who, whether he be illustrious or obscure, lives to the future in the present, and, linking himself to the spiritual world, draws from God the life, the rule, the motive, and the reward of all his labor. So would that great spirit which has departed say to us, could he address us now. So did he realize in the calm and meditative close of life. I feel that I but utter the lessons which, when living, were his last and best convictions, and which, dead, could he speak to us, his solemn admonitions, when I say that statesmanship is then only glorious when it is Christian, and that man is then only safe and true to his duty and his soul, when the life which he lives in the flesh is the life of faith in the Son of God.

"Great, indeed, is the privilege, and most honorable and useful is the career of a Christian American statesman.

"He perceives that civil liberty came from the freedom wherewith Christ made its earliest martyr and defender free. He recognises it as one of the twelve manner of fruits on the tree of life which, while its lower branches furnish the best nutriment of earth, hangs on its topmost boughs, which wave in heaven, fruits that exhilarate the immortals. Recognising the State as God's institution, he will perceive that his own ministry is divine. Living consciously under the eye and in the love and fear of God, redeemed by the blood of Jesus, sanctified by his spirit, loving his law, he will give himself, in private and in public, to the service of his Savior. He will not admit that he may act on less lofty principles in public than in private life, and that he must be careful of his moral influence in the small sphere of home and neighborhood, but need take no heed of it when it stretches over continents nnd crosses seas. He will know that his moral responsibility can not be divided and distributed among others. When he is told that adherence to the strictest moral and religious principle is incompatible with a successful and eminent career, he will denounce the assertion as a libel on the venerated father of the Republic—a libel on the honored living, and the illustrious dead—a libel against a great and Christian nation—a libel against God Himself, who has declared and made 'godliness profitable for the life that is.' He will strive to make laws transcripts of the character and institutions, illustrations of the providence of God. He will scan with admiration and awe the purposes of God in the future history of the world, in throwing open this wide continent, from sea to sea, as the abode of freedom, intelligence, plenty, prosperity, and peace, and feel that, in giving his energies with a patriotic love to the welfare of his country, he is consecrating himself with a Christian's zeal to the extension and establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom. Compared with a career like this, which is equally open to those whose public sphere is large or small, how paltry are the trade of patriotism, the tricks of statesmanship, the rewards of successful baseness! This hour, this scene, the venerated dead, the country, the world, the present, the future, God, duty, heaven, hell, speak trumpet-tongued to all in the service of their country, to *beware* how they lay polluted or unhallowed hands

'Upon the ark
Of her magnificent and awful cause.'

"Such is the character of that statesmanship which alone would have met the full approval of the venerated dead. For the religion which always had a place in the convictions of his mind has also, within a recent period, entered into his experience and seated itself in his heart. Twenty years since, he wrote: 'I am a member of no religious sect, and I am not a professor of religion. I regret that I am not. I wish that I was, and trust that I shall be. I have, and always have had, a profound regard for Christianity, the religion of my fathers, and for its rites, its usages, and observances.' That feeling proved that the seed sown by pious parents was not dead, though stifled. A few years since, its dormant life was reäwakened. He was baptized in the communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and during his sojourn in this city he was in full communion with Trinity parish.

"It is since his withdrawal from the sittings of the Senate, that I have been made particularly acquainted with his religious opinions, character, and feelings. From his first illness, he expressed to me the persuasion that it would be fatal. From that period until his death, it has been my privilege to hold with him frequent religious services, and conversations with him in his room. He averred to me his full faith in the great leading doctrines of the Gospel—the fall and sinfulness of man, the divinity of Christ, the reality and necessity of the atonement, the need of being born again by the Spirit, and salvation through faith in the crucified Redeemer. His own personal hopes of salvation, he ever and distinctly based on the promises and the grace of Christ. Strikingly perceptible on his naturally impetuous and impatient character, was the influence of Grace in producing submission and 'patient waiting for Christ,' and for death. On one occasion, he spoke to me of the pious example of one very near and dear to him, as that which led him deeply to feel and earnestly to seek for himself the reality and blessedness of religion. On one occasion, he told me that he had been striving to form a conception of Heaven; and he enlarged upon the mercy of that provision by which our Savior became a partaker of our humanity, that our hearts and hopes might fix themselves on him. On another occasion, when he was supposed to be very near his end, I expressed to him the hope that his mind and heart were at peace, and that he was able to rest with cheerful confidence on the promises and merits of the Redeemer. He said, with much feeling, that he endeavored to, and trusted that he did repose his salvation upon Christ; that it was too late for him to look at Christianity in the light of speculation; that he had never doubted of its truth; and that he now wished to throw himself upon it as a practical and blessed remedy. Very soon after this, I administered to him the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Being extremely feeble, and desirous of having his mind undiverted, no persons were present but his son and servant. It was a scene long to be remembered. There, in that still chamber, at a week-day noon, the tides of life all flowing strong around us, three disciples of the Savior—the minister of God, the dying statesman, and his servant, a partaker of the like precious faith—commemorated their Savior's dying love. He joined in the blessed sacrament with great feeling and solemnity—now pressing his hands together, and now spreading them forth, as the words of the service expressed the feelings, desires, supplications, and thanksgivings of his heart. After this he rallied, and again I was permitted frequently to join with him in religious services, conversation, and prayer. He grew in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Among the books which he read most, were Jay's Morning and Evening Exercises, the Life of Dr. Chalmers, and the Christian Philosopher Triumphant in Death. His

hope continued to the end, though true and real, to be tremulous with humility rather than rapturous with assurance. When he felt most the weariness of his protracted sufferings, it sufficed to suggest to him that his Heavenly Father doubtless knew that, after a life so long, stirring, and tempted, such a discipline of chastening and suffering was needful to make him meet for the inheritance of the saints; and at once the words of meek and patient acquiescence escaped his lips.

"Exhausted nature at length gave way. On the last occasion when I was permitted to offer a brief prayer at his bedside, his last words to me were that he had hope only in Christ, and that the prayer which I had offered for his pardoning love and his sanctifying grace, included everything which the dying need. On the evening previous to his departure, sitting an hour in silence by his side, I could not but realize, when I heard him in the slight wanderings of his mind to other days, and other scenes, murmuring the words, '*My mother! mother! mother!*' and saying, '*My dear wife,*' as if she were present, I could not but realize then, and rejoice to think how near was the blessed reunion of his heart with the loved dead and with her—our dear Lord gently smoothe her passage to the tomb!—who must soon follow him to his rest, whose spirits even then seemed to visit and to cheer his memory and his hope. Gently he breathed his soul away into the spirit world.

'How blest the righteous when they die!
When holy souls retire to rest,
How mildly beams the closing eye!
How gently heaves the expiring breast!

'So fades a summer cloud away;
So sinks the gale when storms are o'er;
So gently shuts the eye of day;
So dies the wave upon the shore!'

"Be it ours to follow him in the same humble and submissive faith to Heaven. Could he speak to us the counsels of his latest human and of his present heavenly experience, sure I am that he would not only admonish us to cling to the Savior in sickness and in death, but abjure us not to delay to act upon our first convictions, that we might give our best power and fullest influence for God, and go to the grave with a hope unshadowed by the long worldliness of the past, and darkened by no films of fear and doubt resting over the future!

"The strong staff is broken, and the beautiful rod despoiled of its grace and bloom; but, in the light of the eternal promises, and by the power of Christ's resurrection, we joyfully anticipate the prospect of seeing that broken staff erect, and that beautiful rod, clothed with celestial grace, and blossoming with undying life and blessedness, in the paradise of God."

The ritual of the Episcopal Church, at the burial of the dead, closed the solemn service, and the body was removed to the Rotunda, that his sorrowing countrymen might gaze upon that face in death which has cheered them so much while living.

The funeral cortège, with the mortal remains of the departed statesman, left Washington by railroad soon after the conclusion of the above services, halting for the night at Baltimore, where

the whole people came out to attest by fit observances their affection and sorrow. Thence it proceeded next day, halting briefly at Wilmington, to Philadelphia, where the most impressive honors were paid to the mighty dead by countless thousands. The body rested for the night in Independence Hall, under imposing military guardianship. The next day (Saturday) it moved on to New-York, halting briefly at the principal villages of New-Jersey, where Mr. Clay had ever been most deeply beloved and warmly supported. Again at New-York, where the great Kentuckian had 'troops of friends' as devoted as man ever had in the world, the people had gathered at one o'clock in countless thousands to share in the solemnities of the occasion; and, after waiting its arrival till five, followed the bier in long and sad procession to the City Hall, where the coffin rested through the Sabbath in the Governor's Room, guarded by the Washington Greys, who afterward formed its escort to Albany. While it remained in New-York, more than thirty thousand persons passed in succession through the Governor's Room to gaze at the closed coffin which shrouded from view the deserted tenement of Genius and Patriotism. On Monday morning the procession departed by steamboat for Albany, where the most imposing testimonials of public grief were rendered by nearly the whole people. The bier rested for the night in the State capitol, and thence took its way next morning, with its long train of attendants, by railroad through Ithaca, Syracuse, Rochester, to Buffalo, thence by steamboat to Cleveland, by railroad to Cincinnati, and so by Louisville to Lexington, everywhere evoking from the entire community unanimous manifestations of a fond and tender regard for the great and good Statesman so ripely called to everlasting rest. Party differences were utterly forgotten; the miserable calumnies which for a season had clouded the fame of the noblest living American were remembered, if at all, only as deeply disgraceful to their inventors; and the whole American People mingled their tears of fond and grateful sorrow above the urn that enclosed the dust which once was Henry Clay. And thus, his ashes were laid to rest, on Saturday, July 10th, at the city he had early chosen for his home, and among the people who had admired, supported, and loved him with unwavering fidelity through

all the storms and calms of more than half a century of eventful public life. Surrounded by the whole circle of his stricken relatives, including the faithful and devoted partner of his joys and sorrows, and attended to the grave by the entire community of which he was so eminently beloved a member, his body was buried in the spot of his choice, there to mingle with the soil of that gallant State which he had so loved and honored, and which had equally loved and revered him in turn. There let the marble rise proudly and gracefully above his silent dust; but that will not be his only nor his noblest memorial. Wherever our seamen shall ride out a tempest in safety, protected by the piers and breakwaters of our Atlantic or inland harbors—wherever internal trade shall find a highway opened for it over mountains or through morasses by the engineer's science and the laborer's sturdy arm—wherever Industry shall see its pursuits diversified and its processes perfected through the naturalization among us of new Arts or the diffusion of Manufacturing efficiency—there shall henceforth arise in the hearts of grateful Freemen enduring monuments to the genius, the patriotism, the statesmanship, the beneficence, of our beloved HENRY CLAY.

POETIC TRIBUTES.

I.

TO HENRY CLAY

BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

Holding the principle that a citizen, as long as a single pulsation remains, is under obligation to exert his utmost energies in the service of his country, whether in a private or public station, my friends may rest assured that, in either condition I shall stand erect, with a spirit unconquered, while life endures, ready to second their exertions in the cause of Union and Liberty.—HENRY CLAY.

I have doubtless committed many errors and indiscretions, over which you have thrown the broad mantle of your charity. But I can say, and in the presence of my God and of this assembled multitude I do say, that I have honestly served my country—that I have never wronged it—and that, however unprepared I lament that I am to appear in the Divine Presence on other accounts, I invoke the justice of his judgment on my official conduct, without the smallest apprehension of his displeasure.—*Speech of Mr. Clay, at Lexington, Ky.*, 1829.

AY—stand erect! the cloud is broken—
Above thee bends the rainbow's token!
The shadow of thy onward way
Is blending into perfect day;
The slanders of the venal train
Assail thy honest name in vain;
For thou wilt be as thou hast been,
The hope of free and patriot men!

Still boasts thy lip its fiery zeal—
Thy heart its joy in human weal—
Still free thy tongue to soothe or warn—
Still free its fiery shaft of scorn—
Still soars thy soul, untamed and strong,
The loftier for its sense of wrong—
Still first in Freedom's cause to stand,
The champion of her favorite land.

Oh! what to thee were pomp and show—
Aught that thy country can bestow!
Her highest gifts could only take
New honors for their wearer's sake—
They could not add a wreath to thine,
Nor brighter make thy glory shine—
No! meaner ones may borrow fame,
Thine lives through every change the same!

The Grecian, as he feeds his flocks
In Tempe's vale, on Morea's rocks,
Or where the gleam of bright blue waters
Is caught by Scio's white-armed daughters,
While dwelling on the dubious strife
Which ushered in his nation's life,
Shall mingle, in his grateful lay,
BOZZARIS with the name of CLAY!

Where blush the warm skies of the South
O'er Cotopaxi's fiery mouth,
And round the fallen Incas' graves
The Pampa rolls its breezy waves,
The patriot in his council hall—
The soldier at his fortress wall—
The brave—the lovely—and the free—
Shall offer up their prayers for thee.

And where our own rude valleys smile,
And temple-spire, and lofty pile,
Crown, like the fashion of a dream,
The slope of every mountain stream—
Where Industry and Plenty meet,
Twin brothers in the crowded street—
Each spire and mansion upward sent,
Shall be thy fitting monument!

Still stand erect! our hope and trust,
When Law is trampled in the dust,
When o'er our fathers yet green graves
The war-cry of Disunion raves—
And sons of those who side by side,
Smote down the Lion-banner's pride,
Are girding for fraternal strife—
For blow for blow, and life for life!

Let others rob the public store,
To *buy* their ill-used power once more—
Shrink back from truth—and open wide
The flood-gates of Corruption's tide—
Thou standest in thy country's eye
Unshrinking from its scrutiny,
And, asking nothing but to show
How far a Patriot's zeal can go.

And those whose trust is fixed on thee—
Unbought—unpledged—and truly free,
They bow not to an idol down;
They scorn alike the bribe and frown;
And, asking no reward of gold,
For bartered faith—for honor sold,
Seek, faithful to their hearths and home,
NOT CÆSAR'S WEAL, BUT THAT OF ROME!

II.

HENRY CLAY,

ON HIS RETIRING FROM THE U. S. SENATE.

WAIL for the glorious Pleiad fled—
  Wail for the ne'er returning star
Whose mighty music ever led
  The spheres in their high home afar!
Bring burial weeds? and sable plume?
  What—lift the funeral song of wo
Such as should o'er the loved one's tomb
  In Sorrow's tenderest accent flow?
  Ah! Freedom's kindling minstrel, no
Strike! strike with a triumphant hand
  Thy harp, and at its swelling roll
Speak, through the borders of our land,
  The might—the beauty of that soul
Whose genius is our guardian light
Through sunny ray or darkling night—
A worshiped Pharos in the sea,
  Lifting on high its fearless form
To guide the vessel of the Free
  Safe through the fury of the storm.

PRIDE OF THE WEST! whose clarion-tone
Thrilled grandly through her forest lone,
And waked to bounding life the shore
Where darkness only sat before—
How millions bent before thy shrine,
Beholding there a light divine—
Caught on the golden chain of love,
From its majestic source above.

STAR OF OUR HOPE! when Battle's call
Had wove the soldier's gory pall—
When, blazing o'er the troubled seas,
Death came tumultuous on the breeze,
And men beheld Columbia's frame
Scorched by the lurid levin-flame—
Thou! thou didst pour the patriot-strain,*
And thrilled with it each bleeding vein—
Until the star-lit banners streamed
  Like tempest-fires around the foe,
Whose crimson cross no longer gleamed
In triumph where it erst had beamed—
  But sunk beneath our gallant blow.

SUN OF THE FREE! where Summer smiles
Eternal o'er the clustered isles—
Where GREECE unsheathed her olden blade
For Glory in the haunted shade—

* Alluding to his efforts as Republican leader in Congress during the late War

Where CHIMBORAZO stands sublime
A land-mark by the sea of Time—*
Thy name shall, as a blessing given
  For Man, oh! never to depart,
Peal from our gladdened Earth to Heaven—
  The warm, wild music of the heart.

PRIDE OF THE JUST! what though dark Hate
  Her frenzied storm around thee rolls—
Has it not ever been the fate
  Of all this Earth's truth-speaking souls?
Lightnings may play upon the rock
  Whose star-kissed forehead woos the gale,
While they escape the thunder-shock
  Who dwell within the lonely vale—
Living unnoted!—not so thou
Chief of the fearless soul and brow!
Yet let the lightning and the storm
Beat on thy long-devoted form!
The silvery day-beam bursts! and lo!
Around thee curls the Promise-Bow!

Look! on yon hight Columbia stands—
Immortal laurels in her hands!
And hark her voice—"RISE! FREEMEN, RISE!
  Unloose the chain from ev'ry breast;
See! see the splendor in yon skies
  Flashed from the bosom of the WEST!"
Roused at the sound, lo! millions leap
Like giants from inglorious sleep!
What cries are here? What sounds prevail?
Whose name is thundering on the gale?—
(Far in the mountains of the North—
  Far in the sunny South away—
A wingéd lustre bounding forth—)
  The deathless name of HENRY CLAY

III.

'HE IS NOT FALLEN.'†

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

NOT FALLEN! No as well the tall
And pillared Allegheny fall—
As well Ohio's giant tide
  Roll backward on its mighty track
As he, Columbia's hope and pride,
The slandered and the sorely tried,
  In his triumphant course turn back.

* Who can forget Henry Clay's burning eloquence in advocacy of Grecian and South American Independence?

† Incited by a spirited article thus entitled by George D. Prentice in his Louisville Journal.

He is not Fallen! Seek to bind
The chainless and unbidden wind;
Oppose the torrent's headlong course,
And turn aside the whirlwind's force
But deem not that the mighty mind
Will cower before the blast of hate,
  Or quail at dark and causeless ill·
For though all else be desolate,
It stoops not from its high estate—
  A Marius 'mid the ruins still.

He is not Fallen! Every breeze
  That wander's o'er Columbia's bosom,
From wild Penobscot's forest-trees,
From ocean shore, from inland seas,
  Or where the rich Magnolia's blossom
Floats, snow-like, on the sultry wind,
  Is booming onward on his ear,
A homage to his lofty mind—
A meed the falling never find,
  A praise which Patriots only hear.

Star of the West! a million eyes
  Are turning gladly unto him;
The shrine of old idolatries
  Before his kindling light grows dim!
And men awake as from a dream,
  Or meteors dazzling to betray;
And bow before his purer beam,
  The earnest of a better day.

All Hail! the hour is hastening on
  When, vainly tried by Slander's flame,
Columbia shall behold her son
  Unharmed, without a laurel gone,
As from the flames of Babylon
  The angel-guarded triad came!
The Slanderer shall be silent then,
  His spell shall leave the minds of men,
And higher glory wait upon
  The Western Patriot's future fame.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

SELECT SPEECHES OF MR. CLAY.

I.

ON THE EMANCIPATION OF SOUTH AMERICA

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 24, 1818.

[The propriety of recognizing the Independence of the Spanish-American Republics, formerly colonies; or, more strictly, the question—'Does the actual state and relations of those revolted Colonies *now* justify their recognition?' for years challenged the attention of our Government, and was ably discussed, from time to time, in Congress. Mr. Clay introduced and debated it on several occasions, always on the side of the young Republics, urging the duty devolved upon us of rendering them all the moral support in their then critical condition, which was not forbidden by the Law of Nations and our own Treaty obligations to Spain. The following is his most elaborate speech on this subject, fully setting forth the views which, from first to last, he cherished of our duties to other nations struggling against Oppression, and the true mode of performing those duties without giving just offence to any, or involving our country in foreign alliances and wars.

The Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill being under discussion in Committee of the Whole, Mr. Clay moved to add this item:—

"For one year's salary and an outfit to a Minister to the *United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata*—the salary to commence and the outfit to be paid whenever the President shall deem it expedient to send a Minister to the said United Provinces—a sum not exceeding eighteen thousand dollars."

In support of this proposition, Mr. Clay said:—

I rise under feelings of deeper regret than I have ever experienced on any former occasion, inspired, principally, by the painful consideration, that I find myself, on the proposition which I mean to submit, differing from many highly-esteemed friends, in and out of this House, for whose judgment I entertain the greatest respect. A knowledge of this circumstance has induced me to pause, to subject my own convictions to the severest scrutiny, and to revolve the question over and over again. But all my reflections have conducted me to the same clear result; and, much as I value those friends—great as my deference is for their opinions—I can not hesitate,

when reduced to the distressing alternative of conforming my judgment to theirs, or pursuing the deliberate and mature dictates of my own mind. I enjoy some consolation, for the want of their co-öperation, from the persuasion that, if I err on this occasion, I err on the side of the liberty and happiness of a large portion of the human family. Another, and, if possible, indeed, a greater source of the regret to which I refer, is the utter incompetency, which I unfeignedly feel, to do anything like adequate justice to the great cause of American independence and freedom, whose interests I wish to promote by my humble exertions in this instance. Exhausted and worn down as I am, by the fatigue, confinement, and incessant application incident to the arduous duties of the honorable station I hold, during a four months' session, I shall need all that kind indulgence which has been so often extended to me by the House.

I beg, in the first place, to correct misconceptions, if any exist, in regard to my opinions. I am averse from war with Spain, or with any power. I would give no just cause of war to any power—not to Spain herself. I have seen enough of war, and of its calamities, even when successful. No country upon earth has more interest than this in cultivating peace and avoiding war, as long as it is possible honorably to avoid it. Gaining additional strength every day; our numbers doubling in periods of twenty-five years; with an income outstripping all our estimates, and so great, as, after a war in some respects disastrous, to furnish results which carry astonishment, if not dismay, into the bosom of States jealous of our rising importance, we have every motive for the love of peace. I can not, however, approve, in all respects, of the manner in which our negotiations with Spain have been conducted. If ever a favorable time existed for the demand, on the part of an injured nation, of indemnity for past wrongs from the aggressor, such is the present time. Impoverished and exhausted at home, by the wars which have desolated the Peninsula; with a foreign war calling for infinitely more resources, in men and money, than she can possibly command, this is the auspicious period for insisting upon justice at her hands, in a firm and decided tone. Time is precisely what Spain now most wants. Yet what are we told by the President in his message at the commencement of Congress? That Spain had procrastinated, and we acquiesced in her procrastination. And the Secretary of State, in a late communication with Mr. Onis, after ably vindicating all our rights, tells the Spanish minister, with a good deal of *sang froid*, that we had patiently waited thirteen years for a redress of our injuries, and that it required no great effort to wait longer! I would have abstained from thus exposing our intentions. Avoiding the use of the language of menace, I would have required, in temperate and decided terms, indemnity for all our wrongs; for the spoliations of our commerce; for the interruption of the right of dépôt at New Orleans, guarantied by treaty; for the insults repeatedly offered to our flag; for the Indian hostilities, which she was bound to prevent; for the belligerent use made of her ports and territories by our enemy during the late war; and the instanta-

neous liberation of the free citizens of the United States now imprisoned in her jails. Contemporaneous with that demand, without waiting for her final answer, and with a view to the favorable operation on her councils in regard to our own peculiar interests, as well as in justice to the cause itself, I would recognize any established government in Spanish America. I would have left Spain to draw her own inferences from these proceedings, as to the ultimate step which this country might adopt, if she longer withheld justice from us. And if she persevered in her iniquity, after we have conducted the negotiation in the manner I have endeavored to describe, I would then take up and decide the solemn question of peace or war, with the advantage of all the light shed upon it by subsequent events, and the probable conduct of Europe.

Spain has undoubtedly given us abundant and just cause of war. But it is not every cause of war that should lead to war. War is one of those dreadful scourges that so shakes the foundations of society, overturns or changes the character of governments, interrupts or destroys the pursuits of private happiness, brings, in short, misery and wretchedness in so many forms, and at last is, in its issue, so doubtful and hazardous, that nothing but dire necessity can justify an appeal to arms. If we are to have war with Spain, I have, however, no hesitation in saying, that no mode of bringing it about could be less fortunate than that of seizing, at this time, upon her adjoining province. There was a time, under certain circumstances, when we might have occupied East Florida with safety; had we then taken it, our posture in the negotiation with Spain, would have been totally different from what it is. But we have permitted that time, not with my consent, to pass by unimproved. If we were now to seize upon Florida, after a great change in those circumstances, and after declaring our intention to acquiesce in the procrastination desired by Spain, in what light should we be viewed by foreign powers, particularly Great Britain? We have already been accused of inordinate ambition, and of seeking to aggrandize ourselves by an extension, on all sides, of our limits. Should we not, by such an act of violence, give color to the accusation? No, Mr. Chairman, if we are to be involved in a war with Spain, let us have the credit of disinterestedness. Let us put her yet more in the wrong. Let us command the respect which is never withheld from those who act a noble and generous part. I hope to communicate to the committee the conviction which I so strongly feel, that the adoption of the amendment which I intend to propose, would not hazard, in the slightest degree, the peace of the country. But if that peace is to be endangered, I would infinitely rather it should be for our exerting the right appertaining to every State, of acknowledging the independence of another State, than for the seizure of a province which, sooner or later, we must certainly acquire.

In contemplating the great struggle in which Spanish America is now engaged, our attention is first fixed by the immensity and character of the country which Spain seeks again to subjugate. Stretching on the Pacific

Ocean from about the fortieth degree of North latitude to about the fifty-fifth degree of South latitude, and extending from the mouth of the Rio del Norte (exclusive of East Florida), around the Gulf of Mexico, and along the South Atlantic to near Cape Horn; it is about five thousand miles in length, and in some places near three thousand in breadth. Within this vast region we behold the most sublime and interesting objects of creation; the loftiest mountains, the most majestic rivers in the world; the richest mines of the precious metals, and the choicest productions of the earth. We behold there a spectacle still more interesting and sublime—the glorious spectacle of eighteen millions of people, struggling to burst their chains and to be free. When we take a little nearer and more detailed view, we perceive that nature has, as it were, ordained that this people and this country shall ultimately constitute several different nations. Leaving the United States on the North, we come to New Spain, or the vice-royalty of Mexico, on the South; passing by Guatemala, we reach the vice-royalty of New Grenada, the late captain-generalship of Venezuela, and Guiana, lying on the east side of the Andes. Stepping over the Brazils, we arrive at the United Provinces of La Plata, and crossing the Andes, we find Chili on their West side, and, further North, the vice-royalty of Lima, or Peru. Each of these several parts is sufficient in itself, in point of limits, to constitute a powerful state; and, in point of population, that which has the smallest, contains enough to make it respectable. Throughout all the extent of that great portion of the world, which I have attempted thus hastily to describe, the spirit of revolt against the dominion of Spain has manifested itself. The revolution has been attended with various degrees of success in the several parts of Spanish America. In some it has been already crowned, as I shall endeavor to show, with complete success, and in all I am persuaded that independence has struck such deep root that the power of Spain can never eradicate it. What are the causes of this great movement?

Three hundred years ago, upon the ruins of the thrones of Montezuma and the Incas of Peru, Spain erected the most stupendous system of colonial despotism that the world has ever seen—the most vigorous, the most exclusive. The great principle and object of this system has been to render one of the largest portions of the world exclusively subservient, in all its faculties, to the interests of an inconsiderable spot in Europe. To effectuate this aim of her policy, she locked up Spanish America from all the rest of the world, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any foreigner from entering any part of it. To keep the natives themselves ignorant of each other, and of the strength and resources of the several parts of her American possessions, she next prohibited the inhabitants of one vice-royalty or government from visiting those of another; so that the inhabitants of Mexico, for example, were not allowed to enter the vice-royalty of New Grenada. The agriculture of those vast regions was so regulated and restrained as to prevent all collision with the agriculture of the peninsula. Where nature, by the character and composition of the soil, had commanded,

the abominable system of Spain has forbidden, the growth of certain articles. Thus the olive and the vine, to which Spanish America is so well adapted, are prohibited, wherever their culture can interfere with the olive and the vine of the peninsula. The commerce of the country, in the direction and objects of the exports and imports, is also subjected to the narrow and selfish views of Spain—and fettered by the odious spirit of monopoly existing in Cadiz. She has sought, by scattering discord among the several castes of her American population, and by a debasing course of education, to perpetuate her oppression. Whatever concerns public law, or the science of government, all writings upon political economy, or that tend to give vigor, and freedom, and expansion, to the intellect, are prohibited. Gentlemen would be astonished by the long list of distinguished authors, whom she proscribes, to be found in Depon's and other works. A main feature in her policy, is that which constantly elevates the European and depresses the American character. Out of upward of seven hundred and fifty viceroys and captains-general, whom she has appointed since the conquest of America, about eighteen only have been from the body of the American population. On all occasions, she seeks to raise and promote her European subjects, and to degrade and humiliate the Creoles. Wherever in America her sway extends, everything seems to pine and wither beneath its baneful influence. The richest regions of the earth; man, his happiness and his education, all the fine faculties of his soul, are regulated, and modified, and moulded, to suit the execrable purposes of an inexorable despotism.

Such is a brief and imperfect picture of the state of things in Spanish America in 1808, when the famous transactions of Bayonne occurred. The King of Spain and the Indies (for Spanish America has always constituted an integral part of the Spanish empire) abdicated his throne and became a voluntary captive. Even at this day, one does not know whether he should most condemn the baseness and perfidy of the one party, or despise the meanness and imbecility of the other. If the obligation of obedience and allegiance existed on the part of the colonies to the king of Spain, it was founded on the duty of protection which he owed them. By disqualifying himself for the performance of this duty, they became released from that obligation. The monarchy was dissolved; and each integral part had a right to seek its own happiness, by the institution of any new government adapted to its wants. Joseph Bonaparte, the successor *de facto* of Ferdinand, recognised this right on the part of the colonies, and recommended them to establish their independence. Thus, upon the ground of strict right; upon the footing of a mere legal question, governed by forensic rules, the colonies, being absolved by the acts of the parent-country from the duty of subjection to it, had an indisputable right to set up for themselves. But I take a broader and a bolder position. I maintain, that an oppressed people are authorized, whenever they can, to rise and break their fetters. This was the great principle of the English revolution. It was the great principle of our own. Vattel, if authority were wanting, expressly supports this right.

We must pass sentence of condemnation upon the founders of our liberty—say that they were rebels—traitors, and that we are at this moment legislating without competent powers, before we can condemn the cause of Spanish America. Our revolution was mainly directed against the mere theory of tyranny. We had suffered comparatively little; we had, in some respects, been kindly treated; but our intrepid and intelligent fathers saw, in the usurpation of the power to levy an inconsiderable tax, the long train of oppressive acts that were to follow. They rose; they breasted the storm; they achieved our freedom. Spanish America for centuries has been doomed to the practical effects of an odious tyranny. If we were justified, she is more than justified.

I am no propagandist. I would not seek to force upon other nations our principles and our liberty, if they do not want them. I would not disturb the repose even of a detestable despotism. But, if an abused and oppressed people will their freedom; if they seek to establish it; if, in truth, they *have* established it, we have a right, as a sovereign power, to notice the fact, and to act as circumstances and our interest require. I will say, in the language of the venerated father of my country: "Born in a land of liberty, my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes, are irresistibly excited, whensoever, in any country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom." Whenever I think of Spanish America, the image irresistibly forces itself upon my mind of an elder brother, whose education has been neglected, whose person has been abused and maltreated, and who has been disinherited by the unkindness of an unnatural parent. And, when I contemplate the glorious struggle which that country is now making, I think I behold that brother rising, by the power and energy of his fine native genius, to the manly rank which nature, and nature's God, intended for him.

If Spanish America be entitled to success from the justness of her cause, we have no less reason to wish that success from the horrible character which the royal arms have given to the war. More atrocities than those which have been perpetrated during its existence, are not to be found even in the annals of Spain herself. And history, reserving some of her blackest pages for the name of Morillo, is prepared to place him by the side of his great prototype, the infamous desolator of the Netherlands. He who has looked into the history of the conduct of this war, is constantly shocked at the revolting scenes which it portrays; at the refusal, on the part of the commanders of the royal forces, to treat, on any terms, with the other side; at the denial of quarters; at the butchery, in cold blood, of prisoners; at the violation of flags, in some cases after being received with religious ceremonies; at the instigation of slaves to rise against their owners; and at acts of wanton and useless barbarity. Neither the weakness of the other sex, nor the imbecility of old age, nor the innocence of infants, nor the reverence due to the sacerdotal character, can stay the arm of royal vengeance. On this subject I beg leave to trouble the committee with reading a few passages from

a most authentic document, the manifesto of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, published in October last. This is a paper of the highest authority; it is an appeal to the world; it asserts facts of notoriety in the face of the whole world. It is not to be credited that the Congress would come forward with a statement which was not true, when the means, if it were false, of exposing their fabrications, must be so abundant, and so easy to command. It is a document, in short, that stands upon the same footing of authority with our own papers, promulgated during the Revolution by our Congress. I will add, that many of the facts which it affirms are corroborated by most respectable historical testimony, which is in my own possession.

"Memory shudders at the recital of the horrors that were committed by Goyeneche in Cochabamba. Would to Heaven it were possible to blot from remembrance the name of that ungrateful and blood-thirsty American; who, on the day of his entry, ordered the virtuous Governor and Intendant, Antesana, to be shot; who, beholding from the balcony of his house that infamous murder, cried out with a ferocious voice to the soldiers, that they must not fire at the head, because he wanted it to be affixed to a pole; and who, after the head was taken off, ordered the cold corpse to be dragged through the streets; and, by a barbarous decree, placed the lives and fortunes of the citizens at the mercy of his unbridled soldiery, leaving them to exercise their licentious and brutal sway during several days! But those blind and cruelly capricious men (the Spaniards) rejected the mediation of England, and despatched rigorous orders to all the generals, to aggravate the war, and to punish us with more severity. The scaffolds were everywhere multiplied, and invention was racked to devise means for spreading murder, distress, and consternation.

"Thenceforth they made all possible efforts to spread division among us, to incite us to mutual extermination; they have slandered us with the most atrocious calumnies, accusing us of plotting the destruction of our holy religion, the abolition of all morality, and of introducing licentiousness of manners. They wage a religious war against us, contriving a thousand artifices to disturb and alarm the consciences of the people, making the Spanish bishops issue decrees of ecclesiastical condemnation, public excommunications, and disseminating, through the medium of some ignorant confessor, fanatical doctrines in the tribunal of penance. By means of these religious discords they have divided families against themselves; they have caused disaffection between parents and children; they have dissolved the tender ties which unite man and wife; they have spread rancor and implacable hatred between brothers most endeared, and they have presumed to throw all nature into discord.

"They have adopted the system of murdering men indiscriminately, to diminish our numbers; and, on their entry into towns, they have swept off all, even the market people, leading them to the open squares, and there shooting them one by one. The cities of Chuquisaca and Cochabamba have more than once been the theatres of these horrid slaughters.

"They have intermixed with their troops soldiers of ours whom they had taken prisoners, carrying away the officers in chains, to garrisons where it is impossible to preserve health for a year—they have left others to die in their prisons of hunger and misery, and others they have forced to hard labor on the public works. They have exultingly put to death our bearers of flags of truce, and have been guilty of the blackest atrocities to our chiefs, after they had surrendered; as well as to other principal characters, in disregard of the humanity with which we treated prisoners; as a proof of it, witness the deputy Mutes of Potosi, the Captain-General Pumacagua, General Augulo, and his brother commandant Munecas, and other partisan chiefs, who were shot in cold blood, after having been prisoners for several days.

"They took a brutal pleasure in cropping the ears of the natives of the town of Villegrande, and sending a basket full of them as presents to the headquarters. They afterward burnt that town, and set fire to thirty other populous towns of Peru, and, worse than the worst of savages, shut the inhabitants up in the houses before setting them on fire, that they might be burnt alive.

"They have not only been cruel and unsparing in their mode of murder, but they have been void of all morality and public decency, causing aged ecclesiastics and women to be lashed to a gun, and publicly flogged, with the abomination of first having been stripped, and their nakedness exposed to shame, in the presence of their troops.

"They established an inquisitorial system in all these punishments; they have seized on peaceable inhabitants, and transported them across the sea, to be judged for suspected crimes; and they have put a great number of citizens to death everywhere, without accusation or the form of trial.

"They have invented a crime of unexampled horror, in poisoning our water and pro-

visions, when they were conquered by General Pineto at La Paz; and in return for the kindness with which we treated them, after they had surrendered at discretion, they had the barbarity to blow up the headquarters, under which they had constructed a mine, and prepared a train beforehand.

"He has branded us with the stigma of rebels, the moment he returned to Madrid; he refused to listen to our complaints, or to receive our supplications; and, as an act of extreme favor, he offered us pardon. He confirmed the Viceroys, Governors, and Generals, whom he found actually glutted with carnage. He declared us guilty of a high misdemeanor for having dared to frame a constitution for our own government, free from the control of a deified, absolute, and tyrannical power, under which we had groaned three centuries; a measure that could be offensive only to a prince, who is an enemy to justice and beneficence, and consequently unworthy to rule over us.

"He then undertook, with the aid of his ministers, to equip large military armaments, to be directed against us. He caused numerous armies to be sent out, to consummate the work of devastation, fire, and plunder.

"He has sent his generals, with certain decrees of pardon, which they publish to deceive the ignorant, and induce them to facilitate their entrance into towns, while at the same time he has given them other secret instructions, authorizing them, as soon as they could get possession of a place, to hang, burn, confiscate, and sack; to encourage private assassinations—and to commit every species of injury in their power, against the deluded beings who had confided in his pretended pardon. It is in the name of Ferdinand of Bourbon that the heads of patriot officers, prisoners, are fixed up in the highways; that they beat and stoned to death a commandant of light troops; and that, after having killed Colonel Camugo, in the same manner, by the hands of the indecent Centeno, they cut off his head, and sent it as a present to General Pazuela, telling him it was a miracle of the virgin of the Carmelites."

In the establishment of the independence of Spanish America, the United States have the deepest interest. I have no hesitation in asserting my firm belief, that there is no question in the foreign policy of this country, which has ever arisen, or which I can conceive as ever occurring, in the decision of which we have had or can have so much at stake. This interest concerns our politics, our commerce, our navigation. There can not be a doubt that Spanish America, once independent, whatever may be the form of the governments established in its several parts, these governments will be animated by an American feeling, and guided by an American policy. They will obey the laws of the system of the New World, of which they will compose a part, in contradistinction to that of Europe. Without the influence of that vortex in Europe, the balance of power between its several parts, the preservation of which has so often drenched Europe in blood, America is sufficiently remote to contemplate the new wars which are to afflict that quarter of the globe, as a calm, if not a cold and indifferent spectator. In relation to those wars, the several parts of America will generally stand neutral. And as, during the period when they rage, it will be important that a liberal system of neutrality should be adopted and observed, all America will be interested in maintaining and enforcing such a system. The independence, then, of Spanish America is an interest of primary consideration. Next to that, and highly important in itself, is the consideration of the nature of their governments. That is a question, however, for themselves. They will, no doubt, adopt those kinds of governments which are best suited to their condition, best calculated for their happiness. Anxious as I am that they should be free governments, we have no right to prescribe for them. They are and ought to be the sole judges for themselves. I am strongly inclined to believe that they will in most, if not all parts of their country, establish free governments. We are their great example

Of us they constantly speak as of brothers, having a similar origin. They adopt our principles, copy our institutions, and, in many instances, employ the very language and sentiments of our revolutionary papers.

"Having then been thus impelled by the Spaniards and their King, we have calculated all the consequences, and have constituted ourselves independent, prepared to exercise the right of nature to defend ourselves against the ravages of tyranny, at the risk of our honor, our lives, and fortune. We have sworn to the only King we acknowledge, the Supreme Judge of the world, that we will not abandon the cause of justice; that we will not suffer the country which he has given us to be buried in ruins, and inundated with blood, by the hands of the executioner," &c.

But it is sometimes said that they are too ignorant and too superstitious to admit of the existence of free government. This charge of ignorance is often urged by persons themselves actually ignorant of the real condition of that people. I deny the alleged fact of ignorance; I deny the inference from that fact, if it were true, that they want capacity for free government; and I refuse assent to the further conclusion, if the fact were true, and the inference just, that we are to be indifferent to their fate. All the writers of the most established authority, Depons, Humboldt, and others, concur in assigning to the people of Spanish America, great quickness, genius, and particular aptitude for the acquisition of the exact sciences, and others which they have been allowed to cultivate. In astronomy, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, botany, &c., they are allowed to make distinguished proficiency. They justly boast of their Abzate, Velasques, and Gama, and other illustrious contributors to science. They have nine universities, and, in the city of Mexico, it is affirmed by Humboldt, that there are more solid scientific establishments than in any city even of North America. I would refer to the message of the supreme director of La Plata, which I shall hereafter have occasion to use for another purpose, as a model of fine composition of a State paper, challenging a comparison with any, the most celebrated that ever issued from the pens of Jefferson or Madison. Gentlemen will egregiously err if they form their opinions of the present moral condition of Spanish America, from what it was under the debasing system of Spain. The eight years' revolution in which it has been engaged, has already produced a powerful effect. Education has been attended to, and genius developed.

"As soon as the project of the revolution arose on the shores of La Plata, genius and talent exhibited their influence; the capacity of the people became manifest, and the means of acquiring knowledge were soon made the favorite pursuit of the youth. As far as the wants or the inevitable interruption of affairs has allowed, everything has been done to disseminate useful information. The liberty of the press has indeed met with some occasional checks; but in Buenos Ayres alone, as many periodical works weekly issue from the press as in Spain and Portugal put together."

The fact is not therefore true that the imputed ignorance exists; but, if it do, I repeat, I dispute the inference. It is the doctrine of thrones, that man is too ignorant to govern himself. Their partizans assert his incapacity in reference to all nations; if they can not command universal assent to the proposition, it is then demanded as to particular nations; and our pride and r presumption too often make converts of us. I contend that it is to arraign the dispositions of Providence himself, to suppose that he has created

beings incapable of governing themselves, and to be trampled on by kings. Self-government is the natural government of man, and for proof I refer to the aborigines of our own land. Were I to speculate in hypothesis unfavorable to human liberty, my speculations should be founded rather upon the vices, refinements, or density of population. Crowded together in compact masses, even if they were philosophers, the contagion of the passions is communicated and caught, and the effect too often, I admit, is the overthrow of liberty. Dispersed over such an immense space as that on which the people of Spanish America are spread, their physical, and I believe also their moral condition, both favor their liberty.

With regard to their superstition, they worship the same God with us. Their prayers are offered up in their temples to the same Redeemer, whose intercession we expect so save us. Nor is there anything in the Catholic religion unfavorable to freedom. All religions united with government are more or less inimical to liberty. All separated from government are compatible with liberty. If the people of Spanish America have not already gone as far, in religious toleration, as we have, the difference in their condition from ours should not be forgotten. Everything is progressive; and, in time, I hope to see them imitating, in this respect, our example. But grant that the people of Spanish America are ignorant and incompetent for free government, to whom is that ignorance to be ascribed? Is it not to the execrable system of Spain, which she seeks again to establish and to perpetuate? So far from chilling our hearts, it ought to increase our solicitude for our unfortunate brethren. It ought to animate us to desire the redemption of the minds and the bodies of unborn millions from the brutifying effects of a system whose tendency is to stifle the faculties of the soul, and to degrade man to the level of beasts. I would invoke the spirits of our departed fathers. Was it for yourselves only that you nobly fought? No, no! It was the chains that were forging for your posterity that made you fly to arms, and scattering the elements of these chains to the winds, you transmitted to us the rich inheritance of liberty.

The exports of Spanish America (exclusive of those of the islands) are estimated, in the valuable little work of M. Torres, deserving to be better known, at about eighty-one millions of dollars. Of these, more than three-fourths consist of the precious metals. The residue are cocoa, coffee, cochineal, sugar, and some other articles. No nation ever offered richer commodities in exchange. It is of no material consequence that we produce but little that Spanish America wants. Commerce, as it actually exists, in the hands of maritime States, is no longer confined to a mere barter, between any two States, of their respective productions. It renders tributary to its interests the commodities of all quarters of the world; so that a rich American cargo, or the contents of an American commercial warehouse, present you with whatever is rare or valuable in every part of the globe. Commerce is not to be judged by its results in transactions with one nation only. Unfavorable balances existing with one State, are made up by contrary

balances with other States, and its true value should be tested by the totality of its operations. Our greatest trade — that with Great Britain, judged by the amount of what we sell for her consumption, and what we buy of her for ours, would be pronounced ruinous. But the unfavorable balance is covered by the profits of trade with other nations. We may safely trust to the daring enterprise of our merchants. The precious metals are in South America, and they will command the articles wanted in South America, which will purchase them. Our navigation will be benefited by the transportation, and our country will realize the mercantile profits. Already the item in our exports of American manufactures is respectable. They go chiefly to the West Indies and to Spanish America. This item is constantly augmenting. And I would again, as I have on another occasion, ask gentlemen to elevate themselves to the actual importance and greatness of our Republic; to reflect, like true American statesmen, that we are not legislating for the present day only; and to contemplate this country in its march to true greatness, when millions and millions will be added to our population, and when the increased productive industry will furnish an infinite variety of fabrics for foreign consumption, in order to supply our own wants. The distribution of the precious metals has hitherto been principally made through the circuitous channel of Cadiz. No one can foresee all the effects which will result from a direct distribution of them from the mines which produce them. One of these effects will probably be to give us the entire command of the Indian trade. The advantage we have on the map of the world over Europe, in that respect, is prodigious. Again, if England, persisting in her colonial monopoly, continues to occlude her ports in the West Indies to us, and we should, as I contend we ought, meet her system by a countervailing measure, Venezuela, New Grenada, and other parts of Spanish America, would afford us all we get from the British West Indies. I confess that I despair, for the present, of adopting that salutary measure. It was proposed at the last session, and postponed. During the present session it has been again proposed, and, I fear, will be again postponed. I see, and I own it with infinite regret, a tone and a feeling in the counsels of the country, infinitely below that which belongs to the country. It is, perhaps, the moral consequence of the exertions of the late war. We are alarmed at dangers, we know not what; by spectres conjured up by our own vivid imaginations.

The West India bill is brought up. We shrug our shoulders, talk of restrictions, non-intercourse, embargo, commercial warfare, make long faces, and — postpone the bill. The time will however come, must come, when this country will not submit to a commerce with the British colonies upon the terms which England alone prescribes. And, I repeat, when it arrives, Spanish America will afford us an ample substitute. Then, as to our navigation; gentlemen should recollect that, if reasoning from past experience were safe for the future, our great commercial rival will be in war a greater number of years than she will be in peace. Whenever she shall be at war,

and we are in peace, our navigation being free from the risks and insurance incident to war, we shall engross almost the whole transportation of the Spanish American commerce. For I do not believe that country will ever have a considerable marine. Mexico, the most populous part of it, has but two ports, Vera Cruz and Acapulca, and neither of them very good. Spanish America has not the elements to construct a marine. It wants, and must always want, hardy seamen. I do not believe that in the present improved state of navigation, any nation, so far South, will ever make a figure as maritime powers. If Carthage and Rome, in ancient times, and some other States of a later period, occasionally made great exertions on the water, it must be recollected that they were principally on a small theatre, and in a totally different state of the art of navigation, or when there was no competition from Northern States.

I am aware that, in opposition to the interest which I have been endeavoring to manifest that this country has in the independence of Spanish America, it is contended that we shall find that country a great rival in agricultural productions. There is something so narrow, and selfish, and grovelling, in this argument, if founded in fact; something so unworthy the magnanimity of a great and a generous people, that I confess I have scarcely patience to notice it. But it is not true to any extent. Of the eighty odd millions of exports, only about one million and a half consist of an article which can come into competition with us, and that is cotton. The tobacco which Spain derives from her colonies, is chiefly produced in her islands. Breadstuffs can nowhere be raised and brought to market in any amount materially affecting us. The table-lands of Mexico, owing to their elevation, are, it is true, well adapted to the culture of grain; but the expense and difficulty of getting it to the Gulf of Mexico, and the action of the intense heat at La Vera Cruz, the only port of exportation, must always prevent Mexico from being an alarming competitor. Spanish America is capable of producing articles so much more valuable than those which we raise, that it is not probable they will abandon a more profitable for a less advantageous culture, to come into competition with us. The West India Islands are well adapted to the raising of cotton; and yet the more valuable culture of coffee and sugar is constantly preferred. Again, Providence has so ordered it, that, with regard to countries producing articles apparently similar, there is some peculiarity, resulting from climate, or from some other cause, that gives to each an appropriate place in the general wants and consumption of mankind. The Southern part of the continent, La Plata and Chili, is too remote to rival us.

The immense country watered by the Mississippi and its branches has a peculiar interest, which I trust I shall be excused for noticing. Having but the single vent of New Orleans for all the surplus produce of their industry it is quite evident that they would have a greater security for enjoying the advantages of that outlet, if the independence of Mexico upon any European power were effected. Such a power, owning at the same time Cuba, the

great key of the Gulf of Mexico, and all the shores of that gulf, with the exception of the portion between the Perdido, and Rio del Norte, must have a powerful command over our interests. Spain, it is true, is not a dangerous neighbor at present, but, in the vicissitudes of states, her power may be again resuscitated.

Having shown that the cause of the patriots is just, and that we have a great interest in its successful issue, I will next inquire what course of policy it becomes us to adopt. I have already declared it to be one of strict and impartial neutrality. It is not necessary for their interests, it is not expedient for our own, that we should take part in the war. All they demand of us is a just neutrality. It is compatible with this pacific policy—it is required by it, that we should recognize any established government, if there be any established government in Spanish America. Recognition alone, without aid, is no just cause of war. With aid, it is, not because of the recognition, but because of the aid, as aid, without recognition, is cause of war. The truth of these propositions I will maintain upon principle, by the practice of other states, and by the usage of our own. There is no common tribunal among nations to pronounce upon the fact of the sovereignty of a new state. Each power does and must judge for itself. It is an attribute of sovereignty so to judge. A nation, in exerting this incontestable right—in pronouncing upon the independence, in fact, of a new state, takes no part in the war. It gives neither men, nor ships, nor money. It merely pronounces that, in so far as it may be necessary to institute any relations, or to support any intercourse, with the new power, that power is capable of maintaining those relations, and authorizing that intercourse. Martens and other publicists lay down these principles.

When the United Provinces formerly severed themselves from Spain, it was about eighty years before their independence was finally recognised by Spain. Before that recognition, the United Provinces had been received by all the rest of Europe into the family of nations. It is true that a war broke out between Philip and Elizabeth, but it proceeded from the aid which she determined to give, and did give, to Holland. In no instance, I believe, can it be shown, from authentic history, that Spain made war upon any power on the sole ground that such power had acknowledged the independence of the United Provinces.

In the case of our own revolution, it was not until after France had given us aid, and had determined to enter into a treaty of alliance with us—a treaty by which she guarantied our independence—that England declared war. Holland also was charged by England with favoring our cause, and deviating from the line of strict neutrality. And, when it was perceived that she was, moreover, about to enter into a treaty with us, England declared war. Even if it were shown that a proud, haughty, and powerful nation like England, had made war upon other provinces on the ground of a mere recognition, the single example could not alter the public law or shake the strength of a clear principle.

But what has been our uniform practice? We have constantly proceeded on the principle, that the government *de facto* is that we can alone notice. Whatever form of government any society of people adopts, whoever they acknowledge as their sovereign, we consider that government or that sovereign as the one to be acknowledged by us. We have invariably abstained from assuming a right to decide in favor of the sovereign *de jure*, and against the sovereign *de facto*. That is a question for the nation in which it arises to determine. And so far as we are concerned, the sovereign *de facto* is the sovereign *de jure*. Our own revolution stands on the basis of the right of a people to change their rulers. I do not maintain that every immature revolution, every usurper, before his power is consolidated, is to be acknowledged by us; but that as soon as stability and order are maintained, no matter by whom, we always have considered, and ought to consider, the actual as the true government. General Washington, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, all, while they were respectively presidents, acted on these principles.

In the case of the French republic, General Washington did not wait until some of the crowned heads of Europe should set him the example of acknowledging it, but accredited a minister at once. And it is remarkable that he was received before the government of the republic was considered as established. It will be found in Marshall's Life of Washington, that when it was understood that a minister from the French Republic was about to present himself, President Washington submitted a number of questions to his cabinet for their consideration and advice, one of which was, whether, upon the reception of the minister, he should be notified that America would suspend the execution of the treaties between the two countries until France had an established government. General Washington did not stop to inquire whether the descendants of St. Louis were to be considered as the legitimate sovereigns of France, and if the revolution was to be regarded as unauthorized resistance to their sway. He saw France, in fact, under the government of those who had subverted the throne of the Bourbons, and he acknowledged the actual government. During Mr. Jefferson's and Mr. Madison's administrations, when the Cortes of Spain and Joseph Bonaparte respectively contended for the crown, those enlightened statesmen said, We will receive a minister from neither party; settle the question between yourselves, and we will acknowledge the party that prevails. We have nothing to do with your feuds; whoever all Spain acknowledges as her sovereign, is the only sovereign with whom we can maintain any relations. Mr. Jefferson, it is understood, considered whether he should not receive a minister from both parties, and finally decided against it, beccause of the inconveniences to this country, which might result from the double representation of another power. As soon as the French armies were expelled from the Peninsula, Mr. Madison, still acting on the principles of the government *de facto*, received the present minister from Spain. During all the phases of the French government, republic, directory, consuls, consul for life, emperor

king, emperor again, king, our government has uniformly received the minister.

If, then, there be an established government in Spanish America, deserving to rank among the nations, we are morally and politically bound to acknowledge it, unless we renounce all the principles which ought to guide, and which hitherto have guided our councils. I shall now undertake to show, that the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata possess such a government. Its limits, extending from the South Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, embrace a territory equal to that of the United States, certainly equal to it, exclusive of Louisiana. Its population is about three millions, more than equal to ours at the commencement of our revolution. That population is a hardy, enterprising, and gallant population. The establishments of Montevideo and Buenos Ayres have, during different periods of their history, been attacked by the French, Dutch, Danes, Portuguese, English, and Spanish; and such is the martial character of the people, that in every instance the attack has been repulsed. In 1807, General Whitlocke, commanding a powerful English army, was admitted, under the guise of a friend, into Buenos Ayres, and as soon as he was supposed to have demonstrated inimical designs, he was driven by the native and unaided force of Buenos Ayres from the country. Buenos Ayres has, during now nearly eight years, been, in point of fact, in the enjoyment of self-government. The capital, containing more than sixty thousand inhabitants, has never been once lost. As early as 1811, the regency of Old Spain made war upon Buenos Ayres, and the consequence subsequently was, the capture of a Spanish army in Montevideo, equal to that of Burgoyne. This government has now, in excellent discipline, three well-appointed armies, with the most abundant material of war; the army of Chili, the army of Peru, and the army of Buenos Ayres. The first, under San Martin, has conquered Chili; the second is penetrating in a northwestern direction from Buenos Ayres, into the vice-royalty of Peru; and, according to the last accounts, had reduced the ancient seat of empire of the Incas. The third remains at Buenos Ayres to oppose any force which Spain may send against it. To show the condition of the country in July last, I again call the attention of the committee to the message of the supreme director, delivered to the Congress of the United Provinces. It is a paper of the same authentic character with the speech of the king of England on opening his parliament, or the message of the President of the United States at the commencement of Congress.

"The army of this capital was organized at the same time with those of the Andes and of the interior; the regular force has been nearly doubled; the militia has made great progress in military discipline; our slave population has been formed into battalions, and taught the military art as far as is consistent with their condition. The capital is under no apprehension that an army of ten thousand men can shake its liberties, and should the Peninsularians send against us thrice that number, ample provision has been made to receive them.

"Our navy has been fostered in all its branches. The scarcity of means under which we labored until now, has not prevented us from undertaking very considerable operations, with respect to the national vessels; all of them have been repaired, and others have been purchased and armed, for the defence of our coasts and rivers; provisions have been made,

should necessity require it, for arming many more, so that the enemy will not find himself secure from our reprisals even upon the ocean.

"Our military force, at every point which it occupies, seems to be animated with the same spirit; its tactics are uniform, and have undergone a rapid improvement from the science of experience, which it has borrowed from warlike nations.

"Our arsenals have been replenished with arms, and a sufficient store of cannon and munitions of war have been provided to maintain the contest for many years; and this, after having supplied articles of every description to those districts, which have not as yet come into the Union, but whose connection with us has been only intercepted by reason of our past misfortunes.

"Our legions daily receive considerable augmentations from new levies; all our preparations have been made as though we were about to enter upon the contest anew. Until now, the vastness of our resources was unknown to us, and our enemies may contemplate, with deep mortification and despair, the present flourishing state of these provinces after so many devastations.

"While thus occupied in providing for our safety within, and preparing for assaults from without, other objects of solid interest have not been neglected, and which hitherto were thought to oppose insurmountable obstacles.

"Our system of finance had hitherto been on a footing entirely inadequate to the unfailing supply of our wants, and still more to the liquidation of the immense debt which had been contracted in former years. An unremitted application to this object, has enabled me to create the means of satisfying the creditors of the state who had already abandoned their debts as lost, as well as to devise a fixed mode, by which the taxes may be made to fall equally and directly on the whole mass of our population; it is not the least merit of this operation that it has been effected in despite of the writings by which it was attacked, and which are but little creditable to the intelligence and good intentions of their authors. At no other period have the public exigencies been so punctually supplied, nor have more important works been undertaken.

"The people, moreover, have been relieved from many burdens, which being partial, or confined to particular classes, had occasioned vexation and disgust. Other vexations, scarcely less grievous, will by degrees be also suppressed, avoiding as far as possible a recurrence to loans, which have drawn after them the most fatal consequences to states. Should we, however, be compelled to resort to such expedients, the lenders will not see themselves in danger of losing their advances.

"Many undertakings have been set on foot for the advancement of the general prosperity. Such has been the re-establishing of the college, heretofore named San Carlos, but hereafter to be called the Union of the South, as a point designated for the dissemination of learning to the youth of every part of the state, on the most extensive scale, for the attainment of which object the government is at the present moment engaged in putting in practice every possible diligence. It will not be long before these nurseries will flourish, in which the liberal and exact sciences will be cultivated, in which the hearts of those young men will be formed, who are destined at some future day to add new splendor to our country.

"Such has been the establishment of a military depot on the frontier, with its spacious magazine, a necessary measure to guard us from future dangers, a work which does more honor to the prudent foresight of our country, as it was undertaken in the moment of its prosperous fortunes, a measure which must give more occasion for reflection to our enemies than they can impose upon us by their boastings.

"Fellow-citizens, we owe our unhappy reverses and calamities to the depraving system of our ancient metropolis, which, in condemning us to the obscurity and opprobrium of the most degraded destiny, has sown with thorns the path that conducts us to liberty. Tell that metropolis that even she may glory in your works! Already have you cleared all the rocks, escaped every danger, and conducted these provinces to the flourishing condition in which we now behold them. Let the enemies of your name contemplate with despair the energies of your virtues, and let the nations acknowledge that you already appertain to their illustrious rank. Let us felicitate ourselves on the blessings we have already obtained, and let us show to the world that we have learned to profit by the experience of our past misfortunes."

There is a spirit of bold confidence running through this fine state paper, which nothing but conscious strength could communicate. Their armies, their magazines, their finances, are on the most solid and respectable footing. And amid all the cares of war, and those incident to the consolidation of their new institutions, leisure is found to promote the interests of science, and the education of the rising generation. It is true, the first part of the message portrays scenes of difficulty and commotion, the usual attendants upon revolution. The very avowal of their troubles manifests, however,

that they are subdued. And what state, passing through the agitation of a great revolution, is free from them? We had our tories, our intrigues, our factions. More than once were the affections of the country, and the confidence of our councils, attempted to be shaken in the great father of our liberties. Not a Spanish bayonet remains within the immense extent of the territories of the La Plata to contest the authority of the actual government. It is free, it is independent, it is sovereign. It manages the interests of the society that submits to its sway. It is capable of maintaining the relations between that society and other nations.

Are we not bound, then, upon our own principles, to acknowledge this new republic? If we do not, who will? Are we to expect that kings will set us the example of acknowledging the only republic on earth, except our own? We receive, promptly receive, a minister from whatever king sends us one. From the great powers and the little powers we accredit ministers. We do more: we hasten to reciprocate the compliment; and anxious to manifest our gratitude for royal civility, we send for a minister (as in the case of Sweden and the Netherlands) of the lowest grade, one of the highest rank recognised by our laws. We are the natural head of the American family. I would not intermeddle in the affairs of Europe. We wisely keep aloof from their broils. I would not even intermeddle in those of other parts of America, further than to exert the incontestable rights appertaining to us as a free, sovereign, and independent power; and, I contend, that the accrediting of a minister from the new republic is such a right. We are bound to receive their minister, if we mean to be really neutral. If the royal belligerent is represented and heard at our government, the republican belligerent ought also to be heard. Otherwise, one party will be in the condition of the poor patriots who were tried *ex-parte* the other day in the Supreme Court, without counsel, without friends. Give Mr. Onis his *congé*, or receive the republican minister. Unless you do so, your neutrality is nominal.

I will next proceed to inquire into the consequences of a recognition of the new republic. Will it involve us in a war with Spain? I have shown, I trust, successfully shown, that there is no just cause of war to Spain. Being no cause of war, we have no right to expect that war will ensue. If Spain, without cause, will make war, she may make it whether we do or do not acknowledge the republic. But she will not, because she can not, make war against us. I call the attention of the committee to a report of the minister of the Hacienda to the king of Spain, presented about eight months ago. A more beggarly account of empty boxes was never rendered. The picture of Mr. Dallas, sketched in his celebrated report during the last war may be contemplated without emotion, after surveying that of Mr. Gary. The expenses of the current year required eight hundred and thirty millions two hundred and sixty-seven thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine reals, and the deficit of the income is represented as two hundred and thirty-three millions one hundred and forty thousand nine hundred and thirty-two reals.

This, besides an immense mass of unliquidated debt, which the minister acknowledges the utter inability of the country to pay, although bound in honor to redeem it. He states that the vassals of the king are totally unable to submit to any new taxes, and the country is without credit, so as to render anticipation by loans wholly impracticable. Mr. Gary appears to be a virtuous man, who exhibits frankly the naked truth; and yet such a minister acknowledges that the decorum due to one single family, that of the monarch, does not admit, in this critical condition of his country, any reduction of the enormous sum of upward of fifty-six millions of reals, set apart to defray the expenses of that family! He states that a foreign war would be the greatest of all calamities, and one which, being unable to provide for it, they ought to employ every possible means to avert. He proposed some inconsiderable contribution from the clergy, and the whole body was instantly in an uproar. Indeed, I have no doubt that, surrounded as Mr. Gary is, by corruption, by intrigue, and folly, and imbecility, he will be compelled to retire, if he has not already been dismissed from a post for which he has too much integrity. It has been now about four years since the restoration of Ferdinand; and if, during that period, the whole energies of the monarchy have been directed unsuccessfully against the weakest and most vulnerable of all the American possessions, Venezuela, how is it possible for Spain to encounter the difficulties of a new war with this country? Morillo has been sent out with one of the finest armies that has ever left the shores of Europe—consisting of ten thousand men, chosen from all the veterans who have fought in the Peninsula. It has subsequently been re inforced with about three thousand more. And yet, during the last summer, it was reduced, by the sword and the climate, to about four thousand effective men. And Venezuela, containing a population of only about one million, of which near two-thirds are persons of color, remains unsubdued. The little island of Margaritta, whose population is less than twenty thousand inhabitants—a population fighting for liberty with more than Roman valor—has compelled that army to retire upon the main. Spain, by the late accounts, appeared to be deliberating upon the necessity of resorting to that measure of conscription for which Bonaparte has been so much abused. The effect of a war with this country would be to insure success, beyond all doubt, to the cause of American independence. Those parts even, over which Spain has some prospect of maintaining her dominions, would probably be put in jeopardy. Such a war would be attended with the immediate and certain loss of Florida. Commanding the gulf of Mexico, as we should be enabled to do by our navy, blockading the port of Havana, the port of La Vera Cruz, and the coast of Terra Firma, and throwing munitions of war into Mexico, Cuba would be menaced—Mexico emancipated—and Morillo's army, deprived of supplies, now drawn principally from this country through the Havana, compelled to surrender. The war, I verily believe, would be terminated in less than two years, supposing no other power to interpose.

Will the allies interfere? If, by the exertion of an unquestionable attribute of a sovereign power, we should give no just cause of war to Spain herself, how can it be pretended that we should furnish even a specious pretext to the allies for making war upon us? On what ground could they attempt to justify a rupture with us, for the exercise of a right which we hold in common with them, and with every other independent state? But we have a surer guaranty against their hostility, in their interests. That all the allies, who have any foreign commerce, have an interest in the independence of Spanish America, is perfectly evident. On what ground, I ask, is it likely, then, that they would support Spain, in opposition to their own decided interest? To crush the spirit of revolt, and prevent the progress of free principles? Nations, like individuals, do not sensibly feel, and seldom act upon dangers which are remote in either time or place. Of Spanish America, but little is known by the great body of the population of Europe. Even in this country, the most astonishing ignorance prevails respecting it. Those European statesmen who are acquainted with the country, will reflect, that, tossed by a great revolution, it will, most probably, constitute four or five several nations, and that the ultimate modification of all their various governments is by no means absolutely certain. But I entertain no doubt that the principle of cohesion among the allies is gone. It was annihilated in the memorable battle of Waterloo. When the question was, whether one should engross all, a common danger united all. How long was it, even with a clear perception of that danger, before an effective coalition could be formed? How often did one power stand by, unmoved and indifferent to the fate of its neighbor, although the destruction of that neighbor removed the only barrier to an attack upon itself? No; the consummation of the cause of the allies was, and all history and all experience will prove it, the destruction of the alliance. The principle is totally changed. It is no longer a common struggle against the colossal power of Bonaparte, but it has become a common scramble for the spoils of his empire. There may, indeed, be one or two points on which a common interest still exists, such as the convenience of subsisting their armies on the vitals of poor, suffering France. But as for action—for new enterprises, there is no principle of unity, there can be no accordance of interests, or of views, among them.

What is the condition in which Europe is left after all its efforts? It is divided into two great powers, one having the undisputed command of the land—the other of the water. Paris is transferred to St. Petersburgh, and the navies of Europe are at the bottom of the sea, or concentrated in the ports of England. Russia—that huge land animal—awing by the dread of her vast power all continental Europe, is seeking to encompass the Porte; and, constituting herself the kraken of the ocean, is anxious to lave her enormous sides in the more genial waters of the Mediterranean. It is said, I know, that she has indicated a disposition to take part with Spain. No such thing. She has sold some old, worm-eaten, decayed, fir-built ships to

Spain, but the crews which navigate them are to return from the port of delivery, and the *bonus* she is to get, I believe to be the island of Minorca, in conformity with the cardinal point of her policy. France is greatly interested in whatever would extend her commerce, and regenerate her marine, and consequently, more than any other power of Europe, England alone excepted, is concerned in the independence of Spanish America. I do not despair of France, so long as France has a legislative body, collected from all its parts, the great repository of its wishes and its will. Already has that body manifested a spirit of considerable independence. And those who, conversant with French history, know what magnanimous stands have been made by the parliaments, bodies of limited extent, against the royal prerogative, will be able to appreciate justly the moral force of such a legislative body. While it exists, the true interests of France will be cherished and pursued on points of foreign policy, in opposition to the pride and interests of the Bourbon family, if the actual dynasty, impelled by this pride, should seek to subserve those interests.

England finds that, after all her exertions, she is everywhere despised on the continent; her maritime power viewed with jealousy; her commerce subjected to the most onerous restrictions; selfishness imputed to all her policy. All the accounts from France represent that every party, Bonapartists, Jacobins, Royalists, Moderes, Ultras, all burn with indignation toward England, and pant for an opportunity to avenge themselves on the power to whom they ascribe all their disasters.

[Here Mr. C. read a part of a letter which he had just received from an intelligent friend at Paris, and which composed only a small portion of the mass of evidence to the same effect, which had come under his notice.]

It is impossible that, with powers, between whom so much cordial dislike, so much incongruity exists, there can be any union or concert. While the free principles of the French revolution remained; those principles which were so alarming to the stability of thrones, there never was any successful or cordial union: coalition after coalition, wanting the spirit of union, was swept away by the overwhelming power of France. It was not until those principles were abandoned, and Bonaparte had erected on their ruins his stupendous fabric of universal empire—nor indeed until after the frosts of heaven favored the cause of Europe, that an effective coalition was formed. No, the complaisance inspired in the allies from unexpected, if not undeserved success, may keep them nominally together; but, for all purposes of united and combined action, the alliance is gone; and I do not believe in the chimera of their crusading against the independence of a country, whose liberation would essentially promote all their respective interests.

But the question of the interposition of the allies, in the event of our recognising the new Republic, resolves itself into a question whether England, in such event, would make war upon us: if it can be shown that England would not, it results either that the other allies would not, or that, if they should, in which case England would most probably support the

cause of America, it would be a war without the maritime ability to maintain it. I contend that England is alike restrained by her honor and by her interests from waging war against us, and consequently against Spanish America also, for an acknowledgment of the independence of the new state. England encouraged and fomented the revolt of the colonies as early as June, 1797. Sir Thomas Picton, governor of Trinidad, in virtue of orders from the British minister of foreign affairs, issued a proclamation, in which he expressly assures the inhabitants of Terra Firma, that the British government will aid in establishing their independence.

"With regard to the hope you entertain of raising the spirits of those persons with whom you are in correspondence, toward encouraging the inhabitants to resist the oppressive authority of their government, I have little more to say than that they may be certain that whenever they are in that disposition, they may receive at your hands all the succors to be expected from his Britannic Majesty, be it with forces or with arms and ammunition to any extent; with the assurance that the views of his Britannic Majesty go no further than to secure to them their independence," &c.

In the prosecution of the same object, Great Britain defrayed the expenses of the famous expedition of Miranda. England, in 1811, when she was in the most intimate relations with Spain, then struggling against the French power, assumed the attitude of a mediator between the colonies and the peninsula. The terms on which she conceived her mediation could alone be effectual were rejected by the Cortes, at the lowest state of the Spanish power. Among these terms, England required for the colonies a perfect freedom of commerce, allowing only some degree of preference to Spain that the appointments of viceroys and governors should be made indiscriminately from Spanish Americans and Spaniards; and that the interior government, and every branch of public administration, should be intrusted to the cabildo, or municipalities, &c. If Spain, when Spain was almost reduced to the Island of St. Leon, then rejected those conditions, will she now consent to them, amounting, as they do, substantially, to the independence of Spanish America? If England, devoted as she was at that time to the cause of the Peninsula, even then thought those terms due to the colonies, will she now, when no particular motive exists for cherishing the Spanish power, and after the ingratitude with which Spain has treated her, think that the colonies ought to submit to less favorable conditions? And would not England stand disgraced in the eyes of the whole world, if, after having abetted and excited a revolution, she should now attempt to reduce the colonies to unconditional submission, or should make war upon us for acknowledging that independence which she herself sought to establish?

No guaranty for the conduct of nations or individuals ought to be stronger than that which honor imposes; but for those who put no confidence in its obligations, I have an argument to urge of more conclusive force. It is founded upon the interests of England. Excluded almost as she is from the continent, the commerce of America, South and North, is worth to her more than the commerce of the residue of the world. That to all Spanish America has been alone estimated at fifteen millions sterling. Its aggregate value to

Spanish America and the United States may be fairly stated at upward of one hundred million dollars. The effect of a war with the two countries would be to divest England of this great interest, at a moment when she is anxiously engaged in repairing the ravages of the European war. Looking to the present moment only, and merely to the interests of commerce, England is concerned more than even this country in the success of the cause of independence in Spanish America. The reduction of the Spanish power in America has been the constant and favorite aim of her policy for two centuries—she must blot out her whole history, reverse the maxims of all her illustrious statesmen, extinguish the spirit of commerce which animates, directs, and controls all her movements, before she can render herself accessary to the subjugation of Spanish America. No commercial advantages which Spain may offer by treaty, can possess the security for her trade which independence would communicate. The one would be most probably of limited duration, and liable to violation from policy, from interest, or from caprice. The other would be as permanent as independence. That I do not mistake the views of the British cabinet, the recent proclamation of the Prince Regent I think proves. The Committee will remark that the document does not describe the patriots as rebels or insurgents, but, using a term which I have no doubt has been well weighed, it declares the existence of a "state of warfare." And with regard to English subjects, who are in the armies of Spain, although they entered the service without restriction as to their military duties, it requires that they shall not take part against the colonies. The subjects of England freely supply the patriots with arms and ammunition, and an honorable friend of mine (Col. Johnson) has just received a letter from one of the West India Islands, stating the arrival there from England of the skeletons of three regiments, with many of the men to fill them, destined to aid the patriots. In the Quarterly Review of November last, a journal devoted to the ministry, and a work of the highest authority, as respects their views—the policy of neutrality is declared and supported as the true policy of England; and that even if the United States were to take part in the war; and Spain is expressly notified that she can not and must not expect aid from England.

"In arguing, therefore, for the advantage of a strict neutrality, we must enter an early protest against any imputations of hostility to the cause of genuine freedom, or of any passion for despotism and the Inquisition. We are no more the panegyrists of legitimate authority in all times, circumstances, and situations, than we are advocates for revolution in the abstract," &c. "But it has been plausibly asserted that, by abstaining from interference in the affairs of South America, we are surrendering to the United States all the advantages which might be secured to ourselves from this revolution; that we are assisting to increase the trade and power of a nation which alone can ever be the maritime rival of England. It appears to us extremely doubtful whether any advantage, commercial or political, can be lost to England by a neutral conduct; it must be observed that the United States themselves have given every public proof of their intention to pursue the same line of policy. But admitting that this conduct is nothing more than a decent pretext; or admitting still farther, that they will afford to the Independents direct and open assistance, our view of the case would remain precisely the same," &c. "To persevere in force, unaided, is to miscalculate her (Spain's) own resources, even to infatuation. To expect the aid of an ally in such a cause would, if that ally were England, be to suppose this country as forgetful of its own past history as of its immediate interests and duties. Far better would it be for Spain, instead of calling for our aid, to profit by our experience; and to substitute

ere it be too late, for efforts like those by which the North American colonies were lost to this country, the conciliatory measures by which they might have been retained."

In the case of the struggle between Spain and her colonies, England, for once at least, has manifested a degree of wisdom highly deserving our imitation, but, unfortunately, the very reverse of her course has been pursued by us. She has so conducted, by operating upon the hopes of the two parties, as to keep on the best terms with both—to enjoy all the advantages of the rich commerce of both. We have, by a neutrality bill, containing unprecedented features, and still more by a late Executive measure, to say the least of it, of doubtful constitutional character, contrived to dissatisfy both parties. We have the confidence of neither Spain nor the colonies.

It remains for me to defend the proposition which I meant to submit, from an objection which I have heard intimated, that it interferes with the duties assigned to the Executive branch. On this subject I feel the greatest solicitude; for no man more than myself respects the preservation of the in dependence of the several departments of government, in the constitutiona. orbits which are prescribed to them. It is my favorite maxim, that each, acting within its proper sphere, should move with its constitutional independence, and under its constitutional responsibility, without influence from any other. I am perfectly aware that the Constitution of the United States, and I admit the proposition in its broadest sense, confides to the Executive the reception and the deputation of ministers. But, in relation to the latter operation, Congress has concurrent will, in the power of providing for the payment of their salaries. The instrument nowhere says or implies that the Executive act of sending a minister to a foreign country shall precede the legislative act which provides for the payment of his salary. And, in point of fact, our statutory code is full of examples of legislative action prior to executive action, both in relation to the deputation of agents abroad, and to the subject matter of treaties. Perhaps the act of sending a minister abroad, and the act of providing for the allowance of his salary, ought to be simultaneous; but if, in the order of precedence, there be more reason on the one side than on the other, I think it is in favor of the priority of the legislative act, as the safer depository of power. When a minister is sent abroad, although the legislature may be disposed to think his mission useless—although, if previously consulted, they would have said they would not consent to pay such a minister—the duty is delicate and painful to refuse to pay the salary promised to him whom the Executive has even unnecessarily sent abroad. I can illustrate my idea by the existing missions to Sweden and to the Netherlands. I have no hesitation in saying that, if we had not ministers of the first grade there, and if the legislature were asked, prior to sending them, whether it would consent to pay ministers of that grade, I would not, and I believe Congress would not, consent to pay them.

If it be urged that, by avowing our willingness, in a legislative act, to pay a minister not yet sent, and whom the President may think it improper to

send abroad, we operate upon the President by all the force of our opinion. it may be retorted that when we are called upon to pay any minister, sent under similar circumstances, we are operated upon by all the force of the President's opinion. The true theory of our Government at least supposes that each of the two departments, acting on its proper constitutional responsibility, will decide according to its best judgment, under all the circumstances of the case. If we make the previous appropriation, we act upon our constitutional responsibility, and the President afterward will proceed upon his. And so if he makes the previous appointment. We have the right, after a minister is sent abroad, and we are called upon to pay him, and we ought to deliberate upon the propriety of his mission — we may and ought to grant or withhold his salary. If this power of deliberation is conceded subsequently to the deputation of the minister, it must exist prior to that deputation. Whenever we deliberate, we deliberate under our constitutional responsibility. Pass the amendment I propose, and it will be passed under that responsibility. Then the President, when he deliberates on the propriety of the mission, will act under his constitutional responsibility. Each branch of government, moving in its proper sphere, will act with as much freedom from the influence of the other, as is practically attainable.

There is great reason, from the peculiar character of the American Government, for a perfect understanding between the legislative and executive branches, in relation to the acknowledgment of a new power. Everywhere else the power of declaring war resides with the executive. Here it is deposited with the legislature. If, contrary to my opinion, there be even a risk that the acknowledgment of a new State may lead to war, it is advisable that the step should not be taken without a previous knowledge of the will of the war-making branch. I am disposed to give to the President all the confidence which he must derive from the unequivocal expression of our will. This expression I know may be given in the form of an abstract resolution, declaratory of that will; but I prefer at this time proposing an act of practical legislation. And if I have been so fortunate as to communicate to the committee, in anything like that degree of strength in which I entertain them, the convictions that the cause of the patriots is just — that the character of the war, as waged by Spain, should induce us to wish them success; that we have a great interest in that success; that this interest, as well as our neutral attitude, require us to acknowledge any established government in Spanish America; that the United Provinces of the River Plata is such a government; that we may safely acknowledge its independence, without danger of war from Spain, from the allies, or from England; and that, without unconstitutional interference with the Executive power, with peculiar fitness, we may express, in an act of appropriation, our sentiments, leaving him to the exercise of a just and responsible discretion — I hope the committee will adopt the proposition which I have now the honor of presenting to them, after a respectful tender of my acknowledgments for their attention and kindness, during, I fear, the tedious

period I have been so unprofitably trespassing upon their patience. I offer the following amendment to the bill: —

"For one year's salary, and an outfit to a Minister to the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, the salary to commence, and the outfit to be paid, whenever the President shall deem it expedient to send a Minister to the said United Provinces, a sum not exceeding eighteen thousand dollars."

[Mr. Clay's proposition did not prevail at this time, being opposed as at least premature by the influence of the Executive, and by all the stagnant conservatism in Congress; but he persevered, knowing that time was on his side, and was rewarded with a triumph, two years later, when (by the close vote of 80 to 75 in the House) Congress, on Mr. Clay's motion, virtually recognized and affirmed the Independence of the South American Republics. More precise and decided resolutions were moved by Mr. Clay at the next Session, and carried by a vote of 87 to 68, when Mr. Clay was appointed Chairman of a Committee to present them to President Monroe, who, a year later, sent a Message to Congress recommending the recognition, which thereupon took place without further opposition.

The foregoing speech, translated into Spanish, was read, by Bolivar's orders, to the South American Patriot Armies, to inspire them for their subsequent conflicts with the legions of Despotism.]

II.

ON PROTECTION TO HOME INDUSTRY.

House of Representatives, March 30–31, 1824.

[Mr. Clay's efforts in behalf of the policy of Protection to American Industry, through such imposts and discriminations as would tend to the naturalization of new branches of industry among us, and their gradual and healthful expansion and establishment, commenced almost simultaneously with his public life, and continued to its close. On this subject he never doubted nor wavered, but, alike when it was stigmatized as anti-commercial Jacobinism, akin to Mr. Jefferson's gun-boats, and when it was denounced as the essence of aristocratic Federalism, he steadily and earnestly maintained the wisdom and statesmanship of the Protective policy. He made many speeches in behalf of this policy, throughout the whole period of his public life, of which we give that of 1824, as the most elaborate and methodical, and as that which most directly contributed to the triumph of his views. It is not too much to say, that this speech passed the Tariff of 1824, whereby the policy of Protection, repeatedly affirmed by preceding Congresses, was first systematically carried into effect.

The bill imposing further duties on Imports in aid of the great Producing interests of the country (which became a law, and is now known as the Tariff of 1824), being under consideration in the House, sitting as a Committee of the Whole, and Mr. P. P. Barbour, of Virginia, having spoken at length in opposition to its passage, Mr. Clay took the floor in reply, and spoke as follows:]

The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Barbour) has embraced the occasion produced by the proposition of the gentleman from Tennessee, to strike out the minimum price in the bill on cotton fabrics, to express his sentiments at

large on the policy of the pending measure; and it is scarcely necessary for me to say, that he has evinced his usual good temper, ability, and decorum. The parts of the bill are so intermingled and interwoven together, that there can be no doubt of the fitness of this occasion to exhibit its merits or its defects. It is my intention, with the permission of the committee, to avail myself also of this opportunity, to present to its consideration those general views, as they appear to me, of the true policy of this country, which imperiously demand the passage of this bill. I am deeply sensible, Mr. Chairman, of the high responsibility of my present situation. But that responsibility inspires me with no other apprehension than that I shall be unable to fulfil my duty; with no other solicitude than that I may, at least in some small degree, contribute to recall my country from the pursuit of a fatal policy, which appears to me inevitably to lead to its impoverishment and ruin. I do feel most awfully this responsibility. And, if it were allowable for us, at the present day, to imitate ancient examples, I would invoke the aid of the Most High. I would anxiously and fervently implore His divine assistance; that He would be graciously pleased to shower on my country His richest blessings; and that He would sustain, on this interesting occasion, the humble individual who stands before Him, and lend him the power, moral and physical, to perform the solemn duties which now belong to his public station.

Two classes of politicians divide the people of the United States. According to the system of one, the produce of foreign industry should be subjected to no other impost than such as may be necessary to provide a public revenue; and the produce of American industry should be left to sustain itself, if it can, with no other than that incidental protection, in its competition, at home as well as abroad, with rival foreign articles. According to the system of the other class, while they agree that the imposts should be mainly, and may, under any modification, be safely relied on as a fit and convenient source of public revenue, they would so adjust and arrange the duties on foreign fabrics as to afford a gradual but adequate protection to American industry, and lessen our dependence on foreign nations, by securing a certain and ultimately a cheaper and better supply of our own wants from our own abundant resources. Both classes are equally sincere in their respective opinions, equally honest, equally patriotic, and desirous of advancing the prosperity of the country. In the discussion and consideration of these opposite opinions, for the purpose of ascertaining which has the support of truth and reason, we should, therefore, exercise every indulgence, and the greatest spirit of mutual moderation and forbearance. And, in our deliberations on this great question, we should look fearlessly and truly at the actual condition of the country, retrace the causes which have brought us into it, and snatch, if possible, a view of the future. We should, above all, consult experience—the experience of other nations, as well as our own, as our truest and most unerring guide.

In casting our eyes around us, the most prominent circumstance which

fixes our attention, and challenges our deepest regret, is the general distress which pervades the whole country. It is forced upon us by numerous facts of the most incontestable character. It is indicated by the diminished exports of native produce; by the depressed and reduced state of our foreign navigation; by our diminished commerce; by successive unthrashed crops of grain, perishing in our barns and barn-yards for the want of a market; by the alarming diminution of the circulating medium; by the numerous bankruptcies, not limited to the trading classes, but extending to all orders of society; by a universal complaint of the want of employment, and a consequent reduction of the wages of labor; by the ravenous pursuit after public situations, not for the sake of their honors and the performance of their public duties, but as a means of private subsistence; by the reluctant resort to the perilous use of paper money; by the intervention of legislation in the delicate relation between debtor and creditor; and, above all, by the low and depressed state of the value of almost every description of the whole mass of the property of the nation, which has, on an average, sunk not less than about fifty per centum within a few years. This distress pervades every part of the Union, every class of society; all feel it, though it may be felt, at different places, in different degrees. It is like the atmosphere which surrounds us—all must inhale it, and none can escape it. In some places it has burst upon our people, without a single mitigating circumstance to temper its severity. In others, more fortunate, slight alleviations have been experienced in the expenditure of the public revenue, and in other favoring causes. A few years ago, the planting interest consoled itself with its happy exemptions; but it has now reached this interest also, which experiences, though with less severity, the general suffering. It is most painful to me to attempt to sketch or to dwell on the gloom of this picture. But I have exaggerated nothing. Perfect fidelity to the original would have authorized me to have thrown on deeper and darker hues. And it is the duty of the statesman, no less than that of the physician, to survey, with a penetrating, steady, and undismayed eye, the actual condition of the subject on which he would operate; to probe to the bottom the diseases of the body politic, if he would apply efficacious remedies. We have not, thank God, suffered in any great degree for food. But distress, resulting from the absence of a supply of the mere physical wants of our nature, is not the only, nor, perhaps, the keenest distress, to which we may be exposed. Moral and pecuniary suffering is, if possible, more poignant. It plunges its victim into hopeless despair. It poisons, it paralyzes, the spring and source of all useful exertion. Its unsparing action is collateral as well as direct. It falls with inexorable force at the same time upon the wretched family of embarrassment and insolvency, and upon its head. They are a faithful mirror, reflecting back upon him, at once, his own frightful image, and that, no less appalling, of the dearest objects of his affection. What is the cause of this wide-spreading distress, of this deep depression which we behold stamped on the public countenance? We are the same people. We have the same country

We can not arraign the bounty of Providence. The showers still fall in the same grateful abundance. The sun still casts his genial and vivifying influence upon the land; and the land, fertile and diversified in its soil as ever, yields to the industrious cultivator, in boundless profusion, its accustomed fruits, its richest treasures. Our vigor is unimpaired; our industry is not relaxed. If ever the accusation of wasteful extravagance could be made against our people, it can not now be justly preferred. They, on the contrary, for the last few years, at least, have been practising the most rigid economy. The causes, then, of our present affliction, whatever they may be, are human causes, and human causes not chargeable upon the people in their private and individual relations.

What, again I would ask, is the cause of the unhappy condition of our country, which I have faintly depicted? It is to be found in the fact that, during almost the whole existence of this government, we have shaped our industry, our navigation, and our commerce, in reference to an extraordinary war in Europe, and to foreign markets, which no longer exist; in the fact that we have depended too much upon foreign sources of supply, and excited too little the native; in the fact that, while we have cultivated, with assiduous care, our foreign resources, we have suffered those at home to wither, in a state of neglect and abandonment. The consequence of the termination of the war of Europe, has been the resumption of European commerce, European navigation, and the extension of European agriculture and European industry, in all its branches. Europe, therefore, has no longer occasion, to anything like the same extent, as that she had during her wars, for American commerce, American navigation, the produce of American industry. Europe, in commotion and convulsed throughout all her members, is to America no longer the same Europe as she is now, tranquil, and watching with the most vigilant attention all her own peculiar interests, without regard to the operation of her policy upon us. The effect of this altered state of Europe upon us, has been to circumscribe the employment of our marine, and greatly to reduce the value of the produce of our territorial labor. The further effect of this twofold reduction has been to decrease the value of all property, whether on the land or on the ocean, and which I suppose to be about fifty per centum. And the still further effect has been to diminish the amount of our circulating medium, in a proportion not less, by its transmission abroad, or its withdrawal by the banking institutions, from a necessity which they could not control. The quantity of money, in whatever form it may be, which a nation wants, is in proportion to the total mass of its wealth, and to the activity of that wealth. A nation that has but little wealth, has but a limited want of money. In stating the fact, therefore, that the total wealth of the country has diminished within a few years, in a ratio of about fifty per centum, we shall, at once, fully comprehend the inevitable reduction, which must have ensued, in the total quantity of the circulating medium of the country. A nation is most prosperous when there is a gradual and untempting addition to the

aggregate of its circulating medium. It is in a condition the most adverse when there is a rapid diminution in the quantity of the circulating medium, and a consequent depression in the value of property. In the former case, the wealth of individuals insensibly increases, and income keeps ahead of expenditure. But, in the latter instance, debts have been contracted, engagements made, and habits of expense established, in reference to the existing state of wealth and of its representative. When these come to be greatly reduced, individuals find their debts still existing, their engagements unexecuted, and their habits inveterate. They see themselves in the possession of the same property, on which, in good faith, they had bound themselves. But that property, without their fault, possesses no longer the same value; and hence discontent, impoverishment, and ruin, arise. Let us suppose, Mr. Chairman, that Europe were again the theatre of such a general war as recently raged throughout all her dominions—such a state of war as existed in her greatest exertions and in our greatest prosperity: instantly there would arise a greedy demand for the surplus produce of our industry, for our commerce, for our navigation. The languor which now prevails in our cities, and in our seaports, would give way to an animated activity. Our roads and rivers would be crowded with the produce of the interior. Everywhere we should witness excited industry. The precious metals would reflow from abroad upon us. Banks, which have maintained their credit, would revive their business; and new banks would be established, to take the place of those which have sunk beneath the general pressure. For it is a mistake to suppose that they have produced our present adversity; they may have somewhat aggravated it, but they were the effect and the evidence of our prosperity. Prices would again get up; the former value of property would be restored. And those embarrassed persons who have not been already overwhelmed by the times, would suddenly find, in the augmented value of their property, and the renewal of their business, ample means to extricate themselves from all their difficulties. The greatest want of civilized society is a market for the sale and exchange of the surplus of the produce of the labor of its members. This market may exist at home or abroad, or both; but it must exist somewhere, if society prospers; and wherever it does exist, it should be competent to the absorption of the entire surplus of production. It is most desirable that there should be both a home and a foreign market. But, with respect to their relative superiority, I can not entertain a doubt. The home market is first in order, and paramount in importance. The object of the bill, under consideration, is to create this home market, and to lay the foundations of a genuine American policy. It is opposed, and it is incumbent upon the partisans of the foreign policy (terms which I shall use without any invidious intent) to demonstrate that the foreign market is an adequate vent for the surplus produce of our labor. But is it so? 1. Foreign nations can not, if they would, take our surplus produce. If the source of supply, no matter of what, increases in a greater ratio than the demand for that supply,

a glut of the market is inevitable, even if we suppose both to remain perfectly unobstructed. The duplication of our population takes place in terms of about twenty-five years. The term will be more and more extended as our numbers multiply. But it will be a sufficient approximation to assume this ratio for the present. We increase, therefore, in population, as the rate of about four per centum per annum. Supposing the increase of our production to be in the same ratio, we should, every succeeding year, have of surplus produce, four per centum more than that of the preceding year, without taking into the account the differences of seasons which neutralize each other. If, therefore, we are to rely upon the foreign market exclusively, foreign consumption ought to be shown to be increasing in the same ratio of four per centum per annum, if it be an adequate vent for our surplus produce. But, as I have supposed the measure of our increasing production to be furnished by that of our increasing population, so the measure of their power of consumption must be determined by that of the increase of their population. Now, the total foreign population, who consume our surplus produce, upon an average, do not double their aggregate number in a shorter term than that of about one hundred years. Our powers of production increase then in a ratio four times greater than their powers of consumption. And hence their utter inability to receive from us our surplus produce.

But, secondly. If they could, they will not. The policy of all Europe is adverse to the reception of our agricultural produce, so far as it comes into collision with its own; and under that limitation we are absolutely forbid to enter their ports, except under circumstances which deprive them of all value as a steady market. The policy of all Europe rejects those great staples of our country, which consist of objects of human subsistence. The policy of all Europe refuses to receive from us anything but those raw materials of smaller value, essential to their manufactures, to which they can give a higher value, with the exception of tobacco and rice, which they can not produce. Even Great Britain, to which we are its best customer, and from which we receive nearly one half in value of our whole imports, will not take from us articles of subsistence produced in our country cheaper than can be produced in Great Britain. In adopting this exclusive policy, the States of Europe do not inquire what is best for us, but what suits themselves respectively; they do not take jurisdiction of the question of our interests, but limit the object of their legislation to that of the conservation of their own peculiar interests, leaving us free to prosecute ours as we please. They do not guide themselves by that romantic philanthropy which we see displayed here, and which invokes us to continue to purchase the produce of foreign industry, without regard to the state or prosperity of our own, that foreigners may be pleased to purchase the few remaining articles of ours, which their restricted policy has not yet absolutely excluded from their consumption. What sort of a figure would a member of the British Parliament have made—what sort of a reception would his opposition have obtained,

if he had remonstrated against the passage of the corn-law, by which British consumption is limited to the breadstuffs of British production, to the entire exclusion of American, and stated that America could not and would not buy British manufactures, if Britain did not buy American flour?

But the inability and the policy of foreign powers, then, forbid us to rely upon the foreign market as being an adequate vent for the surplus produce of American labor. Now, let us see if this general reasoning is not fortified and confirmed by the actual experience of this country. If the foreign market may be safely relied upon, as furnishing an adequate demand for our surplus produce, then the official documents will show a progressive increase, from year to year, in the exports of our native produce, in a proportion equal to that which I have suggested. If, on the contrary, we shall find from them that, for a long term of past years, some of our most valuable staples have retrograded, some remained stationary, and others advanced but little, if any, in amount, with the exception of cotton, the deductions of reason, and the lessons of experience, will alike command us to withdraw our confidence in the competency of the foreign market. The total amount of all our exports of domestic produce for the year beginning in 1795, and ending on the 30th September, 1796, was forty millions seven hundred and sixty-four thousand and ninety-seven dollars. Estimating the increase according to the ratio of the increase of our population, that is, at four per centum per annum, the amount of the exports of the same produce, in the year ending on the 30th September last, ought to have been eighty-five millions four hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and sixty-one dollars. It was, in fact, only forty-seven millions one hundred and fifty-five thousand four hundred and eight dollars. Taking the average of five years, from 1803 to 1807, inclusive, the amount of native produce exported was forty-three millions two hundred and two thousand seven hundred and fifty-one dollars for each of those years. Estimating what it ought to have been, during the last year, applying the principle suggested to that amount, there should have been exported seventy-seven millions seven hundred and sixty-six thousand seven hundred and fifty-one dollars, instead of forty-seven millions one hundred and fifty-five thousand four hundred and eight dollars. If these comparative amounts of the aggregate actual exports, and what they ought to have been, be discouraging, we shall find, on descending into particulars, still less cause of satisfaction. The export of tobacco, in 1791, was one hundred and twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-eight hogsheads. That was the year of the largest exportation of that article; but it is the only instance in which I have selected the maximum of exportation. The amount of what we ought to have exported last year, estimated according to the scale of increase which I have used, is two hundred and sixty-six thousand three hundred and thirty-two hogsheads. The actual export was ninety-nine thousand and nine hogsheads. We exported, in 1803, the quantity of one million three hundred and eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty-three barrels of flour and ought to have exported last year, two millions three hundred and sixty-

one thousand three hundred and thirty-three barrels. We, in fact, exported only seven hundred and fifty-six thousand seven hundred and two barrels. Of that quantity, we sent to South America one hundred and fifty thousand barrels, according to a statement furnished me by the diligence of a friend near me (Mr. Poinsett), to whose valuable mass of accurate information, in regard to that interesting quarter of the world, I have had occasion frequently to apply. But that demand is temporary, growing out of the existing state of war. Whenever peace is restored to it, and I now hope that the day is not distant when its independence will be generally acknowledged, there can not be a doubt that it will supply its own consumption. In all parts of it the soil, either from climate or from elevation, is well adapted to the culture of wheat; and nowhere can better wheat be produced than in some portions of Mexico and Chili. Still the market of South America is one which, on other accounts, deserves the greatest consideration. And I congratulate you, the Committee, and the country, on the recent adoption of a more auspicious policy toward it.

We exported, in 1803, Indian corn to the amount of two millions seventy-four thousand six hundred and eight bushels. The quantity should have been, in 1823, three millions seven hundred and thirty-four thousand two hundred and eighty-eight bushels. The actual quantity exported, was seven hundred and forty-nine thousand and thirty-four bushels, or about one-fifth of what it should have been, and a little more than one-third of what it was more than twenty years ago. We ought not then to be surprised at the extreme depression of the price of that article, of which I have heard my honorable friend (Mr. Bassett) complain, nor of the distress of the corn-growing districts adjacent to the Chesapeake bay. We exported seventy-seven thousand nine hundred and thirty-four barrels of beef, in 1803, and last year but sixty-one thousand four hundred and eighteen, instead of one hundred and forty thousand two hundred and seventy-four barrels. In the same year (1803) we exported ninety-six thousand six hundred and two barrels of pork, and last year fifty-five thousand five hundred and twenty-nine, instead of one hundred and seventy-three thousand eight hundred and eighty-two barrels. Rice has not advanced by any means in the proportion which it ought to have done. All the small articles, such as cheese, butter, candles, &c., too minute to detail, but important in their aggregate, have also materially diminished. Cotton alone has advanced. But, while the quantity of it is augmented, its actual value is considerably diminished. The total quantity last year exceeded that of the preceding year by nearly thirty millions of pounds. And yet the total value of the year of smaller exportation exceeded that of the last year by upward of three and a half millions of dollars. If this article, the capacity of our country to produce which was scarcely known in 1790, were subtracted from the mass of our exports, the value of the residue would only be a little upward of twenty-seven millions during the last year. The distribution of the articles of our exports throughout the United States, can not fail to fix the attention of the

Committee. Of the forty-seven millions one hundred and fifty-five thousand four hundred and eight dollars, to which they amounted last year, three articles alone (cotton, rice, and tobacco) composed together twenty-eight millions five hundred and forty-nine thousand one hundred and seventy-seven dollars. Now, these articles are chiefly produced in the South; and if we estimate that portion of our population who are actually engaged in their culture, it would probably not exceed two millions. Thus, then, less than one-fifth of the whole population of the United States, produced upwards of one-half, nearly two-thirds, of the entire value of the exports of the last year.

Is this foreign market, so incompetent at present, and which, limited as its demands are, operates so unequally upon the productive labor of our country, likely to improve in future? If I am correct in the views which I have presented to the Committee, it must become worse and worse. What can improve it? Europe will not abandon her own agriculture to foster ours. We may even anticipate that she will more and more enter into competition with us in the supply of the West India market. That of South America, for articles of subsistence, will probably soon vanish. The *value* of our exports, for the future, may remain at about what it was last year. But if we do not create some new market—if we persevere in the existing pursuits of agriculture—the inevitable consequence must be, to augment greatly the quantity of our produce, and to lessen its value in the foreign market. Can there be a doubt on this point? Take the article of cotton, for example, which is almost the only article that now remunerates labor and capital. A certain description of labor is powerfully attracted toward the cotton-growing country. The cultivation will be greatly extended, the aggregate amount annually produced will be vastly augmented. The price will fall. The more unfavorable soils will then be gradually abandoned. And I have no doubt that, in a few years, it will cease to be profitably produced anywhere North of the thirty-fourth degree of latitude. But, in the meantime, large numbers of cotton-growers will suffer the greatest distress. And while this distress is brought upon our country, foreign industry will be stimulated by the very cause which occasions our distress. For, by surcharging the markets abroad, the price of the raw material being reduced, the manufacturer will be able to supply cotton fabrics cheaper, and the consumption in his own country and in foreign nations, other than ours (where the *value* of the import must be limited to the value of the export, which I have supposed to remain the same), being proportionally extended, there will be, consequently, an increased demand for *his* industry.

Our agricultural is our greatest interest. It ought ever to be predominant. All others should bend to it. And, in considering what is for its advantage, we should contemplate it in all its varieties, of planting, farming, and grazing. Can we do nothing to invigorate it; nothing to correct the errors of the past, and to brighten the still more unpromising prospects which lie before us? We have seen, I think, the causes of the distresses of

the country. We have seen, that an exclusive dependence upon the foreign market must lead to still severer distress, to impoverishment, to ruin. We must then change somewhat our course. We must give a new direction to some portion of our industry. We must speedily adopt a genuine American policy, still cherishing the foreign market; let us create also a home market, to give further scope to the consumption of the produce of American industry. Let us counteract the policy of foreigners, and withdraw the support which we now give to their industry, and stimulate that of our own country. It should be a prominent object with wise legislators, to multiply the vocations and extend the business of society, as far as it can be done, by the protection of our interests at home, against the injurious effects of foreign legislation. Suppose we were a nation of fishermen, or of skippers, to the exclusion of every other occupation, and the legislature had the power to introduce the pursuits of agriculture and manufactures, would not our happiness be promoted by an exertion of its authority? All the existing employments of society, the learned professions, commerce, agriculture, are now overflowing. We stand in each other's way. Hence the want of employment. Hence the eager pursuit after public stations, which I have before glanced at. I have been again and again shocked, during this session, by instances of solicitation for places before the vacancies existed. The pulse of incumbents, who happen to be taken ill, is not marked with more anxiety by the attending physicians, than by those who desire to succeed them, though with very opposite feelings. Our old friend, the faithful sentinel, who has stood so long at our door, and the gallantry of whose patriotism deserves to be noticed, because it was displayed when that virtue was most rare and most wanted, on a memorable occasion in this unfortunate city, became indisposed some weeks ago. The first intelligence which I had of his dangerous illness, was by an application for his unvacated place. I hastened to assure myself of the extent of his danger, and was happy to find that the eagerness of succession outstripped the progress of disease. By creating a new and extensive business, then, we should not only give employment to those who want it, and augment the sum of national wealth, by all that this new business would create, but we should meliorate the condition of those who are now engaged in existing employments. In Europe, particularly in Great Britain, their large standing armies, large navies, large even on their peace arrangement, their established church, afford to their population employments, which, in that respect, the happier constitution of our government does not tolerate but in a very limited degree. The peace establishments of our army and our navy are extremely small, and I hope ever will be. We have no established church, and I trust never shall have. In proportion as the enterprise of our citizens in public employments is circumscribed, should we excite and invigorate it in private pursuits.

The creation of a home market is not only necessary to procure for our agriculture a just reward of its labors, but it is indispensable to obtain a supply of our necessary wants. If we can not sell, we can not buy. That

portion of our population (and we have seen that it is not less than four-fifths) which makes comparatively nothing that foreigners will buy, have nothing to make purchases with from foreigners. It is in vain that we are told of the amount of our exports supplied by the planting interest. They may enable the planting interest to supply all its wants; but they bring no ability to the interests not planting; unless, which can not be pretended, the planting interest is an adequate vent for the surplus produce of the labor of all other interests. It is in vain to tantalize us with the great cheapness of foreign fabrics. There must be an ability to purchase, if an article be obtained, whatever may be the price, high or low, at which it is sold. And a cheap article is as much beyond the grasp of him who has no means to buy, as a high one. Even if it were true that the American manufacturer would supply consumption at dearer rates, it is better to have his fabrics than the unattainable foreign fabrics; because it is better to be ill supplied than not supplied at all. A coarse coat, which will communicate warmth and cover nakedness, is better than no coat. The superiority of the home market results, 1st, from its steadiness and comparative certainty at all times; 2d, from the creation of reciprocal interests; 3d, from its greater security; and, lastly, from an ultimate and not distant augmentation of consumption (and consequently of comfort), from increased quantity and reduced prices. But this home market, highly desirable as it is, can only be created and cherished by the PROTECTION of our own legislation against the inevitable prostration of our industry, which must ensue from the action of FOREIGN policy and legislation. The effect and the value of this domestic care of our own interests will be obvious from a few facts and considerations. Let us suppose that half a million of persons are now employed abroad in fabricating, for our consumption, those articles, of which, by the operation of this bill, a supply is intended to be provided within ourselves. That half a million of persons are, in effect, subsisted by us; but their actual means of subsistence are drawn from foreign agriculture. If we could transport them to this country, and incorporate them in the mass of own population, there would instantly arise a demand for an amount of provisions equal to that which would be requisite for their subsistence throughout the whole year. That demand, in the article of flour alone, would not be less than the quantity of about nine hundred thousand barrels, besides a proportionate quantity of beef, and pork, and other articles of subsistence. But nine hundred thousand barrels of flour exceeds the entire quantity exported last year, by nearly one hundred and fifty thousand barrels. What activity would not this give, what cheerfulness would it not communicate, to our now dispirited farming interest! But if, instead of these five hundred thousand artisans emigrating from abroad, we give by this bill employment to an equal number of our own citizens, now engaged in unprofitable agriculture, or idle, from the want of business, the beneficial effect upon the productions of our farming labor would be nearly doubled. The quantity would be diminished by a subtraction of the produce from the labor of all

those who should be diverted from its pursuits to manufacturing industry and the value of the residue would be enhanced, by both that diminution, and the creation of the home market to the extent supposed. And the honorable gentleman from Virginia may repress any apprehensions which he entertains, that the plough will be abandoned, and our fields remain unsown. For, under all the modifications of social industry, if you will secure to it a just reward, the greater attractions of agriculture will give to it that proud superiority which it has always maintained. If we suppose no actual abandonment of farming, but, what is most likely, a gradual and imperceptible employment of population in the business of manufacturing, instead of being compelled to resort to agriculture, the salutary effect would be nearly the same. Is any part of our common country likely to be injured by a transfer of the theatre of fabrication, for our own consumption, from Europe to America? All that those parts, if any there be, which will not, or can not engage in manufactures, should require, is, that their consumption should be well supplied; and if the objects of that consumption are produced in other parts of the Union, that can manufacture, far from having any just cause of complaint, their patriotism will and ought to inculcate a cheerful acquiescence in what essentially contributes, and is indispensably *necessary*, to the prosperity of the common family.

The great desideratum in political economy, is the same as in private pursuits; that is, what is the best application of the aggregate industry of a nation, that can be made honestly to produce the largest sum of national wealth? Labor is the source of all wealth; but it is not natural labor only. And the fundamental error of the gentleman from Virginia, and of the school to which he belongs, in deducing, from our sparse population, our unfitness for the introduction of the arts, consists in their not sufficiently weighing the importance of the power of machinery. In former times, when but little comparative use was made of machinery, manual labor, and the price of wages, were circumstances of the greatest consideration. But it is far otherwise in these latter times. Such are the improvements and the perfection of machinery, that, in analyzing the compound value of many fabrics, the element of natural labor is so inconsiderable as almost to escape detection. This truth is demonstrated by many facts. Formerly, Asia, in consequence of the density of her population, and the consequent lowness of wages, laid Europe under tribute for many of her fabrics. Now Europe reacts upon Asia, and Great Britain, in particular, throws back upon her countless millions of people, the rich treasures produced by artificial labor, to a vast amount, infinitely cheaper than they can be manufactured by the natural exertions of that portion of the globe. But Britain is herself the most striking illustration of the immense power of machinery. Upon what other principle can you account for the enormous wealth which she has accumulated, and which she annually produces? A statistical writer of that country, several years ago, estimated the total amount of the artificial or machine labor of the nation, to be equal to that of one hundred millions

of able-bodied laborers. Subsequent estimates of her artificial labor, at the present day, carry it to the enormous height of two hundred millions. But the population of the three kingdoms is twenty-one millions five hundred thousand. Supposing that, to furnish able-bodied labor to the amount of four millions, the natural labor will be but two per centum of the artificial labor. In the production of wealth she operates, therefore, by a power (including the whole population) of two hundred and twenty-one millions five hundred thousand; or, in other words, by a power eleven times greater than the total of her natural power. If we suppose the machine labor of the United States to be equal to that of ten millions of able-bodied men, the United States will operate, in the creation of wealth, by a power (including all their population) of twenty millions. In the creation of wealth, therefore, the power of Great Britain, compared to that of the United States, is as eleven to one. That these views are not imaginary, will be, I think, evinced, by contrasting the wealth, the revenue, the power of the two countries. Upon what other hypothesis can we explain those almost incredible exertions which Britain made during the late wars of Europe? Look at her immense subsidies! Behold her standing, unaided and alone, and breasting the storm of Napoleon's colossal power, when all continental Europe owned and yielded to its iresistible sway; and finally, contemplate her vigorous prosecution of the war, with and without allies, to its splendid termination, on the ever-memorable field of Waterloo! The British works which the gentleman from Virginia has quoted, portray a state of the most wonderful prosperity, in regard to wealth and resources, that ever was before contemplated. Let us look a little into the semi-official pamphlet, written with great force, clearness, and ability, and the valuable work of Lowe, to both of which that gentleman has referred. The revenue of the United Kingdom amounted, during the latter years of the war, to seventy millions of pounds sterling; and one year it rose to the astonishing height of ninety millions sterling, equal to four hundred millions of dollars. This was actual revenue, made up of real contributions from the purses of the people. After the close of the war, ministers slowly and reluctantly reduced the military and naval establishments, and accommodated them to a state of peace. The pride of power, everywhere the same, always unwillingly surrenders any of those circumstances which display its pomp and exhibit its greatness. Contemporaneous with this reduction, Britain was enabled to lighten some of the heaviest burdens of taxation, and particularly that most onerous of all, the income tax. In this lowered state, the revenue of peace, gradually rising from the momentary depression incident to a transition from war, attained, in 1822, the vast amount of fifty-five millions sterling, upward of two hundred and forty millions of dollars, and more than eleven times that of the United States for the same year; thus indicating the difference, which I have suggested, in the respective productive powers of the two countries. The excise alone, (collected under twenty-five different heads) amounting to twenty-eight

millions, more than one-half of the total revenue of the kingdom. This great revenue allows Great Britain to constitute an efficient sinking fund of five millions sterling, being an excess of actual income beyond expenditure, and amounting to more than the entire revenue of the United States.

If we look at the commerce of England, we shall perceive that its prosperous condition no less denotes the immensity of her riches. The average of three years' exports, ending in 1789, was between thirteen and fourteen millions. The average for the same term, ending in 1822, was forty millions sterling. The average of the imports for three years, ending in 1789, was seventeen millions. The average for the same term, ending in 1822, was thirty-six millions, showing a favorable balance of four millions. Thus, in a period not longer than that which has elapsed since the establishment of our constitution, have the exports of that kingdom been tripled; and this has mainly been the effect of the power of machinery. The total amount of the commerce of Great Britain is greater since the peace, by one-fourth, than it was during the war. The average of her tonnage, during the most flourishing period of the war, was two millions four hundred thousand tons. Its average during the three years, 1819, 1820, and 1821, was two millions six hundred thousand; exhibiting an increase of two hundred thousand tons. If we glance at some of the more prominent articles of her manufactures, we shall be assisted in comprehending the true nature of the sources of her riches. The amount of cotton fabrics exported, in the most prosperous year of the war, was eighteen millions sterling. In the year 1820, it was sixteen millions six hundred thousand; in 1821, twenty millions five hundred thousand; in 1822, twenty-one millions six hundred and thirty-nine thousand pounds sterling; presenting the astonishing increase in two years of upward of five millions. The total amount of imports in Great Britain, from all foreign parts, of the article of cotton-wool, is five millions sterling. After supplying most abundantly the consumption of cotton fabrics within the country (and a people better fed, and clad, and housed, are not to be found under the sun than the British nation), by means of her industry, she gives to this cotton-wool a new value, which enables her to sell to foreign nations to the amount of twenty-one millions six hundred and thirty-nine thousand pounds, making a clear profit of upward of sixteen millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling! In 1821, the value of the export of woolen manufactures was four millions three hundred thousand pounds. In 1822, it was five millions five hundred thousand pounds. The success of her restrictive policy is strikingly illustrated in the article of silk. In the manufacture of that article, she labors under great disadvantages, besides that of not producing the raw material. She has subdued them all, and the increase of the manufacture has been most rapid. Although she is still unable to maintain, in foreign countries, a successful competition with the silks of France, of India, and of Italy, and therefore exports but little, she gives to the two millions of the raw material which she imports, in various forms, a value of ten millions, which chiefly enter into British consumption. Let us suppose that

she was dependent upon foreign nations for these ten millions; what an injurious effect would it not have upon her commercial relations with them! The average of the exports of British manufactures, during the peace, exceeds the average of the most productive years of the war. The amount of her wealth annually produced, is three hundred and fifty millions sterling; bearing a large proportion to all of her preëxisting wealth. The agricultural portion of it is said, by the gentleman from Virginia, to be greater than that created by any other branch of her industry. But that flows mainly from a policy similar to that proposed by this bill. One-third only of her population is engaged in agriculture; the other two-thirds furnishing a market for the produce of that third. Withdraw this market, and what becomes of her agriculture? The power and the wealth of Great Britain can not be more strikingly illustrated than by a comparison of her population and revenue with those of other countries and with our own.

Countries.	Population.	Taxes and public burdens.	Taxation per capita.
Russia in Europe	37,000,000	£18,000,000	£0 9 9
France, including Corsica	30,700,000	37,000,000	1 4 0
Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland (the taxes computed according to the value of money on the European Continent.)	14,500,000	40,000,000	2 15 0
Great Britain and Ireland collectively	21,500,000	44,000,000	2 0 0
England alone	11,600.000	36,000,000	3 2 0
Spain	11,000,000	6,000,000	0 11 0
Ireland	7,000,000	4,000,000	0 11 0
The United States of America	10,000,000	4,500,000	0 9 0

From this exhibit we must remark, that the wealth of Great Britain (and consequently her power) is greater than that of any of the other nations with which it is compared. The amount of the contributions which she draws from the pockets of her subjects, is not referred to for imitation, but as indicative of their wealth. The burden of taxation is always relative to the ability of the subjects of it. A poor nation can pay but little. And the heavier taxes of British subjects, for example, in consequence of their greater wealth, may be easier borne than the much lighter taxes of Spanish subjects, in consequence of their extreme poverty. The object of wise governments should be, by sound legislation, so to protect the industry of their own citizens against the policy of foreign powers, as to give to it the most expansive force in the production of wealth. Great Britain has ever acted, and still acts, on this policy. She has pushed her protection of British interests further than any other nation has fostered its industry. The result is, greater wealth among her subjects, and consequently greater ability to pay their public burdens. If their taxation is estimated by their *natural* labor alone, nominally it is greater than the taxation of the subjects of any other power. But, if on a scale of their natural and artificial labor compounded, it is less than the taxation of any other people. Estimating it on that scale, and assuming the aggregate of the natural and artificial labor of the United Kingdom to be what I have already stated, two hundred and twenty-one millions five hundred thousand, the actual taxes paid by a British subject are only about three and seven pence sterling. Estimating our own taxes, on a

similar scale — that is, supposing both descriptions of labor to be equal to that of twenty millions of able-bodied persons — the amount of tax paid by each soul in the United States is four shillings and six pence sterling.

The committee will observe, from that table, that the measure of the wealth of a nation is indicated by the measure of its protection of its industry; and that the measure of the poverty of a nation is marked by that of the degree in which it neglects and abandons the care of its own industry. leaving it exposed to the action of foreign powers. Great Britain protects most her industry, and the wealth of Great Britain is consequently the greatest. France is next in the degree of protection, and France is next in the order of wealth. Spain most neglects the duty of protecting the industry of her subjects, and Spain is one of the poorest of European nations, Unfortunate Ireland, disinherited, or rendered, in her industry, subservient to England, is exactly in the same state of poverty with Spain, measured by the rule of taxation. And the United States are still poorer than either.

The views of British prosperity, which I have endeavored to present, show that her protecting policy is adapted alike to a state of war and of peace. Self-poised, resting upon her own internal resources, possessing a home market, carefully cherished and guarded, she is ever prepared for any emergency. We have seen her coming out of a war of incalculable exertion, and of great duration, with her power unbroken, her means undiminished. We have seen that almost every revolving year of peace has brought along with it an increase of her manufactures, of her commerce, and, consequently, of her navigation. We have seen that, constructing her prosperity upon the solid foundation of her own protecting policy, it is unaffected by the vicissitudes of other States. What is our own condition? Depending upon the state of foreign powers — confiding exclusively in a foreign, to the culpable neglect of a domestic policy — our interests are affected by all their movements. Their wars, their misfortunes, are the only source of our prosperity. In their peace, and our peace, we behold our condition the reverse of that of Great Britain — and all our interests stationary or declining. Peace brings to us none of the blessings of peace. Our system is anomalous; alike unfitted to general tranquillity, and to a state of war or peace, on the part of our own country. It can succeed only in the rare occurrence of a general state of war throughout Europe. I am no eulogist of England. I am far from recommending her systems of taxation. I have adverted to them only as manifesting her extraordinary ability. The political and foreign interest of that nation may have been, as I believe them to have been, often badly managed. Had she abstained from the wars into which she has been plunged by her ambition, or the mistaken policy of her Ministers, the prosperity of England would, unquestionably, have been much greater. But it may happen that the public liberty, and the foreign relations of a nation, have been badly managed, and yet that its political economy has been wisely managed. The alacrity or sullenness with which a people pay taxes, depends upon their wealth or poverty. If the system of their rulers leads to their

impoverishment, they can contribute but little to the necessities of the State; if to their wealth, they cheerfully and promptly pay the burdens imposed on them. Enormous as British taxation appears to be, in comparison with that of other nations, but really lighter as it in fact is, when we consider its great wealth, and its powers of production, that vast amount is collected with the most astonishing regularity.

[Here Mr. Clay read certain passages from Holt, showing that, in 1822, there was not one solitary prosecution arising out of the collection of the assessed taxes, which are there considered among the most burdensome, and that the prosecutions for the violations of the excise laws, in all their numerous branches, were sensibly and progressively decreasing.]

Having called the attention of the committee to the present adverse state of our country, and endeavored to point out the causes which have led to it; having shown that similar causes, wherever they exist in other countries, lead to the same adversity in their condition; and having shown that, wherever we find opposite causes prevailing, a high and animating state of national prosperity exists, the committee will agree with me in thinking that it is the solemn duty of government to apply a remedy to the evils which afflict our country, if it can apply one. Is there no remedy within the reach of the government? Are we doomed to behold our industry languish and decay, yet more and more? Yes, there is a remedy, and that remedy consists in modifying our foreign policy, and in adopting a genuine AMERICAN SYSTEM. We must naturalize the arts in our country; and we must naturalize them by the only means which the wisdom of nations has yet discovered to be effectual; by adequate protection against the otherwise overwhelming influence of foreigners. This is only to be accomplished by the establishment of a tariff, to the consideration of which I am now brought.

And what is this tariff? It seems to have been regarded as a sort of monster, huge and deformed—a wild beast, endowed with tremendous powers of destruction, about to be let loose among our people—if not to devour them, at least to consume their substance. But let us calm our passions, and deliberately survey this alarming, this terrific being. The sole object of the tariff is to tax the produce of foreign industry, with the view of promoting American industry. The tax is exclusively leveled at foreign industry. That is the avowed and the direct purpose of the tariff. If it subjects any part of American industry to burdens, that is an effect not intended, but is altogether incidental, and perfectly voluntary.

It has been treated as an imposition of burdens upon one part of the community by design, for the benefit of another; as if, in fact, money were taken from the pockets of one portion of the people and put into the pockets of another. But is this a fair representation of it? No man pays the duty assessed on the foreign article by compulsion, but voluntarily; and this voluntary duty, if paid, goes into the common exchequer, for the common benefit of all. Consumption has four objects of choice. 1. It may abstain from the use of the foreign article, and thus avoid the payment of the tax. 2. It may employ the rival American fabric. 3. It may engage in the

business of manufacturing, which this bill is designed to foster. 4. Or it may supply itself from the household manufactures.

But it is said by the honorable gentleman from Virginia, that the South, owing to the character of a certain portion of its population, can not engage in the business of manufacturing. Now I do not agree in that opinion, to the extent in which it is asserted. The circumstance alluded to may disqualify the South from engaging in every branch of manufacture as largely as other quarters of the Union, but to some branches of it that part of our population is well adapted. It indisputably affords great facility in the household or domestic line. But if the gentleman's premises were true, could his conclusion be admitted? According to him, a certain part of our population, happily much the smallest, is peculiarly situated. The circumstance of its degradation unfits it for the manufacturing arts. The well-being of the other, and the larger part of our population, requires the introduction of those arts. What is to be done in this conflict? The gentleman would have us abstain from adopting a policy called for by the interest of the greater and freer part of our population. But is that reasonable? Can it be expected that the interests of the greater part should be made to bend to the condition of the servile part of our population? That, in effect, would be to make us the slaves of slaves. I went with great pleasure along with my Southern friends, and I am ready again to unite with them in protesting against the exercise of any legislative power on the part of Congress over that delicate subject, because it was my solemn conviction that Congress was interdicted, or at least not authorized by the constitution, to exercise any such legislative power. And I am sure that the patriotism of the South may be exclusively relied upon to reject a policy which should be dictated by considerations altogether connected with that degraded class, to the prejudice of the residue of our population. But does not a perseverance in the foreign policy, as it now exists in fact, make all parts of the Union, not planting, tributary to the planting parts? What is the argument? It is, that we must continue freely to receive the produce of foreign industry, without regard to the protection of American industry, that a market may be retained for the sale abroad of the produce of the planting portion of the country; and that, if we lessen the consumption in all parts of America, those which are not planting, as well as the planting sections, of foreign manufactures, we diminish to that extent the foreign market for the planting produce. The existing state of things, indeed, presents a sort of tacit compact between the cotton-grower and the British manufacturer, the stipulations of which are, on the part of the cotton-grower, that the whole United States, the other portions as well as the cotton-growing, shall remain open and unrestricted in the consumption of British manufactures; and on the part of the British manufacturer, that, in consideration thereof, he will continue to purchase the cotton of the South. Thus, then, we perceive that the proposed measure, instead of sacrificing the South to the other parts of the Union, seeks only to preserve them from being

absolutely sacrificed under the operation of the tacit compact which I have described. Supposing the South to be actually incompetent, or disinclined to embark at all in the business of manufacturing, is not its interest, nevertheless, likely to be promoted by creating a new and an American source of supply for its consumption? Now foreign powers, and Great Britain principally, have the monopoly of the supply of Southern consumption. If this bill should pass, an American competitor, in the supply of the South, would be raised up, and ultimately, I can not doubt, that it will be supplied cheaper and better. I have before had occasion to state, and will now again mention, the beneficial effects of American competition with Europe in furnishing a supply of the article of cotton-bagging. After the late war, the influx of the Scottish manufacture prostrated the American establishments. The consequence was, that the Scotch possessed the monopoly of the supply, and the price of it rose, and attained, the year before last, a height which amounted to more than an equivalent for ten years' protection to the American manufacture. This circumstance tempted American industry again to engage in the business, and several valuable manufactories have been established in Kentucky. They have reduced the price of the fabric very considerably; but without the protection of government, they may again be prostrated; and then, the Scottish manufacturer engrossing the supply of our consumption, the price will probably again rise. It has been tauntingly asked, if Kentucky can not maintain herself in a competition with the two Scottish towns of Inverness and Dundee? But is that a fair statement of the case? Those two towns are cherished and sustained by the whole protecting policy of the British empire, while Kentucky can not, and the general government will not, extend a like protection to the few Kentucky villages in which the article is made.

If the cotton-growing consumption could be constitutionally exempted from the operation of this bill, it might be fair to exempt it upon the condition that foreign manufactures, the proceeds of the sale of cotton abroad, should not enter at all into the consumption of the other parts of the United States. But such an arrangement as that, if it could be made, would probably be objected to by the cotton-growing country itself.

2. The second objection to the proposed bill is, that it will diminish the amount of our exports. It can have no effect upon our exports, except those which are sent to Europe. Except tobacco and rice, we send there nothing but the raw materials. The argument is, that Europe will not buy of us if we do not buy of her. The first objection to it is, that it calls upon us to look to the question, and to take care of European ability in legislating for American interests. Now if, in legislating for their interests, they would consider and provide for our ability, the principle of reciprocity would enjoin us so to regulate our intercourse with them, as to leave their ability unimpaired. But I have shown that, in the adoption of their own policy, their inquiry is strictly limited to a consideration of their peculiar interests, without any regard to that of ours. The next remark I would make is, that

the bill only operates upon *certain* articles of European industry, which it is supposed our interest requires us to manufacture within ourselves; and although its effect will be to diminish the amount of our imports of *those* articles, it leaves them free to supply us with any other produce of their industry. And since the circle of human comforts, refinements, and luxuries, is of great extent, Europe will still find herself able to purchase from us what she has hitherto done, and to discharge the debt in some of those objects. If there be any diminution in our exports to Europe, it will probably be in the article of cotton to Great Britain. I have stated that Britain buys cotton wool to the amount of about five millions sterling, and sells to foreign states to the amount of upward of twenty-one millions and a half. Of this sum, we take a little upward of a million and a half. The residue of about twenty millions she must sell to other foreign powers than to the United States. Now their market will continue open to her as much after the passage of this bill as before. She will therefore require from us the raw material to supply their consumption. But it is said she may refuse to purchase it of us, and seek a supply elsewhere. There can be but little doubt that she now resorts to us, because we can supply her cheaper and better than any other country. And it would be unreasonable to suppose that she would cease, from any pique toward us, to pursue her own interest. Suppose she was to decline purchasing from us: the consequence would be, that she would lose the market for the twenty millions sterling, which she now sells other foreign powers, or enter it under a disadvantageous competition with us, or with other nations, who should obtain their supplies of the raw material from us. If there should be any diminution, therefore, in the exportation of cotton, it would only be in the proportion of about one and a half to twenty; that is, a little upward of five per centum; the loss of a market for which abroad would be fully compensated by the market for the article created at home. Lastly, I would observe, that the new application of our industry, producing new objects of exportation, and they possessing much greater value than in the raw state, we should be in the end amply indemnified by their exportation. Already the item in our foreign exports of manufactures is considerable; and we know that our cotton fabrics have been recently exported in a large amount to South America, where they maintain a successful competition with those of any other country.

3. The third objection to the tariff is, that it will diminish our navigation. This great interest deserves every encouragement consistent with the paramount interest of agriculture. In the order of nature it is secondary to both agriculture and manufactures. Its business is the transportation of the productions of those two superior branches of industry. It can not, therefore, be expected that they shall be moulded or sacrificed to suit its purposes; but, on the contrary, navigation must accommodate itself to the actual state of agriculture and manufactures. If, as I believe, we have nearly reached the maximum in value of our exports of raw produce to Europe,

the effect hereafter will be, as it respects that branch of our trade, if we persevere in the foreign system, to retain our navigation at the point which it has now reached. By reducing, indeed, as will probably take place, the price of our raw materials, a further quantity of them could be exported, and, of course, additional employment might in that way be given to our tonnage; but that would be at the expense of the agricultural interest. If I am right in supposing that no effect will be produced by this measure upon any other branch of our export trade but that to Europe—that with regard to that there will be no sensible diminution of our exports, and that the new direction given to a portion of our industry will produce other objects of exportation, the probability is, that our foreign tonnage will be even increased under the operation of this bill. But, if I am mistaken in these views, and it should experience any reduction, the increase in our coasting tonnage, resulting from the greater activity of domestic exchanges, will more than compensate the injury. Although our navigation partakes in the general distress of the country, it is less depressed than any other of our great interests. The foreign tonnage has been gradually though slowly increasing since 1818. And our coasting tonnage, since 1816, has increased upward of one hundred thousand tons.

4. It is next contended that the effect of the measure will be to diminish our foreign commerce. The objection assumes, what I have endeavored to controvert, that there will be a reduction in the value of our exports. Commerce is an exchange of commodities. Whatever will tend to augment the wealth of a nation must increase its capacity to make these exchanges. By new productions, or creating new values in the fabricated forms which shall be given to old objects of our industry, we shall give to commerce a fresh spring, a new aliment. The foreign commerce of the country, from causes, some of which I have endeavored to point out, has been extended as far as it can be. And I think there can be but little doubt that the balance of trade is, and for some time past has been, against us. I was surprised to near the learned gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Webster) rejecting, as a detected and exploded fallacy, the idea of a balance of trade. I have not time nor inclination now to discuss that topic. But I will observe, that all nations act upon the supposition of the reality of its existence, and seek to avoid a trade, the balance of which is unfavorable, and to foster that which presents a favorable balance. However the account be made up, whatever may be the items of a trade, commodities, fishing industry, marine labor, the carrying trade, all of which I admit should be comprehended, there can be no doubt, I think, that the totality of the exchanges of all descriptions made by one nation with another, or against the totality of the exchanges of all other nations together, may be such as to present the state of an unfavorable balance with the one or with all. It is true that, in the long run, the measures of these exchanges, that is, the totality in value of what is given and of what is received, must be equal to each other. But great distress may be felt long before the counterpoise can be effected. In

the meantime, there will be an export of the precious metals, to the deep injury of internal trade, an unfavorable state of exchange, an export of public securities, a resort to credit, debt, mortgages. Most of, if not all, these circumstances, are believed now to be indicated by our country, in its foreign commercial relations. What have we received, for example, for the public stocks sent to England? Goods. But those stocks are our bond, which must be paid. Although the solidity of the credit of the English public securities is not surpassed by that of our own, strong as it justly is, when have we seen English stocks sold in our market, and regularly quoted in the prices current as American stocks are in England? An unfavorable balance with one nation, *may* be made up by a favorable balance with other nations; but the fact of the existence of that unfavorable balance is strong presumptive evidence against the trade. Commerce will regulate itself! Yes, and the extravagance of a spendthrift heir, who squanders the rich patrimony which has descended to him, will regulate itself ultimately. But it will be a regulation which will exhibit him in the end safely confined within the walls of a jail. Commerce will regulate itself! But is it not the duty of wise governments to watch its course, and, beforehand, to provide against even distant evils; by prudent legislation stimulating the industry of their own people, and checking the policy of foreign powers as it operates on them? The supply, then, of the subjects of foreign commerce, no less than the supply of consumption at home, requires of us to give a portion of our labor such a direction as will enable us to produce them. That is the object of the measure under consideration, and I can not doubt that, if adopted, it will accomplish its object.

5. The fifth objection to the tariff is, that it will diminish the public revenue, disable us from paying the public debt, and finally compel a resort to a system of excise and internal taxation. This objection is founded upon the supposition that the reduction in the importation of the subjects, on which the increased duties are to operate, will be such as to produce the alleged effect. All this is matter of mere conjecture, and can only be determined by experiment. I have very little doubt, with my colleague (Mr. Trimble), that the revenue will be increased considerably, for some years at least, under the operation of this bill. The diminution in the quantity imported, will be compensated by the augmentation of the duty. In reference to the article of molasses, for example, if the import of it should be reduced fifty per centum, the amount of duty collected would be the same as it now is. But it will not, in all probability, be reduced by anything like that proportion. And then there are some other articles which will continue to be introduced in as large quantities as ever, notwithstanding the increase of duty, the object in reference to them being revenue, and not the encouragement of domestic manufactures. Another cause will render the revenue of this year, in particular, much more productive than it otherwise would have been; and that is, that large quantities of goods have been introduced into the country, in anticipation of the adoption of this measure.

The eagle does not dart a keener gaze upon his intended prey, than that with which the British manufacturer and merchant watches the foreign market, and the course even of our elections as well as our legislation. The passage of this bill has been expected; and all our information is, that the importations, during this spring, have been immense. But, further, the measure of our importations is that of our exportations. If I am right in supposing that, in future, the amount of these, in the old or new forms, of the produce of our labor will not be diminished, but probably increased, then the amount of our importations, and, consequently of our revenue, will not be reduced, but may be extended. If these ideas be correct, there will be no inability on the part of government to extinguish the public debt. The payment of that debt, and the consequent liberation of the public resources from the charge of it, is extremely desirable. No one is more anxious than I am to see that important object accomplished. But I entirely concur with the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Barbour) in thinking that no material sacrifice of any of the great interests of the nation ought to be made to effectuate it. Such is the elastic and accumulating nature of our public resources, from the silent augmentation of our population, that if, in any given state of the public revenue, we throw ourselves upon a couch and go to sleep, we may, after a short time, awake with an ability abundantly increased to redeem any reasonable amount of public debt with which we may happen to be burdened. The public debt of the United States, though nominally larger now than it was in the year 1791, bears really no sort of discouraging comparison to its amount at that time, whatever standard we may choose to adopt to institute the comparison. It was in 1791 about seventy-five millions of dollars. It is now about ninety. Then we had a population of about four millions. Now we have upward of ten millions. Then we had a revenue short of five millions of dollars. Now our revenue exceeds twenty. If we select population as the standard, our present population is one hundred and fifty per centum greater than it was in 1791; if revenue, that is four times more now than at the former period; while the public debt has increased only in a ratio of twenty per centum. A public debt of three hundred millions of dollars at the present day, considering our actual ability, compounded both of the increase of population and of revenue, would not be more onerous now than the debt of seventy-five millions of dollars was, at the epoch of 1791, in reference to the same circumstances. If I am right in supposing that, under the operation of the proposed measure, there will not be any diminution, but a probable increase of the public revenue, there will be no difficulty in defraying the current expenses of government, and paying the principal as well as the interest of the public debt, as it becomes due. Let us, for a moment, however, indulge the improbable supposition of the opponents of the tariff, that there will be a reduction of the revenue to the extent of the most extravagant calculation which has been made, that is to say, to the extent of five millions. That sum deducted, we shall still have remaining a

revenue of about fifteen millions. The treasury estimates of the current service of the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, exceed, each year, nine millions. The lapse of revolutionary pensions, and judicious retrenchments which might be made, without detriment to any of the essential establishments of the country, would probably reduce them below nine millions. Let us assume that sum, to which add about five millions and a half for the interest of the public debt, and the wants of government would require a revenue of fourteen and a half millions, leaving a surplus of revenue of half a million beyond the public expenditure. Thus, by a postponement of the payment of the principal of the public debt, in which the public creditors would gladly acquiesce, and confiding, for the means of redeeming it in the necessary increase of our revenue from the natural augmentation of our population and consumption, we may safely adopt the proposed measure, even if it should be attended (which is confidently denied) with the supposed diminution of revenue. We shall not then have occasion to vary the existing system of taxation; we shall be under no necessity to resort either to direct taxes or to an excise. But suppose the alternative were really forced upon us of continuing the foreign system, with its inevitable impoverishment of the country, but with the advantage of the present mode of collecting the taxes, or of adopting the American System, with its increase of the national wealth, but with the disadvantage of an excise, could any one hesitate between them? Customs and an excise agree in the essential particulars that they are both taxes upon consumption, and both are voluntary. They differ only in the mode of collection. The office for the collection of one is located on the frontier, and that for the other within the interior. I believe it was Mr. Jefferson, who, in reply to the boast of a citizen of New York of the amount of the public revenue paid by that city, asked who would pay it if the collector's office were removed to Paulus Hook on the New Jersey shore? National wealth is the source of all taxation. And, my word for it, the people are too intelligent to be deceived by mere names, and not to give a decided preference to that system which is based upon their wealth and prosperity, rather than to that which is founded upon their impoverishment and ruin.

6. But, according to the opponents of the domestic policy, the proposed system will force capital and labor into new and reluctant employments; we are not prepared, in consequence of the high price of wages, for the successful establishment of manufactures, and we must fail in the experiment. We have seen that the existing occupations of our society, those of agriculture, commerce, navigation, and the learned professions, are overflowing with competitors, and that the want of employment is severely felt. Now what does this bill propose? To open a new and extensive field of business, in which all who choose may enter. There is no compulsion upon any one to engage in it. An option only is given to industry, to continue in the present unprofitable pursuits, or to embark in a new and promising one. The effect will be to lessen the competition in the old branches of business, and to

multiply our resources for increasing our comforts, and augmenting the national wealth. The alleged fact, of the high price of wages, is not admitted. The truth is, that no class of society suffers more, in the present stagnation of business, than the laboring class. That is a necessary effect of the depression of agriculture, the principal business of the community. The wages of able-bodied men vary from five to eight dollars per month; and such has been the want of employment, in some parts of the Union, that instances have not been unfrequent, of men working merely for the means of present subsistence. If the wages for labor here and in England are compared, they will be found not to be essentially different. I agree with the honorable gentleman from Virginia, that high wages are a proof of national prosperity; we differ only in the means by which that desirable end shall be attained. But, if the fact were true, that the wages of labor are high, I deny the correctness of the argument founded upon it. The argument assumes, that natural labor is the principal element in the business of manufacture. That was the ancient theory. But the valuable inventions and vast improvements in machinery, which have been made within a few past years, have produced a new era in the arts. The effect of this change, in the powers of production, may be estimated, from what I have already stated in relation to England, and to the triumphs of European artificial labor over the natural labor of Asia. In considering the fitness of a nation for the establishment of manufactures, we must no longer limit our views to the state of its population and the price of wages. All circumstances must be regarded, of which that is, perhaps, the least important. Capital, ingenuity in the construction, and adroitness in the use of machinery, and the possession of the raw materials, are those which deserve the greatest consideration. All these circumstances (except that of capital, of which there is no deficiency) exist in our country in an eminent degree, and more than counterbalance the disadvantage, if it really existed, of the lower wages of labor in Great Britain. The dependence upon foreign nations for the raw material of any great manufacture, has been ever considered as a discouraging fact. The state of our population is peculiarly favorable to the most extensive introduction of machinery. We have no prejudices to combat, no persons to drive out of employment. The pamphlet, to which we have had occasion so often to refer, in enumerating the causes which have brought in England their manufactures to such a state of perfection, and which now enable them, in the opinion of the writer, to defy all competition, does not specify, as one of them, low wages. It assigns three — 1st, capital; 2d, extent and costliness of machinery; and 3d, steady and persevering industry. Notwithstanding the concurrence of so many favorable causes, in our country, for the introduction of the arts, we are earnestly dissuaded from making the experiment, and our ultimate failure is confidently predicted. Why should we fail? Nations, like men, fail in nothing which they boldly attempt, when sustained by virtuous purpose and firm resolution. I am not willing to admit this depreciation of American skill and enterprise. I am not willing to strike

before an effort is made. All our past history exhorts us to proceed, and inspires us with animating hopes of success. Past predictions of our incapacity have failed, and present predictions will not be realized. At the commencement of this Government, we were told that the attempt would be idle to construct a marine adequate to the commerce of the country, or even to the business of its coasting trade. The founders of our Government did not listen to these discouraging counsels; and behold the fruits of their just comprehension of our resources. Our restrictive policy was denounced, and it was foretold that it would utterly disappoint all our expectations. But our restrictive policy has been eminently successful; and the share which our navigation now enjoys in the trade with France, and with the British West India Islands, attests its victory. What were not the disheartening predictions of the opponents of the late war? Defeat, discomfiture, and disgrace, were to be the certain, but not the worst effect of it. Here, again, did prophecy prove false; and the energies of our country, and the valor and the patriotism of our people, carried us gloriously through the war. We are now, and ever will be, essentially an agricultural people. Without a material change in the fixed habits of the country, the friends of this measure desire to draw to it, as a powerful auxiliary to its industry, the manufacturing arts. The difference between a nation with, and without the arts, may be conceived, by the difference between a keel-boat and a steamboat, combating the rapid torrent of the Mississippi. How slow does the former ascend, hugging the sinuosities of the shore, pushed on by her hardy and exposed crew, now throwing themselves in vigorous concert on their oars, and then seizing the pendent boughs of overhanging trees: she seems hardly to move, and her scanty cargo is scarcely worth the transportation! With what ease is she not passed by the steamboat, laden with the riches of all quarters of the world, with a crew of gay, cheerful, and protected passengers, now dashing into the midst of the current, or gliding through the eddies near the shore! Nature herself seems to survey, with astonishment, the passing wonder, and, in silent submission, reluctantly to own the magnificent triumphs, in her own vast dominion, of Fulton's immortal genius!

7. But it is said that, wherever there is a concurrence of favorable circumstances, manufactures will arise of themselves, without protection; and that we should not disturb the natural progress of industry, but leave things to themselves. If all nations would modify their policy on this axiom, perhaps it would be better for the common good of the whole. Even then, in consequence of natural advantages and a greater advance in civilization and in the arts, some nations would enjoy a state of much higher prosperity than others. But there is no universal legislation. The globe is divided into different communities, each seeking to appropriate to itself all the advantages it can, without reference to the prosperity of others. Whether this is right or not, it has always been, and ever will be the case. Perhaps the care of the interests of one people is sufficient for all the wisdom of one legislature; and that it is, among nations as among individuals, that the happiness

of the whole is best secured by each attending to its own peculiar interests. The proposition to be maintained by our adversaries is, that manufactures, without protection, will, in due time, spring up in our country, and sustain themselves, in a competition with foreign fabrics, however advanced the arts, and whatever the degree of protection may be in foreign countries. Now I contend that this proposition is refuted by all experience, ancient and modern, and in every country. If I am asked why unprotected industry should not succeed in a struggle with protected industry, I answer, the FACT has ever been so, and that is sufficient; I reply, that UNIFORM EXPERIENCE evinces that it can not succeed in such an unequal contest, and that is sufficient. If we speculate on the causes of this universal truth, we may differ about them. Still, the indisputable fact remains. And we should be as unwise in not availing ourselves of the guide which it furnishes, as a man would be who should refuse to bask in the rays of the sun, because he could not agree with Judge Woodward as to the nature of the substance of that planet, to which we are indebted for heat and light. If I were to attempt to particularize the causes which prevent the success of the manufacturing arts, without protection, I should say that they are — 1st, the obduracy of fixed habits. No nation, no individual, will easily change an established course of business, even if it be unprofitable; and least of all, is an agricultural people prone to innovation. With what reluctance do they not adopt improvements in the instruments of husbandry or in modes of cultivation! If the farmer makes a good crop, and sells it badly, or makes a short crop, buoyed up by hope, he perseveres, and trusts that a favorable change of the market or of the seasons, will enable him, in the succeeding year, to repair the misfortunes of the past; 2d, the uncertainty, fluctuation, and unsteadiness of the home market, when liable to an unrestricted influx of fabrics from all foreign nations; and 3d, the superior advance of skill and amount of capital which foreign nations have obtained by the protection of their own industry. From the latter, or from other causes, the unprotected manufactures of a country are exposed to the danger of being crushed in their infancy, either by the design or from the necessities of foreign manufacturers. Gentlemen are incredulous as to the attempts of foreign merchants and manufacturers to accomplish the destruction of ours. Why should they not make such attempts? If the Scottish manufacturer, by surcharging our market in one year, with the article of cotton-bagging, for example, should so reduce the price as to discourage and put down the home manufacture, he would secure to himself the monopoly of the supply. And now, having the exclusive possession of the market, perhaps for a long term of years, he might be more than indemnified for his first loss, in the subsequent rise in the price of the article. What have we not seen under our own eyes! The competition for the transportation of the mail between this place and Baltimore, so excited, that, to obtain it, an individual offered, at great loss, to carry it a whole year for one dollar! His calculation, no doubt was, that by driving his competitor off the road, and securing to himself the carriage

of the mail, he would be afterward able to repair his original loss by new contracts with the department. But the necessities of foreign manufacturers, without imputing to them any sinister design, may oblige them to throw into our markets the fabrics which have accumulated on their hands, in consequence of obstruction in the ordinary vents, or from over-calculation; and the forced sales, at losing prices, may prostrate our establishments. From this view of the subject, it follows, that, if we would place the industry of our country upon a solid and unshakable foundation, we must adopt the protecting policy, which has everywhere succeeded, and reject that which would abandon it, which has everywhere failed.

8. But if the policy of protection be wise, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Barbour) has made some ingenious calculations to prove that the measure of protection, already extended, has been sufficiently great. With some few exceptions, the existing duties, of which he has made an estimate, were laid with the object of revenue, and without reference to that of encouragement to our domestic industry; and although it is admitted that the incidental effect of duties, so laid, is to promote our manufactures, yet if it falls short of competent protection, the duties might as well not have been imposed, with reference to that purpose. A moderate addition may accomplish this desirable end; and the proposed tariff is believed to have this character.

9. The prohibitory policy, it is confidently asserted, is condemned by the wisdom of Europe, and by her most enlightened statesmen. Is this the fact? We call upon gentlemen to show in what instance a nation that has enjoyed its benefits has surrendered it.

[Here Mr. Barbour rose (Mr. Clay giving way) and said that England had departed from it in the China trade, in allowing us to trade with her East India possessions, and in tolerating our navigation to her West India colonies.]

With respect to the trade to China, the whole amount of what England has done is to modify the monopoly of the East India Company, in behalf of one and a small part of her subjects, to increase the commerce of another and the greater portion of them. The abolition of the restriction, therefore, operates altogether among the subjects of England, and does not touch at all the interests of foreign powers. The toleration of our commerce to British India, is for the sake of the specie, with which we mainly carry on that commerce, and which, having performed its circuit, returns to Great Britain in exchange for British manufactures. The relaxation from the colonial policy, in the instance of our trade and navigation with the West Indies, is a most unfortunate example for the honorable gentleman; for it is an illustrious proof of the success of our restrictive policy, when resolutely adhered to. Great Britain had prescribed the terms on which we were to be graciously allowed to carry on that trade. The effect of her regulations was to exclude our navigation altogether, and a complete monopoly, on the part of the British navigation, was secured. We forbade it, unless our vessels should be allowed a perfect reciprocity. Great Britain stood out a long time, but

finally yielded, and our navigation now fairly shares with hers in the trade. Have gentlemen no other to exhibit than these trivial relaxations from the prohibitory policy—which do not amount to a drop in the bucket—to prove its abandonment by Great Britain? Let them show us that her laws are repealed which prohibit the introduction of our flour and provisions; of French silks, laces, porcelain, manufactures of bronze, mirrors, woollens; and of the manufactures of all other nations; and then we may be ready to allow that Great Britain has really abolished her prohibitory policy. We find there, on the contrary, that system of policy in full and rigorous operation, and a most curiously interwoven system it is, as she enforces it. She begins by protecting all parts of her immense dominions against foreign nations. She then protects the parent-country against the colonies; and, finally, one part of the parent-country against another. The sagacity of Scotch industry has carried the process of distillation to a perfection which would place the art in England on a footing of disadvantageous competition, and English distillation has been protected accordingly. But suppose it were even true that Great Britain had abolished all restrictions upon trade, and allowed the freest introduction of the produce of foreign labor, would that prove it unwise for us to adopt the protecting system? The object of protection is the establishment and perfection of the arts. In England it has accomplished its purpose, fulfilled its end. If she has not carried every branch of manufacture to the same high state of perfection that any other nation has, she has succeeded in so many, that she may safely challenge the most unshackled competition in exchanges. It is upon this very ground that many of her writers recommend an abandonment of the prohibitory system. It is to give greater scope to British industry and enterprise. It is upon the same selfish principle. The object of the most perfect freedom of trade, with such a nation as Britain, and of the most rigorous system of prohibition with a nation whose arts are in their infancy, may both be precisely the same. In both cases it is to give greater expansion to native industry. They only differ in the theatres of their operation. The abolition of the restrictive system by Great Britain, if by it she could prevail upon other nations to imitate her example, would have the effect of extending the consumption of British produce in other countries, where her writers boldly affirm it could maintain a fearless competition with the produce of native labor. The adoption of the restrictive system, on the part of the United States, by excluding the produce of foreign labor, would extend the consumption of American produce, unable, in the infancy and unprotected state of the arts, to sustain a competition with foreign fabrics. Let our arts breathe under the shade of protection; let them be perfected, as they are in England, and we shall then be ready, as England now is said to be, to put aside protection, and to enter upon the freest exchanges. To what other cause, than to their whole prohibitory policy, can you ascribe British prosperity? It will not do to assign it to that of her antiquity, for France is no less ancient, though much less rich and powerful, in proportion to the population and natural

advantages of France. Hallam, a sensible and highly-approved writer on the middle ages, assigns the revival of the prosperity of the North of Europe, to the success of the woollen manufactories of Flanders, and the commerce of which their fabrics became the subject; and the commencement of that of England to the establishment of similar manufactures there under the Edwards, and to the prohibitions which began about the same time. As to the poor rates, the theme of so much reproach without England, and of so much regret within it, among her speculative writers, the system was a strong proof no less of her unbounded wealth than of her pauperism. What other nation can dispense, in the form of regulated charity, the enormous sum, I believe, of ten or twelve millions sterling.

[Mr. Barbour stated it was reduced to six; to which Mr. Clay replied, that he entertained no doubt but that the benign operation of British protection of home industry had greatly reduced it within the last few years, by the full employment of her subjects, of which her flourishing trade bore evidence.]

The number of British paupers was the result of pressing the principle of population to its utmost limits, by her protecting policy, in the creation of wealth, and in placing the rest of the world under tribute to her industry. Doubtless the condition of England would be better, without paupers, if in other respects it remained the same. But in her actual circumstances, the poor system has the salutary effect of an equalizing corrective of the tendency to the concentration of riches, produced by the genius of her political institutions and by her prohibitory system.

But is it true that England is convinced of the impolicy of the prohibitory system and desirous to abandon it? What proof have we to that effect? We are asked to reject the evidence deducible from the settled and steady practice of England, and to take lessons in a school of philosophical writers, whose visionary theories are nowhere adopted; or, if adopted, bring with them inevitable distress, impoverishment, and ruin. Let us hear the testimony of an illustrious personage, entitled to the greatest attention, because he speaks after the full experiment of the unrestrictive system made in his own empire. I hope I shall give no offence in quoting from a publication issued from "the mint of Philadelphia;" from a work of Mr. Carey, of whom I seize, with great pleasure, the occasion to say that he merits the public gratitude, for the disinterested diligence with which he has collected a large mass of highly-useful facts, and for the clear and convincing reasoning with which he generally illustrates them. The Emperor of Russia, in March, 1822, after about two years' trial of the free system says, through Count Nesselrode:—

"To produce happy effects the principles of commercial freedom must be generally adopted. *The state which adopts, whilst others reject them, must condemn its own industry and commerce to pay a ruinous tribute to those of other nations.*"

"From a circulation exempt from restraint and the facility afforded by reciprocal exchanges, almost all the governments at first resolved to seek the means of repairing the evil which Europe had been doomed to suffer; but *experience, and more correct calculations, because they were made from certain data, and upon the results already known of the peace that had just taken place, forced them soon to adhere to the prohibitory system.*"

"*England preserved hers. Austria remained faithful to the rule she had laid down, to guard herself against the rivalship of foreign industry. France, with the same views, adopted the most rigorous measures of precaution. And Prussia published a new tariff in October last, which proves that she found it impossible not to follow the example of the rest of Europe.*"

"In proportion as the prohibitory system is extended and rendered perfect in other countries, *that state which pursues the contrary system, makes, from day to day, sacrifices more extensive, and more considerable. . . . . It offers a continual encouragement to the manufactures of other countries—and its own manufactures perish in the struggle which they are, as yet, unable to maintain.*"

"It is with the most lively feelings of regret that we acknowledge it is our own proper experience which enables us to trace this picture. *The evils which it details have been realized in Russia and Poland, since the conclusion of the act of the 7–19 of December*, 1818. AGRICULTURE WITHOUT A MARKET, INDUSTRY WITHOUT PROTECTION, LANGUISH AND DECLINE. SPECIE IS EXPORTED, AND THE MOST SOLID COMMERCIAL HOUSES ARE SHAKEN. The public prosperity would soon feel the wound inflicted on private fortunes, if new regulations did not promptly change the actual state of affairs."

"*Events have proved that our* AGRICULTURE *and our* COMMERCE, *as well as our* MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY, *are not only paralyzed, but* BROUGHT TO THE BRINK OF RUIN."

The example of Spain has been properly referred to, as affording a striking proof of the calamities which attend a State that abandons the care of its own internal industry. Her prosperity was greatest when the arts, brought there by the Moors, flourished most in that kingdom. Then she received from England her wool, and returned it in the manufactured state; and then England was least prosperous. The two nations have reversed conditions. Spain, after the discovery of America, yielding to an inordinate passion for the gold of the Indies, sought in their mines that wealth which might have been better created at home. Can the remarkable difference in the state of the prosperity of the two countries be otherwise explained, than by the opposite systems which they pursued? England, by a sedulous attention to her home industry, supplied the means of an advantageous commerce with her colonies. Spain, by an utter neglect of her domestic resources, confided altogether in those which she derived from her colonies, and presents an instance of the greatest adversity. Her colonies were infinitely more valuable than those of England; and, if she had adopted a similar policy, is it unreasonable to suppose that, in wealth and power, she would have surpassed that of England? I think the honorable gentleman from Virginia does great injustice to the Catholic religion, in specifying that as one of the leading causes of the decline of Spain. It is a religion entitled to great respect; and there is nothing in its character incompatible with the highest degree of national prosperity. Is not France, the most polished, in many other respects the most distinguished state of Christendom, Catholic? Is not Flanders, the most populous part of Europe, also Catholic; are the Catholic parts of Switzerland and of Germany, less prosperous than those which are Protestant?

10. The next objection of the honorable gentleman from Virginia, which I shall briefly notice, is, that the manufacturing system is adverse to the genius of our government, in its tendency to the accumulation of large capitals in a few hands; in the corruption of the public morals, which is alleged to be incident to it; and in the consequent danger to the public liberty. The first part of the objection would apply to every lucrative business, to commerce, to planting, and to the learned professions. Would the gentle-

man introduce the system of Lycurgus? If his principle be correct, it should be extended to any and every vocation which had a similar tendency. The enormous fortunes in our country — the nabobs of the land — have been chiefly made by the profitable pursuit of that foreign commerce in more propitious times, which the honorable gentleman would so carefully cherish. Immense estates have also been made in the South. The dependants are, perhaps, not more numerous upon that wealth which is accumulated in manufactures, than they are upon that which is acquired by commerce and by agriculture. We may safely confide in the laws of distribution, and in the absence of the rule of primogeniture, for the dissipation, perhaps too rapid, of large fortunes. What has become of those which were held two or three generations back in Virginia? Many of the descendants of the ancient aristocracy, as it was called, of that State, are now in the most indigent condition. The best security against the demoralization of society, is the constant and profitable employment of its members. The greatest danger to public liberty is from idleness and vice. If manufactures form cities, so does commerce. And the disorders and violence which proceed from the contagion of the passions, are as frequent in one description of those communities as in the other. There is no doubt but that the yeomanry of a country is the safest depository of public liberty. In all time to come, and under any probable direction of the labor of our population, the agricultural class must be much the most numerous and powerful, and will ever retain, as it ought to retain, a preponderating influence in our councils. The extent and the fertility of our lands constitute an adequate security against an excess in manufactures, and also against oppression, on the part of capitalists, toward the laboring portions of the community.

11. The last objection, with a notice of which I shall trouble the committee, is, that the constitution does not authorize the passage of the bill. The gentleman from Virginia does not assert, indeed, that it is inconsistent with the express provisions of that instrument, but he thinks it incompatible with the spirit of the constitution. If we attempt to provide for the internal improvement of the country, the constitution, according to some gentlemen, stands in our way. If we attempt to protect American industry against foreign policy and the rivalry of foreign industry, the constitution presents an insuperable obstacle. This constitution must be a most singular instrument: It seems to be made for any other people than our own. Its action is altogether foreign. Congress has power to lay duties and imposts, under no other limitation whatever than that of their being uniform throughout the United States. But they can only be imposed, according to the honorable gentleman, for the sole purpose of revenue. This is a restriction which we do not find in the constitution. No doubt revenue was a principal object with the framers of the constitution in investing Congress with the power. But, in executing it, may not the duties and imposts be so laid as to secure domestic interest? Or is Congress denied all discretion as to the amount or the distribution of the duties and imposts?

The gentleman from Virginia has, however, entirely mistaken the clause of the constitution on which we rely. It is that which gives to Congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations. The grant is plenary, without any limitation whatever, and includes the whole power of regulation, of which the subject to be regulated is susceptible. It is as full and complete a grant of the power, as that is to declare war. What is a regulation of commerce? It implies the admission or exclusion of the objects of it, and the terms. Under this power some articles, by the existing laws, are admitted freely; others are subjected to duties so high as to amount to their prohibition, and various rates of duties are applied to others. Under this power, laws of total non-intercourse with some nations, embargoes, producing an entire cessation of commerce with all foreign countries, have been, from time to time, passed. These laws, I have no doubt, met with the entire approbation of the gentleman from Virginia.

[Mr. Barbour said that he was not in Congress.]

Wherever the gentleman was, whether on his farm or in the pursuit of that profession of which he is an ornament, I have no doubt that he gave his zealous support to the laws referred to.

The principle of the system under consideration has the sanction of some of the best and wisest men, in all ages, in foreign countries as well as in our own — of the Edwards, of Henry the Great, of Elizabeth, of the Colberts, abroad; of our Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, at home. But it comes recommended to us by a higher authority than any of these, illustrious as they unquestionably are — by the master-spirit of the age — that extraordinary man, who has thrown the Alexanders and the Cæsars infinitely farther behind him than they stood in advance of the most eminent of their predecessors — that singular man, who, whether he was seated on his imperial throne, deciding the fate of nations, and allotting kingdoms to the members of his family, with the same composure, if not with the same affection, as that with which a Virginia father divides his plantations among his children, or on the miserable rock of St. Helena, to which he was condemned by the cruelty and the injustice of his unworthy victors, is equally an object of the most intense admiration. He appears to have comprehended, with the rapidity of intuition, the true interests of a state, and to have been able, by the turn of a single expression, to develop the secret springs of the policy of cabinets. We find that Las Cases reports him to have said:

"He opposed the principles of economists, which he said were correct in theory, though erroneous in their application. The political constitution of different states, continued he, must render these principles defective; local circumstances continually call for deviations from their uniformity. Duties, he said, which were so severely condemned by political economists, should not, it is true, be an object to the treasury; they should be the guaranty and protection of a nation, and should correspond with the nature and the objects of its trade. Holland, which is destitute of productions and manufactures, and which was a trade only of transit and commission, should be free of all fetters and barriers. France, on the contrary, which is rich in every sort of productions and manufactures, should incessantly guard against the importations of a rival, who might still continue superior to her, and also against the cupidity egotism and indifference of mere brokers.

"I have not fallen into the error of modern systematizers," said the emperor, "who imagine that all the wisdom of nations is centred in themselves. Experience is the true wisdom of nations. And what does all the reasoning of economists amount to? They incessantly extol the prosperity of England, and hold her up as our model; but the customhouse system is more burdensome and arbitrary in England than in any other country. They also condemn prohibitions; yet it was England set the example of prohibitions; and they are in fact necessary with regard to certain objects. Duties can not adequately supply the place of prohibitions: there will always be found means to defeat the object of the legistor. In France we are still very far behind on these delicate points, which are still unperceived or ill understood by the mass of society. Yet what advancement have we not made —what correctness of ideas has been introduced by my gradual classification of agriculture, industry, and trade; objects so distinct in themselves, and which present so great and positive a graduation!

"1st. *Agriculture;* the soul, the first basis of the empire.

"2d. *Industry;* the comfort and happiness of the population.

"3d. *Foreign Trade;* the superabundance, the proper application of the surplus agriculture and industry.

"Agriculture was continually improving during the whole course of the revolution. Foreigners thought it ruined in France. In 1814, however, the English were compelled to admit that we had little or nothing to learn from them.

"Industry or manufactures, and internal trade, made immense progress during my reign. The application of chemistry to the manufactures caused them to advance with giant strides. I gave an impulse, the effects of which extended throughout Europe.

"Foreign trade, which, in its results, is infinitely inferior to agriculture, was an object of subordinate importance in my mind. Foreign trade is made for agriculture and home industry, and not the two latter for the former. The interests of these three fundamental cases are diverging and frequently conflicting. I always promoted them in their natural gradation, but I could not and ought not to have ranked them all on an equality. Time will unfold what I have done; the national resources which I created, and the emancipation from the English which I brought about. We have now the secret of the commercial treaty of 1783. France still exclaims against its author; but the English demanded it on pain of resuming the war. They wished to do the same after the treaty of Amiens; but I was then all-powerful; I was a hundred cubits high. I replied, that if they were in possession of the heights of Montmartre, I would still refuse to sign the treaty. These words were echoed through Europe.

"The English will now impose some such treaty on France, at least, if popular clamor and the opposition of the mass of the nation do not force them to draw back. This thraldom would be an additional disgrace in the eyes of that nation, which is now beginning to acquire a just perception of her own interests.

"When I came to the head of the government, the American ships, which were permitted to enter our ports on the score of their neutrality, brought us raw materials, and had the impudence to sail from France without freight, for the purpose of taking in cargoes of English goods in London. They moreover had the insolence to make their payments, when they had any to make, by giving bills on persons in London. Hence the vast profits reaped by the English manufacturers and brokers, entirely to our prejudice. I made a law that no American should import goods to any amount without immediately exporting their exact equivalent. A loud outcry was raised against this: it was said that I had ruined trade. But what was the consequence? Notwithstanding the closing of my ports, and in spite of the English who ruled the seas, the Americans returned and submitted to my regulations. What might I not have done under more favorable circumstances?

"Thus I naturalized in France the manufactures of cotton, which includes—

"1st. *Spun Cotton.*—We did not previously spin it ourselves; the English supplied us with it as a sort of favor.

"2d. *The Web.*—We did not yet make it; it came to us from abroad.

"3d. *The Printing.*—This was the only part of the manufacture that we performed ourselves. I wished to naturalize the first two branches; and I proposed to the council of state that their importation should be prohibited. This excited great alarm. I sent for Oberkamp, and I conversed with him for a long time. I learned from him that this prohibition would doubtless produce a shock, but that, after a year or two of perseverance, it would prove a triumph, whence we should derive immense advantages. Then I issued my decree in spite of all: this was a true piece of statesmanship.

"I at first confined myself merely to prohibiting the web; then I extended the prohibition to spun cotton; and we now possess, within ourselves, the three branches of the cotton manufacture, to the great benefit of our population, and the injury and regret of the English, which proves that, in civil government as well as in war, decision of character is often indispensable to success."

I will trouble the committee with only one other quotation, which I shall make from Lowe; and from hearing which, the committee must share with me in the mortification which I felt on perusing it. That author says:

"It is now above forty years since the United States of America were definitively separated from us, and since, their situation has afforded a proof that the benefit of mercantile intercourse may be retained, in all its extent, without the care of governing, or the expense of defending, these once-regretted provinces."

Is there not too much truth in this observation? By adhering to the foreign policy, which I have been discussing, do we not remain essentially British, in everything but the form of our government? Are not our interests, our industry, our commerce, so modified as to swell British pride, and to increase British power?

Mr. Chairman, our confederacy comprehends within its vast limits great diversity of interests: agricultural, planting, farming, commercial, navigating, fishing, manufacturing. No one of these interests is felt in the same degree, and cherished with the same solicitude, throughout all parts of the Union. Some of them are peculiar to particular sections of our common country. But all these great interests are confided to the protection of one government — to the fate of one ship: and a most gallant ship it is, with a noble crew. If we prosper, and are happy, protection must be extended to all; it is due to all. It is the great principle on which obedience is demanded from all. If our essential interests can not find protection from our own government against the policy of foreign powers, where are they to get it? We did not unite for sacrifice, but for preservation. The inquiry should be, in reference to the great interests of every section of the Union (I speak not of minute subdivisions), what would be done for those interests if that section stood alone and separated from the residue of the republic? If the promotion of those interests would not injuriously affect any other section, then everything should be done for them, which would be done if it formed a distinct government. If they come into absolute collision with the interests of another section, a reconciliation, if possible, should be attempted, by mutual concession, so as to avoid a sacrifice of the prosperity of either to that of the other. In such a case, all should not be done for one which would be done, if it were separated and independent—but something; and in devising the measure, the good of each part and of the whole should be carefully consulted. This is the only mode by which we can preserve, in full vigor, the harmony of the whole Union. The South entertains one opinion, and imagines that a modification of the existing policy of the country, for the protection of American industry, involves the ruin of the South. The North, the East, the West, hold the opposite opinion, and feel and contemplate, in a longer adherence to the foreign policy, as it now exists, their utter destruction. Is it true that the interests of these great sections of our country are irreconcilable with each other? Are we reduced to the sad and afflicting dilemma of determining which shall fall a victim to the prosperity of the other? Happily, I think, there is no such distressing alternative. If the North, the West, and the East, formed an independent state, unassociated with the South, can there be a doubt that the restrictive system would be carried to the point of prohibition of every foreign fabric of which they produce the raw material, and which they could manufacture? Such

would be their policy, if they stood alone; but they are fortunately connected with the South, which believes its interests to require a free admission of foreign manufactures. Here then is a case for mutual concession, for fair compromise. The bill under consideration presents this compromise. It is a medium between the absolute exclusion and the unrestricted admission of the produce of foreign industry. It sacrifices the interest of neither section to that of the other; neither, it is true, gets all that it wants, nor is subject to all that it fears. But it has been said that the South obtains nothing in this compromise. Does it lose anything? is the first question. I have endeavored to prove that it does not, by showing that a mere transfer is effected in the source of the supply of its consumption from Europe to America; and that the loss, whatever it may be, of the sale of its great staple in Europe, is compensated by the new market created in America. But does the South really gain nothing in this compromise? The consumption of the other sections, though somewhat restricted, is still left open by this bill to foreign fabrics purchased by southern staples. So far its operation is beneficial to the South, and prejudicial to the industry of other sections—and that is the point of mutual concession. The South will also gain by the extended consumption of its great staple, produced by an increased capacity to consume it in consequence of the establishment of the home market. But the South can not exert its industry and enterprise in the business of manufactures! Why not! The difficulties, if not exaggerated, are artificial, and may, therefore, be surmounted. But can the other sections embark in the planting occupations of the South? The obstructions which forbid them are natural, created by the immutable laws of God, and therefore, unconquerable.

Other animating considerations invite us to adopt the policy of this system. Its importance, in connection with the general defence in time of war, can not fail to be duly estimated. Need I recall to our painful recollection the sufferings, for the want of an adequate supply of absolute necessaries, to which the defenders of their country's rights and our entire population were subjected during the late war? Or to remind the Committee of the great advantage of a steady and unfailing source of supply, unaffected alike in war and in peace? Its importance, in reference to the stability of the Union, that paramount and greatest of all our interests, can not fail warmly to recommend it, or at least to conciliate the forbearance of every patriot bosom. Now, our people present the spectacle of a vast assemblage of jealous rivals, all eagerly rushing to the seaboard, jostling each other in their way, to hurry off to glutted foreign markets the perishable produce of their labor. The tendency of that policy, in conformity to which this bill is prepared, is to transform these competitors into friends and mutual customers; and, by the reciprocal exchanges of their respective productions, to place the confederacy upon the most solid foundations, the basis of common interest. And is not Government called upon, by every stimulating motive, to adapt its policy to the actual condition and extended growth of our great

Republic? At the commencement of our Constitution, almost the whole population of the United States was confined between the Alleghany mountains and the Atlantic ocean. Since that epoch, the Western part of New York, of Pennsylvania, of Virginia, all the Western States and Territories, have been principally peopled. Prior to that period, we had scarcely an interior. An interior has sprung up, as it were by enchantment, and along with it new interests and new relations, requiring the parental protection of Government. Our policy should be modified accordingly, so as to comprehend all, and sacrifice none. And are we not encouraged by the success of past experience, in respect to the only article which has been adequately protected? Already have the predictions of the friends of the American system, in even a shorter time than their most sanguine hopes could have anticipated, been completely realized in regard to that article; and consumption is now better and cheaper supplied with coarse cottons, than it was under the prevalence of the foreign system.

Even if the benefits of the policy were limited to certain sections of our country, would it not be satisfactory to behold American industry, wherever situated, active, animated, and thrifty, rather than persevere in a course which renders us subservient to foreign industry? But these benefits are two-fold, direct and collateral, and, in the one shape or the other, they will diffuse themselves throughout the Union. All parts of the Union will participate, more or less, in both. As to the direct benefit, it is probable that the North and the East will enjoy the largest share. But the West and the South will also participate in them. Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond, will divide with the Northern capitals the business of manufacturing. The latter city unites more advantages for its successful prosecution than any other place I know; Zanesville, in Ohio, only excepted. And where the direct benefit does not accrue, that will be enjoyed of supplying the raw material and provisions for the consumption of artisans. Is it not most desirable to put at rest and prevent the annual recurrence of this unpleasant subject, so well fitted by the various interests to which it appeals, to excite irritation and produce discontent? Can that be effected by its rejection? Behold the mass of petitions which lie on our table, earnestly and anxiously entreating the protecting interposition of Congress against the ruinous policy which we are pursuing. Will these petitioners, comprehending all orders of society, entire States and communities, public companies and private individuals, spontaneously assembling, cease in their humble prayers by your lending a deaf ear? Can you expect that these petitioners, and others, in countless numbers, that will, if you delay the passage of this bill, supplicate your mercy, should contemplate their substance gradually withdrawn to foreign countries, their ruin slow, but certain and as inevitable as death itself, without one expiring effort? You think the measure injurious to you; we believe our preservation depends upon its adoption. Our convictions, mutually honest, are equally strong. What is to be done? I invoke that saving spirit of mutual concession under which our blessed Constitution was

formed, and under which alone it can be happily administered. I appeal to the South — to the high-minded, generous, and patriotic South — with which I have so often coöperated, in attempting to sustain the honor and to vindicate the rights of our country. Should it not offer, upon the altar of the public good, some sacrifice of its peculiar opinions? Of what does it complain? A possible temporary enhancement in the objects of its consumption. Of what do we complain? A total incapacity, produced by the foreign policy, to purchase, at any price, necessary foreign objects of consumption. In such an alternative, inconvenient only to it, ruinous to us, can we expect too much from Southern magnanimity? The just and confident expectation of the passage of this bill, has flooded the country with recent importations of foreign fabrics. If it should not pass, they will complete the work of destruction of our domestic industry. If it should pass, they will prevent any considerable rise in the price of foreign commodities, until our own industry shall be able to supply competent substitutes.

To the friends of the tariff, I would also anxiously appeal. Every arrangement of its provisions does not suit each of you; you desire some further alterations; you would make it perfect. You want what you will never get. Nothing human is perfect. And I have seen, with great surprise, a piece signed by a member of Congress, published in the National Intelligencer, stating that this bill must be rejected, and a judicious tariff brought in as its substitute. A *judicious* tariff! No member of Congress could have signed that piece; or, if he did, the public ought not to be deceived. If this bill do not pass, unquestionably no other can pass at this session, or probably during this Congress. And who will go home and say that he rejected all the benefits of this bill, because molasses has been subjected to the enormous additional duty of five cents per gallon? I call, therefore, upon the friends of the American policy, to yield somewhat of their own peculiar wishes, and not to reject the practicable in the idle pursuit after the unattainable. Let us imitate the illustrious example of the framers of the Constitution, and always remembering that whatever springs from man par takes of his imperfections, depend upon experience to suggest, in future, the necessary amendments.

We have had great difficulties to encounter: 1. The splendid talents which are arrayed in this House against us. 2. We are opposed by the rich and powerful in the land. 3. The Executive Government, if any, affords us but a cold and equivocal support. 4. The importing and navigating interest, I verily believe from misconception, are adverse to us. 5. The British factors and the British influence are inimical to our success. 6. Long-established habits and prejudices oppose us. 7. The reviewers and literary speculators, foreign and domestic. And, lastly, the leading presses of the country, including the influence of that which is established in this city, and sustained by the public purse.

From some of these, or other causes, the bill may be postponed, thwarted, defeated. But the cause is the cause of the country, and it must and will

prevail. It is founded in the interests and affections of the people. It is as native as the granite deeply imbosomed in our mountains. And, in conclusion, I would pray God, in His infinite mercy, to avert from our country the evils which are impending over it, and, by enlightening our councils, to conduct us into that path which leads to riches, to greatness, to glory.

[The bill, thus supported, finally passed the House, on the 16th of April, 1824, by the close vote of 107 Yeas to 102 Nays, and, being afterward concurred in by the Senate, became a law of the land.]

III.

ON THE GREEK REVOLUTION.

House of Representatives, Jan. 20, 1824.

[The resolution of Mr. Webster, looking to a recognition of the independence of Greece, and making an appropriation to send thither a Political Agent, with the amendment of Mr Poinsett, disclaiming such recognition, but proposing instead a declaration of the sympathy of the United States with the Greeks in their struggle for independence, being under consideration, Mr. Clay said :—]

In rising, let me state distinctly the substance of the original proposition of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Webster), with that of the amendment of the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Poinsett). The resolution proposes a provision of the means to defray the expense of deputing a commissioner or agent to Greece, whenever the President, who knows, or ought to know, the disposition of all the European powers, Turkish or Christian, shall deem it proper. The amendment goes to withhold any appropriation to that object, but to make a public declaration of our sympathy with the Greeks, and of our good wishes for the success of their cause. And how has this simple, unpretending, unambitious, this harmless proposition, been treated in debate? It has been argued as if it offered aid to the Greeks; as if it proposed the recognition of the independence of their government; as a measure of unjustifiable interference in the internal affairs of a foreign state, and finally, as war. And they who thus argue the question, while they absolutely surrender themselves to the illusions of their own fervid imaginations, and depict, in glowing terms, the monstrous and alarming consequences which are to spring out of a proposition so simple, impute to us, who are its humble advocates, Quixotism! Quixotism! While they are taking the most extravagant and boundless range, and arguing anything and everything but the question before the Committee, they accuse us of enthusiasm, of giving the reins to excited feeling, of being

transported by our imaginations. No, sir, the resolution is no proposition for aid, nor for recognition, nor for interference, nor for war.

I know that there are some who object to the resolution on account of the source from which it has sprung — who except to its mover, as if its value or importance were to be estimated by personal considerations. I have long had the pleasure of knowing the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, and sometimes that of acting with him; and I have much satisfaction in expressing my high admiration of his great talents. But I would appeal to my republican friends, those faithful sentinels of civil liberty with whom I have ever acted, shall we reject a proposition, consonant to our principles, favoring the good and great cause, on account of the political character of its mover? Shall we not rather look to the intrinsic merits of the measure, and seek every fit occasion to strengthen and perpetuate liberal principles and noble sentiments? If it were possible for republicans to cease to be the champions of human freedom, and if federalists became its only supporters, I would cease to be a republican; I would become a federalist. The preservation of the public confidence can only be secured, or merited, by a faithful adherence to the principles by which it has been acquired.

Mr. Chairman, is it not extraordinary that for these two successive years the President of the United States should have been freely indulged, not only without censure, but with universal applause, to express the feelings which both the resolution and the amendment proclaim, and yet, if this House venture to unite with him, the most awful consequences are to ensue? From Maine to Georgia, from the Atlantic ocean to the gulf of Mexico, the sentiment of approbation has blazed with the rapidity of electricity. Everywhere the interest in the Greek cause is felt with the deepest intensity, expressed in every form, and increases with every new day and passing hour. And are the representatives of the people alone to be insulated from the common moral atmosphere of the whole land? Shall we shut ourselves up in apathy, and separate ourselves from our country, from our constituents, from our chief magistrate, from our principles?

This measure has been most unreasonably magnified. Gentlemen speak of the watchful jealousy of the Turk, and seem to think the slightest movement of this body will be matter of serious speculation at Constantinople. I believe that neither the Sublime Porte, nor the European allies, attach any such exaggerated importance to the acts and deliberations of this body. The Turk will, in all probability, never hear the names of the gentlemen who either espouse or oppose the resolution. It certainly is not without a value; but that value is altogether moral; it throws our little tribute into the vast stream of public opinion, which, sooner or later, must regulate physical action upon the great interests of the civilized world. But, rely upon it, the Ottoman is not about to declare war against us because this unoffending proposition has been offered by my honorable friend from Massachusetts, whose name, however distinguished and eminent he may be in

our own country, has probably never reached the ears of the Sublime Porte. The allied powers are not going to be thrown into a state of consternation, because we appropriate some two or three thousand dollars to send an agent to Greece.

The question has been argued as if the Greeks would be exposed to still more shocking enormities by its passage; as if the Turkish cimeter would be rendered still keener, and dyed deeper and yet deeper in Christian blood. Sir, if such is to be the effect of the declaration of our sympathy, the evil has been already produced. That declaration has been already publicly and solemnly made by the Chief Magistrate of the United States, in two distinct messages. It is this document which commands at home and abroad the most fixed and universal attention; which is translated into all the foreign journals; read by sovereigns and their ministers; and, possibly, in the divan itself. But our resolutions are domestic, for home consumption, and rarely, if ever, meet imperial or royal eyes. The President, in his messages, after a most touching representation of the feelings excited by the Greek insurrection, tells you that the dominion of the Turk is gone for ever; and that the most sanguine hope is entertained that Greece will achieve her independence. Well, sir, if this be the fact, if the Allied Powers themselves may, possibly, before we again assemble in this hall, acknowledge that independence, is it not fit and becoming in this House to make provision that our President shall be among the foremost, or at least not among the last, in that acknowledgment? So far from this resolution being likely to whet the vengeance of the Turk against his Grecian victims, I believe its tendency will be directly the reverse. Sir, with all his unlimited power, and in all the elevation of his despotic throne, he is at last but man, made as we are, of flesh, of muscle, of bone and sinew. He is susceptible of pain, and can feel, and has felt, the uncalculating valor of American freemen in some of his dominions. And when he is made to understand that the executive of this government is sustained by the representatives of the people; that our entire political fabric, base, column, and entablature, rulers, and people, with heart, soul, mind, and strength, are all on the side of the gallant people whom he would crush, he will be more likely to restrain than to increase his atrocities upon suffering, bleeding Greece.

The gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. Bartlett) has made, on this occasion, a very ingenious, sensible, and ironical speech—an admirable *debut* for a new member, and such as I hope we shall often have repeated on this floor. But, permit me to advise my young friend to remember the maxim that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof;" and when the resolution* on another subject, which I had the honor to submit, shall come up to be discussed, I hope he will not content himself with saying, as he has now done, that it is a very extraordinary one; but that he will then favor the

* The resolution, offered by Mr. Clay, declaring that the United States would not see with indifference any interference of the Holy Alliance in behalf of Spain against the new American republics.

House with an argumentative speech, proving that it is our duty quietly to see laid prostrate every fortress of human hope, and to behold with indifference the last outwork of liberty taken and destroyed.

It has been said that the proposed measure will be a departure from our uniform policy with respect to foreign nations; that it will provoke the wrath of the Holy Alliance; and that it will, in effect, be a repetition of their own offence, by an unjustifiable interposition in the domestic concerns of other powers. No, sir, not even if it authorized, which it does not, an immediate recognition of Grecian independence. What has been the settled and steady policy and practice of this government, from the days of Washington to the present moment? In the case of France, the Father of his country and his successors received Genet, Fouchet, and all the French ministers who followed them, whether sent from king, convention, anarchy, emperor, or king again. The rule we have ever followed has been this: to look at the state of the fact, and to recognise that government, be it what it might, which was in actual possession of sovereign power. When one government is overthrown, and another is established on its ruins, without embarrassing ourselves with any of the principles involved in the contest, we have ever acknowledged the new and actual government as soon as it had undisputed existence. Our simple inquiry has been, "Is there a government *de facto?*" We have had a recent and memorable example. When the allied ministers retired from Madrid, and refused to accompany Ferdinand to Cadiz, ours remained, and we sent out a new minister who sought at that port to present himself to the constitutional king. Why? Because it was the government of Spain in fact. Did the Allies declare war against us for the exercise of this incontestable attribute of sovereignty? Did they even transmit any diplomatic note, complaining of our conduct? The line of our European policy has been so plainly described, that it is impossible to mistake it. We are to abstain from all interference in their disputes, to take no part in their contests, to make no entangling alliances with any of them; but to assert and exercise our indisputable right of opening and maintaining diplomatic intercourse with any actual sovereignty.

There is reason to apprehend that a tremendous storm is ready to burst upon our happy country—one which may call into action all our vigor, courage, and resources. Is it wise or prudent, in preparing to breast the storm, if it must come, to talk to this nation of its incompetency to repel European aggression, to lower its spirit, to weaken its moral energy, and to qualify it for easy conquest and base submission? If there be any reality in the dangers which are supposed to encompass us, should we not animate the people, and adjure them to believe, as I do, that our resources are ample, and that we can bring into the field a million of freemen, ready to exhaust their last drop of blood, and to spend the last cent in the defence of the country, its liberty, and its institutions? Sir, are these, if united, to be conquered by all Europe combined? All the perils to which we can possi-

bly be exposed are much less in reality than the imagination is disposed to paint them. And they are best averted by an habitual contemplation of them, by reducing them to their true dimensions. If combined Europe is to precipitate itself upon us, we can not too soon begin to invigorate our strength, to teach our heads to think, our hearts to conceive, and our arms to execute, the high and noble deeds which belong to the character and glory of our country. The experience of the world instructs us that conquests are already achieved which are boldly and firmly resolved on; and that men only become slaves who have ceased to resolve to be free. If we wish to cover ourselves with the best of all armor, let us not discourage our people; let us stimulate their ardor, let us sustain their resolution, let us proclaim to them that we feel as they feel, and that, with them, we are determined to live or die like freemen.

Surely, sir, we need no long or learned lectures about the nature of government, and the influence of property or ranks on society. We may content ourselves with studying the true character of our own people and with knowing that the interests are confided to us of a nation capable of doing and suffering all things for its liberty. Such a nation, if its rulers be faithful, must be invincible. I well remember an observatiou made to me by the most illustrious female* of the age, if not of her sex. All history showed, she said, that a nation was never conquered. No, sir, no united nation, that resolves to be free, can be conquered. And has it come to this? Are we so humbled, so low, so debased, that we dare not express our sympathy for suffering Greece, that we dare not articulate our detestation of the brutal excesses of which she has been the bleeding victim, lest we might offend some one or more of their imperial and royal majesties? If gentlemen are afraid to act rashly on such a subject, suppose, Mr. Chairman, that we unite in an humble petition, addressed to their majesties, beseeching them that, of their gracious condescension, they would allow us to express our feelings and our sympathies? How shall it run? "We, the representatives of the *free* people of the United States of America, humbly approach the thrones of your imperial and royal majesties, and supplicate that, of your imperial and royal clemency"—I can not go through the disgusting recital—my lips have not yet learned to pronounce the sycophantic language of a degraded slave! Are we so mean, so base, so despicable, that we may not attempt to express our horror, utter our indignation, at the most brutal and atrocious war that ever stained earth or shocked high Heaven; at the ferocious deeds of a savage and infuriated soldiery, stimulated and urged on by the clergy of a fanatical and inimical religion, and rioting in all the excesses of blood and butchery, at the mere details of which the heart sickens and recoils.

If the great body of Christendom can look on calmly and coolly, while all this is perpetrated on a Christian people, in its own immediate vicinity, in its very presence, let us at least evince that one of its remote extremities

* Madame de Stael.

is susceptible of sensibility to Christian wrongs, and capable of sympathy for Christian sufferings; that in this remote quarter of the world there are hearts not yet closed against compassion for human woes, that can pour out their indignant feelings at the oppression of a people endeared to us by every ancient recollection and every modern tie. Sir, the committee has been attempted to be alarmed by the dangers to our commerce in the Mediterranean; and a wretched invoice of figs and opium has been spread before us to repress our sensibilities and to eradicate our humanity. Ah, sir, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" or what shall it avail a nation to save the whole of a miserable trade, and lose its liberties?

On the subject of the other independent American States, hitherto it has not been necessary to depart from the rule of our foreign relations observed in regard to Europe. Whether it will become us to do so or not, will be considered when we take up another resolution, lying on the table. But we may not only adopt this measure, we may go further: we may recognise the government in the Morea, if actually independent, and it will be neither war nor cause of war, nor any violation of our neutrality. Besides, sir, what is Greece to the Allies? a part of the dominions of any of them? By no means. Suppose the people in one of the Philippine isles, or any other spot still more insulated and remote, in Asia or Africa, were to resist their former rulers, and set up and establish a new government, are we not to recognise them in dread of the Holy Allies? If they are going to interfere, from the danger of the contagion of the example, here is the spot, our own favored land, where they must strike. *This* government—you, Mr. Chairman, and the body over which you preside, are the living and cutting reproach to allied despotism. If we are to offend them, it is not by passing this resolution. We are daily and hourly giving them cause of war. It is *here*, and in our free institutions, that they will assail us. They will attack us because you sit beneath that canopy, and we are freely debating and deliberating upon the great interests of freemen, and dispensing the blessings of free government. They will strike because we pass one of those bills on your table. The passage of the least of them, by our free authority, is more galling to despotic powers than would be the adoption of this so-much-dreaded resolution. Pass it, and what do you do? You exercise an indisputable attribute of sovereignty, for which you are responsible to none of them. You do the same when you perform any other legislative function; no less. If the Allies object to this measure, let them forbid us to take a vote in this House; let them strip us of every attribute of independent government; let them disperse us.

Will gentlemen attempt to maintain that, on the principles of the law of nations, those Allies would have *cause* of war? If there be any principle which has been settled for ages, any which is founded in the very nature of things, it is that every independent State has the clear right to judge of the *fact* of the existence of other sovereign powers. I admit there may be a

state of inchoate, initiative sovereignty, in which a new government, just struggling into being, can not be said yet perfectly to exist. But the premature recognition of such new government can give offence justly to no other than its ancient sovereign. The right of recognition comprehends the right to be informed; and the means of information must, of necessity, depend upon the sound discretion of the party seeking it. You may send out a commission of inquiry, and charge it with a provident attention to your own people and your own interests. Such will be the character of the proposed agency. It will not necessarily follow that any public functionary will be appointed by the President. You merely grant the means by which the Executive may act when *he* thinks proper. What does he tell you in his message? That Greece is contending for her independence; that all sympathize with her; and that no power has declared against her. Pass this resolution, and what is the reply which it conveys to him? "You have sent us grateful intelligence; we feel warmly for Greece, and we grant you money, that, when you shall think it proper, when the interests of this nation shall not be jeoparded, you may depute a commissioner or public agent to Greece." The whole responsibility is then left where the constitution puts it. A member in his place may make a speech or proposition, the House may even pass a vote, in respect to our foreign affairs, which the President, with the whole field lying full before him, would not deem it expedient to effectuate.

But, sir, it is not for Greece alone that I desire to see this measure adopted. It will give to her but little support, and that purely of a moral kind. It is principally for America, for the credit and character of our common country, for our unsullied name, that I hope to see it pass. Mr. Chairman, what appearance on the page of history would a record like this exhibit? "In the month of January, in the year of our Lord, and Savior 1824, while all European Christendom beheld, with cold and unfeeling indifference, the unexampled wrongs and inexpressible misery of Christian Greece, a proposition was made in the Congress of the United States, almost the sole, the last, the greatest depository of human hope and human freedom, the representatives of a gallant nation, containing a million of freemen ready to fly to arms, while the people of that nation were spontaneously expressing its deep-toned feeling, and the whole continent, by one simultaneous emotion, was rising, and solemnly and anxiously supplicating and invoking high Heaven to spare and succor Greece, and to invigorate her arms, in her glorious cause, while temples and senate-houses were alike resounding with one burst of generous and holy sympathy;—in the year of our Lord and Savior, that Savior of Greece and of us—a proposition was offered in the American Congress to send a messenger to Greece, to inquire into her state and condition, with a kind expression of our good wishes and our sympathies—and it was rejected!" Go home, if you can, go home, if you dare, to your constituents, and tell them that you voted it down—meet, if you can, the appalling countenances of those who sent you here, and tell them that you shrank

from the declaration of your own sentiments—that you can not tell how, but that some unknown dread, some indescribable apprehension, some indefinable danger, drove you from your purpose—that the spectres of cimeters, and crowns, and crescents, gleamed before you and alarmed you; and that you suppressed all the noble feelings prompted by Religion, by Liberty, by National Independence, and by Humanity. I can not bring myself to believe that such will be the feeling of a majority of the committee. But, for myself, though every friend of the cause should desert it, and I be left to stand alone with the gentleman from Massachusetts, I will give to his resolution the poor sanction of my unqualified approbation.

IV

OUR TREATMENT OF THE CHEROKEES.

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, FEB. 14, 1835.

[The fiat for the Removal of the Cherokees from their territory within the United States having gone forth, Mr. CLAY presented to the Senate the memorial of those Indians, and accompanied it by the following Speech.]

I HOLD in my hands, and beg leave to present to the Senate, certain resolutions and a memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, of a council met at Running Waters, consisting of a portion of the Cherokee Indians. The Cherokees have a country—if, indeed, it can be any longer called their country—which is comprised within the limits of Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and South Carolina. They have a population which is variously estimated, but which, according to the best information which I possess, amounts to about fifteen thousand souls. Of this population, a portion, believed to be much the greater part—amounting, as is estimated, to between nine and ten thousand souls—reside within the limits of the State of Georgia. The Senate is well aware, that for several years past it had been the policy of the general government to transfer the Indians to the west of the Mississippi river, and that a portion of the Cherokees have already availed themselves of this policy of the government, and emigrated beyond the Mississippi. Of those who remain, a portion—a respectable but also an inconsiderable portion—are desirous of emigrating to the west, and a much larger portion desire to remain on their lands, and lay their bones where rest those of their ancestors. The papers which I now present emanate from the minor portion of the Cherokees; from those who are in favor of emigration. They present a case which appeals strongly to the sympathies of Congress. They say that it is impossible for them to continue to live under laws which they do not understand, passed by authority

in which they have no share, promulgated in language of which nothing is known to the greater portion of them, and establishing rules for their government entirely unadapted to their nature, education, and habits. They say that destruction is hanging over them if they remain; that, their right of self-government being destroyed, though they are sensible of all the privations, and hardships, and sufferings of banishment from their native homes, they prefer exile with liberty, to residence in their homes with slavery. They implore, therefore, the intervention of the general government to provide for their removal west of the Mississippi, and to establish guaranties, never hereafter to be violated, of the possession of the lands to be acquired by them west of the Mississippi, and of the perpetual right of self-government. This is the object of the resolutions and petition which I am about to offer to the Senate.

But I have thought that this occasion was one which called upon me to express the opinions and sentiments which I hold in relation to this entire subject, as respects not only the emigrating Indians, but those also who are desirous to remain at home; in short, to express in concise terms my views of the relations between the Indian tribes and the people of the United States, the rights of both parties, and the duties of this government in regard to them.

The rights of the Indians are to be ascertained, in the first place, by the solemn stipulations of numerous treaties made with them by the United States. It is not my purpose to call the attention of the Senate to all the treaties which have been made with Indian tribes bearing on this particular topic: but I feel constrained to ask the attention of the Senate to some portions of those treaties which have been made with the Cherokees, and to the memorable treaty of Greenville, which has terminated the war that previously thereto, for many years, raged between the United States and the northwestern Indian tribes. I find, upon consulting the collection of Indian treaties in my hand, that within the last half-century, fourteen different treaties have been concluded with the Cherokees, the first of which bore date in the year 1775, and some one or more of which have been concluded under every administration of the general government, from the beginning of it to the present time, except the present administration, and that which immediately preceded it. The treaty of Hopewell, the first in the series, was concluded in 1775; in the third article of which "the said Indians for themselves, and their respective tribes and towns, do acknowledge all the Cherokees to be under the protection of the United States of America, *and of no other sovereign whatsoever*." The fifth article of the same treaty provides that—

"If any citizen of the United States, or other person, not being an Indian, shall attempt to settle on any of the lands westward or southward of the said boundary, which are hereby allotted to the Indians for their hunting-grounds, or, having already settled, and will not remove from the same within six months after the ratification of this treaty such person shall forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Indians may punish him or not, as they please: provided, nevertheless, that this article shall not extend to the people settled between the fork of French, Broad, and Holston rivers," &c.

The next treaty in the series, which was concluded after the establishment of the government of the United States, under the auspices of the Father of his Country, was in the year 1791, on the banks of the Holston, and contains the following provision: —

"ART. 7. The United States solemnly guaranty to the Cherokee nation all their lands not hereby ceded."

This is not an ordinary assurance of protection, &c., but a *solemn guaranty* of the rights of the Cherokees to the lands in question. The next treaty to which I will call the attention of the Senate, was concluded in 1793, also, under the auspices of General Washington, and declares as follows: —

"The undersigned Henry Knox, Secretary for the department of war, being authorized thereto by the President of the United States, in behalf of the said United States, and the undersigned chiefs and warriors, in their own names, and in behalf of the whole Cherokee nation, are desirous of re-establishing peace and friendship between the said parties in a permanent manner, do hereby declare that the said treaty of Holston is, to all intents and purposes, in full force and binding upon the said parties, as well in respect to boundaries therein mentioned, as in all other respects whatever."

This treaty, it is seen, *renews* the solemn guaranty contained in the preceding treaty, and declares it to be binding and obligatory upon the parties in all respects whatever.

Again: in another treaty, concluded in 1798, under the second Chief Magistrate of the United States, we find the following stipulations: —

"ART. 2. The treaties subsisting between the present contracting parties are acknowledged to be of full and operating force; together with the construction and usage under their respective articles, and so to continue.

"ART. 3. The limits and boundaries of the Cherokee nation, as stipulated and marked by the existing treaties between the parties shall be and remain the same, where not altered by the present treaty."

There were other provisions, in other treaties, to which, if I did not intend to take up as little time as possible of the Senate, I might advantageously call their attention. I will, however, pass on to one of the last treaties with the Cherokees, which was concluded in the year 1817. That treaty recognised the difference existing between the two portions of the Cherokees, one of which was desirous to remain at home and prosecute the good work of civilization, in which they had made some progress, and the other portion was desirous to go beyond the Mississippi. In that treaty, the fifth article, after several other stipulations, concludes as follows: —

"And it is further stipulated, that the treaties heretofore made between the Cherokee nation and the United States are to continue in full force with both parts of the nation, and both parts thereof are entitled to all the privileges and immunities which the old nation enjoyed under the aforesaid treaties; the United States reserving the right of establishing factories, a military post, and roads, within the boundaries above defined."

And to this treaty, thus emphatically renewing the recognition of the rights of the Indians, is signed the name, as one of the Commissioners of the United States who negotiated it, of the present Chief Magistrate of the United States.

These were the stipulations in treaties with the Cherokee nation, to which

I thought proper to call the attention of the Senate. I will now turn to the treaty of Greenville, concluded about forty years ago, recognising some general principles applicable to this subject. The fifth article of that treaty reads as follows:—

"To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States in the fourth article, it is now explicitly declared, that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: the Indian tribes who have a right to those lands are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when these tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and, until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands against all citizens of the United States, and all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other power whatever."

Such, sir, are the rights of the Indian tribes. And what are those rights? They are, that the Indians shall live under their own customs and laws; that they shall live upon their own lands, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon so long as they please, without interruption or molestation of any sort from the white people of the United States, acknowledging themselves under the protection of the United States, and of no other power whatever; that when they no longer wish to keep the lands, they shall sell them only to the United States, whose government thus secures to itself the pre-emptive right of purchase in them. These rights, so secured by successive treaties and guaranties, have also been recognised, on several occasions, by the highest judicial tribunals.

[Mr. CLAY here quoted from an opinion of the Supreme Court a passage declaring that the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable, and heretofore unquestioned, right to their land, until it shall be extinguished by voluntary cession to this government.]

But it is not at home alone that the rights of the Indians within the limits of the United States have been recognised. Not only has the Executive, the Congress of the United States, and the Supreme Court, recognised these rights, but in one of the most important epochs of this government, and on one of the most solemn occasions in our intercourse with foreign powers, these rights of the Indian tribes have been acknowledged. You, sir, will understand me at once to refer to the negotiation between the government of Great Britain and that of the United States, which had for its object the termination of the late war between the two countries. Sir, it must be within your recollection, and that of every member of the Senate, that the hinge upon which that negotiation turned—the ground upon which it was for a long time apprehended that the conference between the commissioners would terminate in a rupture of the negotiation between the two countries—was, the claim brought forward on that memorable occasion by Great Britain in behalf of the Indians within the limits of the United States. It will be recollected that she advanced, as a principle from which she would not recede, as a *sina qua non*, again and again, during the progress of the negotiation, that the Indians, as her allies, should be included in the treaty of peace which the negotiators were about forming; that they should

have a permanent boundary assigned them, and that neither Great Britain nor the United States should be at liberty to purchase their lands.

Such were the pretensions urged on that occasion, which the commissioners of the United States felt it to be their imperative duty to resist. To establish as the boundary the line of the treaty of Greenville, as proposed, which would have excluded from the benefit of American laws and privileges a population of not less than a hundred thousand of the inhabitants of Ohio — American citizens, entitled to the protection of the government — was a proposition which the Amerian negotiators could not for a moment entertain: they would not even refer it to their government, though assured that it would there meet the same unanimous rejection that it did from them. But it became a matter of some importance that a satisfactory assurance should be given to Great Britain that the war, which we were about to bring to a conclusion with her, should close also with her allies: and what was that assurance? I will not trouble the Senate with tracing the whole account of that negotiation, but I beg leave to call your attention to one of the passages of it. You will find, on examining the history of the negotiation, that the demand brought forward by the British government, through their minister, on this occasion, was the subject of several argumentative papers. Toward the close of this correspondence, reviewing the course pursued toward the aborigines by the several European powers which had planted colonies in America, comparing it with that of the United States, and contrasting the lenity, kindness, and forbearance of the United States, with the rigor and severity of other powers, the American negotiators expressed themselves as follows: —

"From the rigor of this system, however, as practiced by Great Britain, and all the other European powers in America, the humane and liberal policy of the United States has voluntarily relaxed. A celebrated writer on the law of nations, to whose authority British jurists have taken particular satisfaction in appealing, after stating, in the most explicit manner, the legitimacy of colonial settlements in America, to the exclusion of all rights of uncivilized Indian tribes, has taken occasion to praise the justice and humanity of the first settlers of New England, and of the founder of Pennsylvania, in having purchased of the Indians the lands they resolved to cultivate, notwithstanding their being furnished with a charter from their sovereign. It is this example which the United States, since they became by their independence the sovereigns of the territory, have adopted and organized *into a political system.* Under *that system*, the Indians residing in the United States are so far independent that *they live under their own customs, and not under the laws of the United States:* that their rights upon the lands where they inhabit or hunt *are secured to them by boundaries* defined in amicable treaties between the United States and themselves; and that whenever those boundaries are varied, it is also by amicable and voluntary treaties, by which they receive from the United States ample compensation for every right they have to the lands ceded by them," &c.

The correspondence was further continued; and finally the commissioners on the part of Great Britain proposed an article to which the American commissioners assented, the basis of which is a declaration of what is the state of the law between the Indian tribes and the people of the United States. They then proposed a further article, which declared that the United States should endeavor to restore peace to the Indians who had acted on the side of Great Britain, together with all the rights, possessions, privileges, and immunities, which they possessed prior to the year 1811, that

is, antecedent to the war between England and the United States; in consideration that Great Britain would terminate the war so far as respected the Indians who had been allies of the United States, and restore to them all the rights, privileges, possessions, and immunities, which these also had enjoyed previously to the same period. Mr. President, I here state my solemn belief, that if the American commissioners had not declared the laws between the Indians and the people of this country, and the rights of the Indians to be such as they are stated to be in the extracts I have read to the Senate; if they had then stated that any one State of this Union, which happened to have Indians residing within its limits, possessed the right of extending over them the laws of such State, and of taking their lands when and how it pleased, that the effect would have been a prolongation of the war. I again declare my most solemn belief that Great Britain, which assented with great reluctance to this mutual stipulation with respect to the Indians, never would have done it at all, but under a conviction of the correspondence of those principles of Indian international law (if I may use such a phrase), with those which the United States government had respected ever since the period of our independence.

Sir, if I am right in this, let me ask whether, in adopting the new code which now prevails, and by which the rights of the Indians have been trampled on, and the most solemn obligations of treaties have been disregarded, we are not chargeable with having induced that power to conclude a peace with us by suggestions utterly unfounded and erroneous?

Most of the treaties between the Cherokee nation of Indians and the United States have been submitted to the Senate for ratification, and the Senate have acted upon them in conformity with their constitutional power. Beside the action of the Senate, as a legislative body, in the enactment of laws in conformity with their stipulations, regulating the intercourse of our citizens with that nation, it has acted in its separate character, and confirmed the treaties themselves by the constitutional majority of two-thirds of its members. Thus have those treaties been sanctioned by the government of the United States and by every branch of this government; by the Senate, the Executive, and the Supreme Court; both at home and abroad. But not only have the rights of the Cherokees received all these recognitions; they have been, by implication, recognised by the State of Georgia itself, in the act of 1802, in which she stipulated that the government of the United States, and not the State of Georgia, should extinguish the Indian title to the land within her limits; and the general government has been, from time to time, urged by Georgia to comply with its engagements, from that period until the adoption of the late new policy upon this subject.

Having thus, Mr. President, stated, as I hope with clearness, the RIGHTS of the Indian tribes, as recognised by the most solemn acts that can be entered into by any government, let me in the next place inquire into the nature of the *injuries* which have been inflicted upon them; in other words, into the present condition of the Cherokees, to whom protection has been

assured as well by solemn treaties as by the laws and guaranties of the United States government.

And here let me be permitted to say, that I go into this subject with feelings which no language at my command will enable me adequately to express. I assure the Senate, and in an especial manner do I assure the honorable senators from Georgia, that my wish and purpose is any other than to excite the slightest possible irritation on the part of any human being. Far from it. I am actuated only by feelings of grief, feelings of sorrow, and of profound regret, irresistibly called forth by a contemplation of the miserable condition to which these unfortunate people have been reduced by acts of legislation proceeding from one of the States of this confederacy. I again assure the honorable senators from Georgia that, if it has become my painful duty to comment upon some of these acts, I do it not with any desire to place them, or the State they represent, in an invidious position; but because Georgia was, I believe, the first in the career, the object of which seems to be the utter annihilation of every Indian right, and because she has certainly, in the promotion of it, far outstripped every other State in the Union.

I have not before me the various acts of the State in reference to the Indians within her bounds; and it is possible I may be under some mistake in reference to them; and if I am, no one will correct the error more readily or with greater pleasure.

If, however, I had all those laws in my hands, I should not now attempt to read them. Instead of this, it will be sufficient for me to state the effects which have been produced by them upon the condition of the Cherokee Indians residing in that State. And here follows a list of what has been done by her legislature. Her first act was to abolish the government of these Cherokees. No human community can exist without a government of some kind; and the Cherokees, imitating our example, and having learned from us something of the principles of a free constitution, established for themselves a government somewhat resembling our own. It is quite immaterial to us what its form was. They always had had some government among them; and we guarantied to them the right of living under their own laws and customs, unmolested by any one; insomuch that our own citizens were outlawed, should they presume to interfere with them. What particular regulations they adopted in the management of their humble and limited concerns, is a matter with which we have no concern. However, the very first act of the Georgia legislature was to abolish all governments of every sort among these people, and to extend the laws and government of the State of Georgia over them. The next step was to divide their territory into counties; the next, to survey the Cherokee lands; and the last, to distribute this land among the citizens of Georgia by lottery, giving to every head of a family one ticket, and the prize in land that should be drawn against it. To be sure there were many reservations for the heads of Indian families — and of how much did gentlemen suppose? — of one hundred and

sixty acres only, and this to include their improvements. But even to this limited possession, the poor Indian was to have no fee-simple title; he was to hold as a mere occupant, at the will of the State of Georgia, for just so long or so short a time as she might think proper. The laws at the same time gave him no one particular right whatever. He could not become a member of the State legislature, nor could he hold any office under State authority, nor could he vote as an elector. He possessed not one single right of a freeman. No, not even the poor privilege of testifying to his wrongs in the character of a witness in the courts of Georgia, or in any matter of controversy whatsoever.

These, Mr. President, are the acts of the legislature of the State of Georgia, in relation to the Indians. They were not all passed at one session; they were enacted, time after time, as the State advanced further and further in her steps to the acquisition of the Indian country, and the destruction and annihilation of all Indian rights, until, by a recent act of the same body, the courts of the State itself are occluded against the Indian sufferer, and he is actually denied an appeal even to foreign tribunals, in the erection and in the laws of which he had no voice, there to complain of his wrongs. If he enters the hall of Georgia's justice, it is upon a surrender at the threshold of all his rights. The history of this law to which I have alluded, is this: When the previous law of the State, dividing the Indian lands by lottery was passed, some Indians made an appeal to one of the judges of the State, and applied for an injunction against the proceeding; and such was the undeniable justice of their plea, that the judge found himself unable to refuse it, and he granted the injunction sought. It was the injunction which led to the passage of this act: to some of the provisions of which I now invite the attention of the Senate. And first, to the title of the act:—

"A bill to amend an act entitled an act more effectually to provide for the government and protection of the Cherokee Indians residing within the limits of Georgia: and to prescribe the bounds of their occupant claims: and also to authorize grants to issue for lots drawn in the late land and gold lotteries."

Ah, sir, it was the pursuit of gold which led the Spanish invader to desolate the fair fields of Mexico and Peru—

"And to provide for the appointment of an agent to carry certain parts thereof into execution; and to fix the salary of such agent, and to punish those persons who may deter Indians from enrolling for emigration, passed 20th December, 1833."

Well, sir, this bill goes on to provide,

"That it shall be the duty of the agent or agents appointed by his excellency the Governor, under the authority of this or the act of which it is amendatory, to report to him the number, district, and section of all lots of land subject to be granted by the provisions of said act, which he may be required to do by the drawer, or his agent, or the person claiming the same; and it shall be the duty of his excellency the governor, upon the application of the drawer of any of the aforesaid lots, his or her special agents, or the person to whom the drawer may have bona-fide conveyed the same, his agent or assigns, to issue a grant therefor; and it shall be the duty of the said agent or agents, upon the production of the grant so issued as aforesaid by the grantor, his or her agent, or the person, or his or her agent to whom the said land so granted as aforesaid may have been bona-fide conveyed, to deliver possession of said granted lot to the said grantee or person entitled to the possession of the same under the provisions of this act, or the act of which this is amendatory, and his excellency the Governor is hereby authorized, upon satisfactory evidence that the said agent is

impeded or resisted in delivering such possession, by a force which he can not overcome, to order out a sufficient force to carry the power of said agent or agents fully into effect, and to pay the expenses of the same out of the contingent fund: *Provided*, nothing in this act shall be so construed as to require the interference of the said agent between two or more individuals claiming possession, by virtue of titles derived from a grant from the State, to any lot."

Thus after the State of Georgia had distributed the lands of the Indians by lottery, and the drawers of prizes were authorized to receive grants of the land drawn, and with these grants in their hand, were authorized to demand of the agent of the State, appointed for the purpose, to be put in possession of the soil thus obtained. If any resistance to their entry should be made — and who was to make it but a poor Indian? — the Governor was empowered to turn out the military force of the State, and enable the agent to take possession by force, without trial, without judgment, and without investigation.

But, should there be two claimants of the prize, should two of the ticket-holders dispute their claim to the same lot, then no military force was to be used. It was only when the resistance was by an Indian — it was only when Indian rights should come into collision with the alleged rights of the State of Georgia — that the strong hand of military power was instantly to interpose.

The next section of the act is in these words: —

"*And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That if any person dispossessed of a lot of land under this act, or the act of which it is amendatory, shall go before a justice of the peace or of the inferior court, and make affidavit that he or she was not liable to be dispossessed under or by any of the provisions of this or the aforesaid act, and file said affidavit in the clerk's office of the superior court of the county in which said land shall lie, such person, upon giving bond and security in the clerk's office for the costs to accrue on the trial, shall be permitted, within ten days from such dispossessing, to enter an appeal to said superior court, and at said court the judge shall cause an issue to be made up between the appellant and the person to whom possession of said land was delivered by either of said agents, which said issue shall be in the following form."

[Mr. Cuthbert, of Georgia, here interposed: and, having obtained Mr. Clay's consent to explain, stated that he had unfortunately not been in the Senate when the honorable Senator commenced his speech; but had learned that it was in support of a memorial from certain Cherokee Indians in the State of Georgia, who desired to emigrate. He must be permitted to say, that the current of the honorable Senator's remarks did not suit remarkably well the subject of such a memorial. A memorial of a different kind had been presented, and which the Committee on Indians Affairs had before it, to which the Senator's remarks would better apply. The present discussion was wholly unexpected, and it seemed to him not in consistency with the object of the memorial he had presented.]

Mr. Clay.—I am truly sorry the honorable gentleman was absent when I commenced speaking. I delayed presenting the memorial because I observed that neither of the Senators from Georgia were in their seats, until the hour when they might be expected to be present, and when one of them (Mr. King) had actually taken his seat. If the honorable Senator had been present, he would have heard me say that I thought the presentation of the memorial a fit occasion to express my sentiments, not only touching the rights of these individual petitioners, but on the rights of all the Indian tribes, and their relations to this government. And if he will have but a

little patience, he will find that it is my intention to present propositions which go to embrace both resolutions.

And here, Mr. President, let me pause and invite the attention of the Senate to the provision in the act of Georgia which I was reading — that is, that he may have the privilege of an appeal to a tribunal of justice, by forms and by a bond with the nature and force of which he is unacquainted; and that then he may have — what besides? I invoke the attention of the Senate to this part of the law. What, I ask, does it secure to the Indian? His rights? The rights recognised by treaties? The rights guarantied to him by the most solemn acts which human governments can perform? No. It allows him to come into the courts of the State, and there to enjoy the benefit of the summary proceeding called in the act "an appeal!" — but which can never be continued beyond a second term; and when he comes there, what then? He shall be permitted to come into court and enter an appeal, which shall be in the following form: —

"A. B., who was dispossessed of a lot of land by an agent of the State of Georgia, comes into court, and *admitting the right of the State of Georgia to pass the law under which said agent acted*, avers that he was not liable to be dispossessed of said land, by or under any one of the provisions of the act of the General Assembly of Georgia, passed 20th December, 1833, 'more effectually to provide for the protection of the Cherokee Indians residing within the limits of Georgia, and to prescribe the bounds of their occupant claims, and also to authorize grants to issue for lots drawn in the land and gold lotteries in certain cases. and to provide for the appointment of an agent to carry certain parts thereof into execution, and fix the salary of such agent, and to punish those persons who may deter Indians from enrolling for emigration,' or the act amendatory thereof, passed at the session of the legislature of 1834: 'in which issue the person to whom possession of said land was delivered shall join; and which issue shall constitute the entire pleadings between the parties; nor shall the court allow any matter other than is contained in said issue to be placed upon the record or files of said court; and said cause shall be tried at the first term of the court, unless good cause shall be shown for a continuance, and the same party shall not be permitted to continue said cause more than once, except for unavoidable providential cause: nor shall said court, at the instance of either party, pass any order or grant any injunction to stay said cause, nor permit to be engrafted on said cause any other proceedings whatever."

At the same time we find, by another enactment, the judges of the courts of Georgia are restrained from granting injunctions, so that the only form in which the Indian can come before them, is in the form of an appeal; and in this, the very first step is an absolute renunciation of the rights he holds by treaty, and the unqualified admission of the rights of his antagonist, as conferred by the laws of Georgia; and the court is expressly prohibited from putting anything else upon the record. Why? Do we not all know the reason? If the poor Indian was allowed to put in a plea stating his rights, and the court should then decide against him, the cause would go upon an appeal to the supreme court; the decision could be reëxamined, could be annulled, and the authority of treaties vindicated. But, to prevent this, to make it impossible, he is compelled, on entering the court, to renounce his Indian rights, and the court is forbidden to put anything on record which can bring up a decision upon them.

Mr. President, I have already stated that, in the observations I have made, I am actuated by no other feeling than such as ought to be in the breast of every honest man — the feeling of common justice. I would say nothing, I would whisper nothing, I would insinuate nothing, I would think nothing,

which can, in the remotest degree, cause irritation in the mind of any one, of any Senator here, of any State in this Union. I have too much respect for every member of the confederacy. I feel nothing but grief for the wretched condition of these most unfortunate people, and every emotion of my bosom dissuades me from the use of epithets that might raise emotions which should draw the attention of the Senate from the justice of their claims. I forbear to apply to this law any epithet of any kind. Sir, no epithet is needed. The features of the law itself; its warrants for the interposition of military power, when no trial and no judgment has been allowed; its denial of any appeal, unless the unhappy Indian shall first renounce his own rights, and admit the rights of his opponent — features such as these, are enough to show what the true character of the act is, and supersede the necessity of all epithets, were I even capable of applying them.

The Senate will thus perceive that the whole power of the State of Georgia, military as well as civil, has been made to bear upon these Indians, without their having any voice in forming, judging upon, or executing the laws under which they are placed, and without even the poor privilege of establishing the injury they may have suffered by Indian evidence; nay, worse still, not even by the evidence of a white man! Because the renunciation by each of his rights precludes all evidence, white or black, civilized or savage. There, then, he lies, with his property, his rights, and every privilege which makes human existence desirable, at the mercy of the State of Georgia; a State in whose government or laws he has no voice. Sir, it is impossible for the most active imagination to conceive a condition of human society more perfectly wretched. Shall I be told that the condition of the African slave is worse? No, sir; no sir. It is *not* worse. The interest of the master makes it at once his duty and his inclination to provide for the comfort and the health of his slave: for without these he would be unprofitable. Both pride and interest render the master prompt in vindicating the rights of his slave, and protecting him from the oppression of others, and the laws secure to him the amplest means to do so. But who, what human being, stands in the relation of master, or any other relation, which makes him interested in the preservation and protection of the poor Indian thus degraded and miserable? Thrust out from human society, without the sympathies of any, and placed without the pale of common justice, who is there to protect him, or to defend his rights?

Such, Mr. President, is the present condition of these Cherokee memorialists, whose case it is my duty to submit to the consideration of the Senate. There remains but one more inquiry before I conclude. Is there any remedy within the scope of the powers of the federal government as given by the constitution? If we are without the power, if we have no constitutional authority, then we are also without responsibility. Our regrets may be excited, our sympathies may be moved, our humanity may be shocked, our hearts may be grieved, but if our hands are tied, we can only unite with

all the good, the Christian, the benevolent portion of the human family, in deploring what we can not prevent.

But, sir, we are not thus powerless. I stated to the Senate, when I began, that there are two classes of the Cherokees; one of these classes desire to emigrate, and it was their petition I presented this morning, and with respect to these, our powers are ample to afford them the most liberal and effectual relief. They wish to go beyond the Mississippi, and to be guarantied in the possession of the country which may be there assigned to them. As the Congress of the United States have full powers over the territories, we may give them all the guaranty which Congress can express for the undisturbed possession of their lands. With respect to their case there can be no question as to our powers.

And then, as to those who desire to remain on this side the river, I ask again, are we powerless? Can we afford them no redress? Must we sit still and see the injury they suffer, and extend no hand to relieve them? It were strange, indeed, were such the case. Why have we guarantied to them the enjoyment of their own laws? Why have we pledged to them protection? Why have we assigned them limits of territory? Why have we declared that they shall enjoy their homes in peace, without molestation from any? If the United States government has contracted these serious obligations, it ought, before the Indians were induced by our assurances to rely upon our engagement, to have explained to them its want of authority to make the contract. Before we pretend to Great Britain, to Europe, to the civilized world, that such were the rights we would secure to the Indians, we ought to have examined the extent and the grounds of our own right to do so. But is such, indeed, our situation? No, sir. Georgia has shut her courts against these Indians. What is the remedy? To open ours. Have we not the right? What says the constitution?

"The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority."

But here is a case of conflict between the rights of the proprietors and the local laws; and here is the very case which the constitution contemplated, when it declared that the power of the federal judiciary should extend to all cases arising under the authority of the United States. Therefore it is fully within the competence of Congress, under the provisions of the constitution, to provide the manner in which the Cherokees may have their rights decided, because a grant of the means is included in the grant of jurisdiction. It is competent, then, for Congress to decide whether the Cherokees have a right to come into a court of justice and to make an appeal to the highest authority to sustain the solemn treaties under which their rights have been guarantied, and in the sacred character of which they have reposed their confidence. And if Congress possesses the power to extend relief to the Indians, are they not bound by the most sacred of human considerations, the obligations of treaties, the protection assured

them, by every Christian tie, every benevolent feeling, every humane impulse of the human heart, to extend it? If they were to fail to do this, and there is, as reason and revelation declare there is, a tribunal of eternal justice to which all human power is amenable, how could they, if they refused to perform their duties to this injured and oppressed though civilized race, expect to escape the visitations of that Divine vengeance which none will be permitted to avoid who have committed wrong, or done injustice to others?

At this moment, when the United States are urging on the government of France the fulfilment of the obligations of the treaty concluded with that country, to the execution of which it is contended that France has plighted her sacred faith, what strength, what an irresistible force would be given to our plea, if we could say to France that, in all instances, we had completely fulfilled all our engagements, and that we had adhered faithfully to every obligation which we had contracted, no matter whether it was entered into with a powerful or a weak people; if we could say to her that we had complied with all our engagements to others, that we now came before her, always acting right as we had done, to induce her also to fulfil her obligations with us. How shall we stand in the eyes of France and of the civilized world, if, in spite of the most solemn treaties, which have existed for half a century, and have been recognised in every form, and by every branch of the government, how shall we be justified if we suffer these treaties to be trampled under foot, and the rights which they were given to secure trodden in the dust? How would Great Britain, after the solemn understanding entered into with her at Ghent, feel after such a breach of faith? And how could I, as a commissioner in the negotiation of that treaty, hold up my head before Great Britain, after being thus made an instrument of fraud and deception, as I assuredly shall be, if the rights of the Indians are to be thus outraged, and the treaties by which they were secured violated? How could I hold up my head, after such a violation of rights, and say that I am proud of my country, of which we must all wish to be proud?

For myself, I rejoice that I have been spared, and allowed a suitable opportunity to present my views and opinions on this great national subject, so interesting to the character of the country for justice and equity. I rejoice that the voice which, without charge of presumption or arrogance, I may say, has ever been raised in defence of the oppressed of the human species, has been heard in defence of this most oppressed of all. To me, in that awful hour of death, to which all must come, and which, with respect to myself, can not be very far distant, it will be a source of the highest consolation that an opportunity has been found by me, on the floor of the Senate, in the discharge of my official duty, to pronounce my views on a course of policy marked by such wrongs as are calculated to arrest the attention of every one, and that I have raised my humble voice, and pronounced my solemn protest against such wrongs.

I will no longer detain the Senate, but will submit the following propositions:—

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to inquire into the expediency of making further provision, by law, to enable Indian nations, or tribes, to whose use and occupancy lands are secured by treaties concluded between them and the United States, to maintain their rights thus guarantied, in conformity with the constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs be directed to inquire into the expediency of making further provision, by law, for setting apart a district of country west of the Mississippi river, for such of the Cherokee nation as may be disposed to emigrate and to occupy the same, and for securing in perpetuity the peaceful and undisturbed enjoyment thereof to the emigrants and their descendants.

V.

ON AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JAN. 20, 1827.

BEFORE THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

I CAN NOT withhold the expression of my congratulations to the society on account of the very valuable acquisition which we have obtained in the eloquent gentleman from Boston (Mr. Knapp), who has just favored us with an address. He has told us of his original impressions, unfavorable to the object of the society, and of his subsequent conversion. If the same industry, investigation, and unbiased judgment, which he and another gentleman (Mr. Powell), who avowed at the last meeting of the society a similar change wrought in his mind, were carried by the public at large into the consideration of the plan of the society, the conviction of its utility would be universal.

I have risen to submit a resolution, in behalf of which I would bespeak the favor of the society. But before I offer any observations in its support, I must say that, whatever part I may take in the proceedings of this society, whatever opinions or sentiments I may utter, they are exclusively my own. Whether they are worth anything or not, no one but myself is at all responsible for them. I have consulted with no person out of this society; and I have especially abstained from all communication or consultation with any one to whom I stand in any official relation. My judgment on the object of this society has been long since deliberately formed. The conclusions to which, after much and anxious consideration, my mind has been brought, have been neither produced nor refuted by the official station, the duties of which have been confided to me.

From the origin of this society, every member of it has, I believe, looked forward to the arrival of a period, when it would be necessary to invoke the public aid in the execution of the great scheme which it was instituted

to promote. Considering itself as the mere pioneer in the cause which it had undertaken, it was well aware that it could do no more than remove preliminary difficulties, and point out a sure road to ultimate success; and that the public only could supply that regular, steady, and efficient support, to which the gratuitous means of benevolent individuals would be found incompetent. My surprise has been that the society has been able so long to sustain itself, and to do so much upon the charitable contributions of good, and pious, and enlightened men, whom it has happily found in all parts of our country. But our work has so prospered and grown under our hands, that the appeal to the power and resources of the public should be no longer deferred. The resolution which I have risen to propose contemplates this appeal. It is in the following words:—

"*Resolved*, That the board of managers be empowered and directed, at such time or times as may seem to them expedient, to make respectful application to the Congress of the United States, and to the legislatures of the different States, for such pecuniary aid, in furtherance of the object of this society, as they may respectively be pleased to grant."

In soliciting the countenance and support of the legislatures of the Union and the States, it is incumbent on the society, in making out its case, to show: first, that it offers to their consideration a scheme which is practicable; and, second, that the execution of a practicable scheme, partial or entire, will be fraught with such beneficial consequences as to merit the support which is solicited. I believe both points to be maintainable. First: it is now little upward of ten years since a religious, amiable, and benevolent resident* of this city first conceived the idea of planting a colony, from the United States, of free people of color, on the western shores of Africa. He is no more; and the noblest eulogy which could be pronounced on him would be to inscribe on his tomb the merited epitaph—"Here lies the projector of the American Colonization Society." Among others, to whom he communicated the project, was the person who now has the honor of addressing you. My first impressions, like those of all who have not fully investigated the subject, were against it. They yielded to his earnest persuasions and my own reflections, and I finally agreed with him that the experiment was worthy of a fair trial. A meeting of its friends was called, organized as a deliberative body, and a constitution was formed. The society went into operation. He lived to see the most encouraging progress in its exertions, and died in full confidence of its complete success. The society was scarcely formed before it was exposed to the derision of the

* It has been, since the delivery of the Speech, suggested that the Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey (who is also unfortunately dead), contemplated the formation of a society, with the view to the establishment of a colony in Africa, and probably first commenced the project. It is quite likely that he did; and Mr. Clay recollects seeing Mr. Finley, and consulting with him on the subject, about the period of the formation of the society. But the allusion to Mr. Caldwell was founded on the facts well known to Mr. Clay, of his active agency in the organization of the society, and his unremitted subsequent labors, which were not confined to the District of Columbia, in promoting the cause.

unthinking; pronounced to be visionary and chimerical by those who were capable of adopting wiser opinions; and the most confident predictions of its entire failure were put forth. It found itself equally assailed by the two extremes of public sentiment in regard to our African population. According to one (that rash class which, without a due estimate of the fatal consequence, would forthwith issue a decree of general, immediate, and indiscriminate emancipation), it was a scheme of the slaveholder to perpetuate slavery. The other (that class which believes slavery a blessing, and which trembles with aspen sensibility at the appearance of the most distant and ideal danger to the tenure by which that description of property is held) declared it a contrivance to let loose on society all the slaves of the country, ignorant, uneducated, and incapable of appreciating the value, or enjoying the privileges of freedom.* The Society saw itself surrounded by every sort of embarrassment. What great human enterprise was ever undertaken without difficulty? What ever failed, within the compass of human power, when pursued with perseverance and blessed by the smiles of Providence? The Society prosecuted undismayed its great work, appealing for succor to the moderate, the reasonable, the virtuous, and religious portions of the public. It protested from the commencement, and throughout all its progress, and it now protests, that it entertains no purpose, on its own authority or by its own means, to attempt emancipation, partial or general; that it knows the General Government has no constitutional power to achieve such an object; that it believes that the States, and the States only, which tolerate slavery, can accomplish the work of emancipation; and that it ought to be left to them, exclusively, absolutely, and voluntarily, to decide the question.

The object of the Society was the colonization of the Free-Colored People, not the Slaves, of the country. Voluntary in its institution, voluntary in its continuance, voluntary in all its ramifications, all its means, purposes, and instruments, are also voluntary. But it was said that no free-colored persons could be prevailed upon to abandon the comforts of civilized life, and expose themselves to all the perils of a settlement in a distant, inhospitable, and savage country; that, if they could be induced to go on such a Quixotic expedition, no territory could be procured for their establishment as a colony; that the plan was altogether incompetent to effect its professed object; and that it ought to be rejected as the idle dream of visionary enthusiasts. The Society has outlived, thank God, all these disastrous predictions. It has survived to swell the list of false prophets. It is no longer a question of speculation whether a colony can or can not be planted from the United States of free persons of color on the shores of Africa. It is a matter demonstrated; such a colony, in fact, exists, prospers, has made successful war and honorable peace, and transacts all the multiplied business

* A Society of a few individuals, without power, without other resources than those which are supplied by spontaneous benevolence, to emancipate all the slaves of the country!

of a civilized and Christian community. It now has about five hundred souls, disciplined troops, forts, and other means of defence, sovereignty over an extensive territory, and exerts a powerful and salutary influence over the neighboring clans.

Numbers of the free African race among us are willing to go to Africa. The Society has never experienced any difficulty on that subject, except that its means of comfortable transportation have been inadequate to accommodate all who have been anxious to migrate. Why should they not go? Here they are in the lowest state of social gradation — aliens — political — moral — social aliens, strangers, though natives. There, they would be in the midst of their friends and their kindred, at home, though born in a foreign land, and elevated above the natives of the country, as much as they are degraded here below the other classes of the community. But on this matter, I am happy to have it in my power to furnish indisputable evidence from the most authentic source, that of large numbers of free persons of color themselves. Numerous meetings have been held in several churches in Baltimore, of the free people of color, in which, after being organized as deliberative assemblies, by the appointment of a chairman (if not of the same complexion) presiding as you, Mr. Vice-President, do, and secretaries, they have voted memorials addressed to the white people, in which they have argued the question with an ability, moderation, and temper, surpassing anything I can command, and emphatically recommended the colony of Liberia to favorable consideration, as the most desirable and practicable scheme ever yet presented on this interesting subject. I ask permission of the society to read this highly creditable document.

"The system of government established with the full consent of the colonists, in the autumn of 1824, and which the managers had the happiness to represent in their last report, as having thus far fulfilled all the purposes of its institution, has continued its operations during the year without the least irregularity, and with undiminished success. The republican principle is introduced as far as is consistent with the youthful and unformed character of the settlement, and in the election of their officers the colonists have evinced such integrity and judgment as afford promise of early preparation for all the duties of self-government. 'The civil prerogatives and government of the colony, and the body of the laws by which they are sustained,' says the colonial agent, 'are the pride of all. I am happy in the persuasion I have, that I hold the balance of the laws in the midst of a people, with whom the first perceptible inclination of the sacred scale determines authoritatively their sentiments and their conduct. There are individual exceptions, but these remarks extend to the body of the settlers.'

"The moral and religious character of the colony, exerts a powerful influence on its social and civil condition. That piety which had guided most of the early emigrants to Liberia, even before they left this country, to respectability and usefulness among their associates, prepared them, in laying the foundation of a colony, to act with a degree of wisdom and energy which no earthly motives could inspire. Humble, and for the most part unlettered men; born and bred in circumstances the most unfavorable to mental culture; unsustained by the hope of renown, and unfamiliar with the history of great achievements and heroic virtues, theirs was nevertheless a spirit unmoved by dangers or by sufferings, which misfortunes could not darken, nor death dismay. They left America, and felt that it was for ever: they landed in Africa, possibly to find a home, but certainly a grave. Strange would it have been had the religion of every individual of these early settlers proved genuine; but immensely changed as have been their circumstances, and severely tried their faith, most have preserved untarnished the honors of their profession, and to the purity of their morals and the consistency of their conduct, is in a great measure to be attributed the social order and general prosperity of the colony of Liberia. Their example has proved most salutary; and while subsequent emigrants have found themselves awed and restrained, by their regularity, seriousness, and devotion, the poor natives have given their confidence,

and acknowledged the excellence of practical Christianity. 'It deserves record,' says Mr. Ashmun, 'that religion has been the principal agent employed in laying and confirming the foundations of the settlement. To this sentiment, ruling, restraining, and actuating the minds of a large proportion of the colonists, must be referred the whole strength of our civil government.' Examples of intemperance, profaneness, or licentiousness, are extremely rare, and vice, wherever it exists, is obliged to seek concealment from the public eye. The Sabbath is universally respected; Sunday schools, both for the children of the colony and for the natives, are established; all classes attend regularly upon the worship of God; some charitable associations have been formed for the benefit of the heathen; and though it must not be concealed, that the deep concern on the subject of religion, which resulted, toward the conclusion of the year 1825, in the public profession of Christianity by about fifty colonists, has in a measure subsided, and some few cases of delinquency since occurred: and though there are faults growing out of the early condition and habits of the settlers which require amendment; yet the managers have reason to believe, that there is a vast and increasing preponderance on the side of correct principle and virtuous practice.

"The agriculture of the colony has received less attention than its importance demands. This is to be attributed to the fact, that the labor of the settlers has been applied to objects conducing more immediately to their subsistence and comfort.

"It will not, the board trust, be concluded that, because more might have been done for the agricultural interests of the colony, what has been effected is inconsiderable. Two hundred and twenty-four plantations, of from five to ten acres each, were, in June last, occupied by the settlers, and most of them are believed to be at present under cultivation. One hundred and fourteen of these are on Cape Montserado, thirty-three on Stockton creek, (denominated the half-way farms, because nearly equi-distant from Monrovia and Caldwell, the St Paul's settlement), and seventy-seven at the confluence of Stockton creek with the St. Paul's.

"The St. Paul's territory includes the half-way farms, and is represented as a beautiful tract of country, comparatively open, well-watered and fertile, and still further recommended as having been, for ages, selected by the natives, on account of its productiveness, for their rice and cassada plantations. The agricultural habits of the present occupants of this tract concur with the advantages of their situation, in affording promise of success to their exertions. 'Nothing,' says the colonial agent, 'but circumstances of the most extraordinary nature, can prevent them from making their way directly to respectability and abundance.'

"Oxen were trained to labor in the colony in 1825, and it was then expected that the plough would be introduced in the course of another year. Although commerce has thus far taken the lead of agriculture, yet the excellence of the soil, the small amount of labor required for its cultivation, and the value and abundance of its products, can not fail, finally, to render the latter the more cherished, as it is, certainly, the more important interest of the colony.

"The trade of Liberia has increased with a rapidity almost unexampled, and while it has supplied the colonists not only with the necessaries, but with the conveniences and comforts of life, the good faith with which it has been conducted, has conciliated the friendship of the natives, and acquired the confidence of foreigners.

"The regulations of the colony allowing no credits, except by a written permission, and requiring the barter to be carried on through factories established for the purpose, has increased the profits of the traffic, and prevented numerous evils which must have attended upon a more unrestricted license.

"Between the first of January and the fifteenth of July, 1826, no less than fifteen vessels touched at Monrovia and purchased the produce of the country, to the amount, according to the best probable estimate, of forty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty dollars, African value. The exporters of this produce realize, on the sale of the goods given in barter for it, a profit of twenty-one thousand nine hundred and ninety dollars, and on the freight, of eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-six dollars, making a total profit of thirty thousand seven hundred and eighty-six dollars.

"A gentleman in Portland has commenced a regular trade with the colony; and for his last cargo landed in Liberia, amounting to eight thousand dollars, he received payment in the course of ten days. The advantages of this trade to the colony are manifest from the high price of labor (that of mechanics being two dollars per day, and that of common laborers from seventy-five cents to one dollar and twenty-five cents), and from the easy and comfortable circumstances of the settlers. 'An industrious family, twelve months in Africa, destitute of the means of furnishing an abundant table, is not known; and an individual, of whatever age or sex, without ample provision of decent apparel, can not, it is believed, be found.' 'Every family,' says Mr. Ashmun, 'and nearly every single adult person in the colony, has the means of employing from one to four native laborers, at an expense of from four to six dollars the month; and several of the settlers, when called upon in consequence of sudden emergencies of the public service, have made repeated advances of merchantable produce, to the amount of three hundred to six hundred dollars each.

"The managers are happy to state, that the efforts of the colonial agent to enlarge the territory of Liberia, and particularly to bring under the government of the colony a more extended line of coast, have been judicious and energetic, and in nearly every instance re-

sulted in complete success. From Cape Mount to Tradetown, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, the colonial government has acquired partial jurisdiction. FOUR of the most important STATIONS on this tract, including Montserado, belong to the Society, either by actual purchase, or by a deed of perpetual lease; and such negotiations have been entered upon with the chiefs of the country, as amount to a preclusion of all Europeans from any possessions within these limits. The fine territory of the St. Paul's, now occupied by settlers, was described in the last Annual Report of the Society.

"The territory of Young Sesters, recently ceded to the Society, is ninety miles south of Montserado, in the midst of a very productive rice country, affording also large quantities of palm oil, camwood, and ivory. The tract granted to the colony, includes the bed of the Sesters' river, and all the land on each side, to the distance of half a league, and extending longitudinally from the river's mouth to its source. In compliance with the terms of the contract, the chief of the country has constructed a commodious storehouse, and put a number of laborers, sufficient for the cultivation of a rice plantation of forty acres, under the direction of a respectable colonist, who takes charge of the establishment.

"The right use of and occupancy has also been obtained to a region of country on the south branch of the St. John's river, north nine miles from Young Sesters, and the trading factory established there, under the superintendence of a family from Monrovia, has already provided a valuable source of income to the colony. Rice is also here to be cultivated, and the chief who cedes the territory agrees to furnish the labor.

"The upright and exemplary conduct of the individual at the head of this establishment, has powerfully impressed the natives with the importance of inviting them to settle in their country; and consequently, the offer made by the colonial agent, for the purchase of Factory island, has been accepted by its proprietor. This island is in the river St. John's, four miles from its mouth, from five to six miles in length, and one-third of a mile in breadth, and is among the most beautiful and fertile spots in Africa. A few families are about to take up their residence upon it, and prepare for founding a settlement, 'which can not fail,' says Mr. Ashmun, 'in a few years, to be second to no other in the colony, except Monrovia.'

"Negotiations are also in progress with the chiefs of Cape Mount, which, if successful, will secure to the colony the whole trade of that station, estimated at fifty thousand dollars per annum, and may ultimately lead to ts annexation to the territories of Liberia. 'The whole country between Cape Mount and Tradetown,' observes Mr. Ashmun, 'is rich in soil and other natural advantages, and capable of sustaining a numerous and civilized population beyond almost any other country on earth. Leaving the seaboard, the traveler, everywhere, at the distance of a very few miles, enters upon a uniform upland country, of moderate elevation, intersected by innumerable rivulets, abounding in springs of unfailing water, and covered with a verdure which knows no other changes except those which refresh and renew its beauties. The country directly on the sea, although verdant and fruitful to a high degree, is found everywhere to yield, in both respects, to the interior.'

"Much progress has been made the last year, in the construction of public buildings and works of defence, though, with adequate supplies of lumber, more might doubtless have been accomplished. Two handsome churches, erected solely by the colonists, now adorn the village of Monrovia. Fort Stockton has been rebuilt in a style of strength and beauty. A receptacle capable of accommodating one hundred and fifty emigrants, is completed. The new agency-house, markethouse, Lancasterian school, and townhouse, in Monrovia, were, some months since, far advanced, and the finishing strokes were about to be given to the government-house on the St. Paul's. The wing of the old agency-house has been 'handsomely fitted up for the colonial library, which now consists of twelve hundred volumes systematically arranged in glazed cases with appropriate hangings. All the books are substantially covered, and accurately labelled; and files of more than ten newspapers, more or less complete, are preserved. The library is fitted up so as to answer the purpose of a reading-room, and it is intended to make it a museum of all the natural curiosities of Africa, which can be procured.'

"No efforts have been spared to place the colony in a state of adequate defence, and while it is regarded as perfectly secure from the native forces, it is hoped and believed that it may sustain itself against any piratical assaults. 'The establishment has fifteen large carriage guns and three small pivot guns, all fit for service.' Fort Stockton overlooks the whole town of Monrovia, and a strong battery is now building on the height of Thompson Town, near the extremity of the Cape, which it is thought will afford protection to vessels anchoring in the roadstead. The militia of the colony consists of two corps appropriately uniformed, one of artillery of about fifty men, the other of infantry of forty men, and on various occasions have they proved themselves deficient neither in discipline nor courage."

The Society has experienced no difficulty in the acquisition of a territory, upon reasonable terms, abundantly sufficient for a most extensive colony. And land in ample quantities, it has been ascertained, can be procured in Africa, together with all rights of sovereignty, upon conditions as favorable

as those on which the United States extinguish the Indian title to territory within their own limits.

In respect to the alleged incompetency of the scheme to accomplish its professed object, the society asks that that object should be taken to be, not what the imaginations of its enemies represent it to be, but what it really proposes. They represent that the purpose of the society is to export the whole African population of the United States, bond and free; and they pronounce this design to be unattainable. They declare that the means of the whole country are insufficient to effect the transportation to Africa of a mass of population approximating to two millions of souls. Agreed; but that is not what the society contemplates. They have substituted their own notion for that of the society. What is the true nature of the evil of the existence of a portion of the African race in our population? It is not that there are *some*, but that there are so *many* among us of a different caste, of a different physical, if not moral, constitution, who never can amalgamate with the great body of our population. In every country, persons are to be found varying in their color, origin, and character, from the native mass. But this anomaly creates no inquietude or apprehension, because the exotics, from the smallness of their number, are known to be utterly incapable of disturbing the general tranquillity. Here, on the contrary, the African part of our population bears so large a proportion to the residue, of European origin, as to create the most lively apprehension, especially in some quarters of the Union. Any project, therefore, by which, in a material degree, the dangerous element in the general mass can be diminished or rendered stationary, deserves deliberate consideration.

The Colonization Society has never imagined it to be practicable, or within the reach of any means which the several governments of the Union could bring to bear on the subject, to transport the whole of the African race within the limits of the United States. Nor is that necessary to accomplish the desirable object of domestic tranquillity, and render us one homogeneous people. The population of the United States has been supposed to duplicate in periods of twenty-five years. That may have been the case heretofore, but the terms of duplication will be more and more protracted as we advance in national age; and I do not believe that it will be found, in any period to come, that our numbers will be doubled in a less term than one of about thirty-three and a third years. I have not time to enter now into details in support of this opinion. They would consist of those checks which experience has shown to obstruct the progress of population, arising out of its actual augmentation and density, the settlement of waste lands, &c. Assuming the period of thirty-three and a third, or any other number of years, to be that in which our population will hereafter be doubled, if during that whole term the capital of the African stock could be kept down, or stationary, while that of European origin should be left to an unobstructed increase, the result, at the end of the term, would be most propitious. Let us suppose, for example, that the whole population at

present of the United States is twelve millions, of which ten may be estimated of the Anglo-Saxon, and two of the African race. If there could be annually transported from the United States an amount of the African portion equal to the annual increase of the whole of that caste, while the European race should be left to multiply, we should find at the termination of the period of duplication, whatever it may be, that the relative proportions would be as twenty to two. And if the process were continued, during a second term of duplication, the proportion would be as forty to two—one which would eradicate every cause of alarm or solicitude from the breasts of the most timid. But the transportation of Africans, by creating, to the extent to which it might be carried, a vacuum in society, would tend to accelerate the duplication of the European race, who, by all the laws of population, would fill up the void space.

This society is well aware, I repeat, that they can not touch the subject of Slavery. But it is no objection to their scheme, limited as it is exclusively to those free people of color who are willing to migrate, that it admits of indefinite extension and application, by those who alone, having the competent authority, may choose to adopt and apply it. Our object has been to point out the way, to show that colonization is practicable, and to leave it to those States or individuals, who may be pleased to engage in the object, to prosecute it. We have demonstrated that a colony may be planted in Africa, by the fact that an American colony there exists. The problem which has so long and so deeply interested the thoughts of good and patriotic men is solved. A country and a home have been found, to which the African race may be sent, to the promotion of their happiness and our own.

But, Mr. President, I shall not rest contented with the fact of the establishment of the colony, conclusive as it ought to be deemed, of the practicability of our purpose. I shall proceed to show, by reference to indisputable statistical details and calculations, that it is within the compass of reasonable human means. I am sensible of the tediousness of all arithmetical data, but I will endeavor to simplify them as much as possible. It will be borne in mind that the Society is to establish in Africa a colony of the free African population of the United States, to an extent which shall be beneficial both to Africa and America. The whole free-colored population of the United States amounted in 1790, to fifty-nine thousand four hundred and eighty-one; in 1800, to one hundred and ten thousand and seventy-two; in 1810, to one hundred and eighty-six thousand four hundred and forty-six; and in 1820, to two hundred and thirty-three thousand five hundred and thirty. The ratio of annual increase during the first term of ten years was about eight and a half per cent. per annum; during the second about seven per cent. per annum; and during the third, a little more than two and a half. The very great difference in the rate of annual increase, during those several terms, may probably be accounted for by the effect of the number of voluntary emancipations operating with more influence upon

the total smaller amount of free-colored persons at the first of those periods, and by the facts of the insurrection in St. Domingo, and the acquisition of Louisiana, both of which, occurring during the first and second terms, added considerably to the number of our free-colored population.

Of all descriptions of our population, that of the free-colored, taken in the aggregate, is the least prolific, because of the checks arising from vice and want. During the ten years between 1810 and 1820, when no extraneous causes existed to prevent a fair competition in the increase between the slave and the free African race, the former increased at the rate of nearly three per cent. per annum, while the latter did not much exceed two and a half. Hereafter it may be safely assumed, and I venture to predict will not be contradicted by the return of the next census, that the increase of the free-black population will not surpass two and a half per cent. per annum. Their amount at the last census, being two hundred and thirty-three thousand five hundred and thirty, for the sake of round numbers, their annual increase may be assumed to be six thousand at the present time. Now, if this number could be annually transported from the United States during a term of years, it is evident that, at the end of that term, the parent capital will not have increased, but will have been kept down, at least to what it was at the commencement of the term. Is it practicable, then, to colonize annually six thousand persons from the United States, without materially impairing or affecting any of the great interests of the United States? This is the question presented to the judgments of the legislative authorities of our country. This is the whole scheme of the society. From its actual experience, derived from the expenses which have been incurred in transporting the persons already sent to Africa, the entire average expense of each colonist, young and old, including passage-money and subsistence, may be stated at twenty dollars per head. There is reason to believe that it may be reduced considerably below that sum. Estimating that to be the expense, the total cost of transporting six thousand souls annually to Africa would be one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. The tonnage requisite to effect the object, calculating two persons to every five tons (which is the provision of existing law), would be fifteen thousand tons. But, as each vessel could probably make two voyages in the year, it may be reduced to seven thousand five hundred. And as both our mercantile and military marine might be occasionally employed on this collateral service, without injury to the main object of the voyage, a further abatement may be safely made in the aggregate amount of the necessary tonnage. The navigation concerned in the commerce between the colony and the United States (and it already begins to supply subjects of an interesting trade), might be incidentally employed to the same end. Is the annual expenditure of a sum no larger than one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, and the annual employment of seven thousand five hundred tons of shipping, too much for reasonable exertion, considering the magnitude of the object in view? Are they not, on the contrary, within the compass of moderate efforts?

Here is the whole scheme of the Society — a project which has been pronounced visionary by those who have never given themselves the trouble to examine it, but to which I believe most unbiased men will yield their cordial assent, after they have investigated it.

Limited as the project is, by the society, to a colony to be formed by the free and unconstrained consent of free persons of color, it is no objection, but, on the contrary, a great recommendation of the plan, that it admits of being taken up and applied on a scale of much more comprehensive utility. The society knows, and it affords just cause of felicitation, that all or any one of the States which tolerate slavery may carry the scheme of colonization into effect, in regard to the slaves within their respective limits, and thus ultimately rid themselves of a universally-acknowledged curse. A reference to the results of the several enumerations of the population of the United States will incontestably prove the practicability of its application on the more extensive scale. The slave population of the United States amounted in 1790, to six hundred and ninety-seven thousand six hundred and ninety-seven; in 1800, to eight hundred and ninety-six thousand eight hundred and forty-nine; in 1810, to eleven hundred and ninety-one thousand three hundred and sixty-four; and in 1820, to fifteen hundred and thirty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-eight. The rate of annual increase (rejecting fractions, and taking the integer to which they make the nearest approach), during the first term of ten years, was not quite three per centum per annum, during the second a little more than three per centum per annum, and during the third a little less than three per centum. The mean ratio of increase for the whole period of thirty years was very little more than three per centum per annum. During the first two periods, the native stock was augmented by importations from Africa, in those States which continued to tolerate them, and by the acquisition of Louisiana. Virginia, to her eternal honor, abolished the abominable traffic among the earliest acts of her self-government. The last term alone presents the natural increase of the capital, unaffected by any extraneous causes. That authorizes, as a safe assumption, that the future increase will not exceed three per centum per annum. As our population increases, the value of slave labor will diminish, in consequence of the superior advantages in the employment of free labor. And when the value of slave labor shall be materially lessened, either by the multiplication of the supply of slaves beyond the demand, or by the competition between slave and free labor, the annual increase of slaves will be reduced, in consequence of the abatement of the motives to provide for and rear the offspring.

Assuming the future increase to be at the rate of three per centum per annum, the annual addition to the number of slaves in the United States, calculated upon the return of the last census (one million five hundred and thirty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-eight) is forty-six thousand. Applying the data which have been already stated and explained, in relation to the colonization of free persons of color from the United States to

Africa, to the aggregate annual increase, both bond and free, of the African race, and the result will be found most encouraging. The total number of the annual increase of both descriptions is fifty-two thousand. The total expense of transporting that number to Africa, supposing no reduction of present prices, would be one million and forty thousand dollars, and the requisite amount of tonnage would be only one hundred and thirty thousand tons of shipping, about one ninth part of the mercantile marine of the United States. Upon the supposition of a vessel's making two voyages in the year, it would be reduced to one half, sixty-five thousand. And this quantity would be still further reduced, by embracing opportunities of incidental employment of vessels belonging to both the mercantile and military marines.

But is the annual application of one million and forty thousand dollars, and the employment of sixty-five or even one hundred and thirty thousand tons of shipping, considering the magnitude of the object, beyond the ability of this country? Is there a patriot looking forward to its domestic quiet, its happiness, and its glory, that would not cheerfully contribute his proportion of the burden to accomplish a purpose so great and so humane? During the general continuance of the African slave-trade, hundreds of thousands of slaves have been, in a single year, imported into the several countries whose laws authorized their admission. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the powers now engaged to suppress the slave-trade, I have received information, that in a single year, in the single island of Cuba, slaves equal in amount to one half of the above number of fifty-two thousand, have been illicitly introduced. Is it possible that those who are concerned in an infamous traffic can effect more than the States of this Union, if they were seriously to engage in the good work? Is it credible—is it not a libel upon human nature to suppose, that the triumphs of fraud, and violence, and iniquity, can surpass those of virtue, and benevolence, and humanity?

The population of the United States being, at this time, estimated at about ten millions of the European race, and two of the African, on the supposition of the annual colonization of a number of the latter equal to the annual increase of both of its classes during the whole period necessary to the process of duplication of our numbers, they would, at the end of that period, relatively stand twenty millions for the white, and two for the black portion. But an annual exportation of a number equal to the annual increase, at the beginning of the term, and persevered in to the end of it, would accomplish more than to keep the parent stock stationary. The colonists would comprehend more than an equal proportion of those of the prolific ages. Few of those who had passed that age would migrate. So that the annual increase of those left behind, would continue gradually, but at first insensibly, to diminish; and by the expiration of the period of duplication, it would be found to have materially abated. But it is not merely the greater relative safety and happiness which would, at the termination of that period, be the condition of the whites. Their ability to

give further stimulus to the cause of colonization will have been doubled, while the subjects on which it would have to operate will have decreased or remained stationary. If the business of colonization should be regularly continued during two periods of duplication, at the end of the second the whites would stand to the blacks, as forty millions to not more than two, while the same ability will have been quadrupled. Even if colonization should then altogether cease, the proportion of the African to the European race will be so small, that the most timid may then for ever dismiss all ideas of danger from within or without, on account of that incongruous and perilous element in our population.

Further: by the annual withdrawal of fifty-two thousand persons of color, there would be annual space created for an equal number of the white race. The period, therefore, of the duplication of the whites, by the laws which govern population, would be accelerated.

Such, Mr. President, is the project of the Society; and such is the extension and use which may be made of the principle of colonization, in application to our slave population, by those States which are alone competent to undertake and execute it. All, or any one of those States which tolerate slavery may adopt and execute it, by co-operation or separate exertion. If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain upon the character of our country, and removing all cause of reproach on account of it, by foreign nations—if I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered State that gave me birth, or that not less beloved State which kindly adopted me as her son—I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror.

Having, I hope, shown that the plan of the Society is not visionary, but rational and practicable; that a colony does in fact exist, planted under its auspices; that free people are willing and anxious to go; and that the right of soil as well as of sovereignty may be acquired in vast tracts of country in Africa, abundantly sufficient for all the purposes of the most ample colony, and at prices almost only nominal, the task which remains to me of showing the beneficial consequences which would attend the execution of the scheme, is comparatively easy.

Of the utility of a total separation of the two incongruous portions of our population, supposing it to be practicable, none have ever doubted. The mode of accomplishing that most desirable object, has alone divided public opinion. Colonization in Hayti for a time had its partisans. Without throwing any impediments in the way of executing that scheme, the American Colonization Society has steadily adhered to its own. The Haytien project has passed away. Colonization beyond the Stony Mountains has sometimes been proposed; but it would be attended with an expense and difficulties far surpassing the African project, while it would not unite the same animating motives. There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand

of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of Religion, Civilization, Law, and Liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the universe (whose ways are often inscrutable by short-sighted mortals), thus to transform original crime into a signal blessing, to that most unfortunate portion of the globe. Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free colored. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political, and civil degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and to the whites. If the principle of colonization should be confined to them; if a colony can be firmly established, and successfully continued in Africa, which should draw off annually an amount of that portion of our population equal to its annual increase, much good will be done. If the principle be adopted and applied by the States, whose laws sanction the existence of slavery to an extent equal to the annual increase of slaves, still greater good will be done. This good will be felt by the Africans who go, by the Africans who remain, by the white population of our country, by Africa, and by America. It is a project which recommends itself to favor in all the aspects in which it can be contemplated. It will do good in every and any extent in which it may be executed. It is a circle of philanthropy, every segment of which tells and testifies to the beneficence of the whole.

Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions. Why is it that the degree of success of missionary exertions is so limited, and so discouraging to those whose piety and benevolence prompt them? Is it not because the missionary is generally an alien and a stranger, perhaps of a different color, and from a different tribe? There is a sort of instinctive feeling of jealousy and distrust toward foreigners, which repels and rejects them in all countries; and this feeling is in proportion to the degree of ignorance and barbarism which prevail. But the African colonists, whom we send to convert the heathen are of the same color, the same family, the same physical constitution. When the purposes of the colony shall be fully understood, they will be received as long lost brethren restored to the embraces of their friends and their kindred by the dispensations of a wise Providence.

The society is reproached for agitating this question. It should be recollected that the existence of free people of color is not limited to the States only which tolerate slavery. The evil extends itself to all the States; and some of those which do not allow of slavery, their cities especially, experience the evil in an extent even greater than it exists in the slave States. A common evil confers a right to consider and apply a common remedy. Nor is it a valid objection that this remedy is partial in its operation or distant in its efficacy. A patient, writhing under the tortures of excruciating disease, asks of his physician to cure him if he can, and, if he can not, to mitigate his sufferings. But the remedy proposed, if generally adopted and perseveringly applied for a sufficient length of time, should it not entirely eradicate

the disease, will enable the body politic to bear it without danger and without suffering.

We are reproached with doing mischief by the agitation of this question. The society goes into no household to disturb its domestic tranquility; it addresses itself to no slaves to weaken their obligations of obedience. It seeks to affect no man's property. It neither has the power nor the will to affect the property of any one contrary to his consent. The execution of its scheme would augment instead of diminishing the value of the property left behind. The society, composed of free men, concerns itself only with the free. Collateral consequences we are not responsible for. It is not this society which has produced the great moral revolution which the age exhibits. What would they, who thus reproach us, have done? If they would repress all tendencies toward liberty and ultimate emancipation, they must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of this society. They must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. They must revive the slave-trade, with all its train of atrocities. They must suppress the workings of British philanthropy, seeking to meliorate the condition of the unfortuuate West Indian slaves. They must arrest the career of South American deliverance from thraldom. They must blow out the moral lights around us, and extinguish that greatest torch of all which America points to a benighted world—pointing the way to their rights, their liberties, and their happiness. And when they have achieved all these purposes, their work will be yet incomplete. They must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty. Then, and not till then, when universal darkness and despair prevail, can you perpetuate slavery, and repress all sympathies, and all humane and benevolent efforts among freemen, in behalf of the unhappy portion of our race doomed to bondage.

Our friends, who are cursed with this greatest of human evils, deserve the kindest attention and consideration. Their property and their safety are both involved. But the liberal and candid among them will not, can not, expect that every project to deliver our country from it is to be crushed because of a possible and ideal danger.

Animated by the encouragement of the past, let us proceed under the cheering prospects which lie before us. Let us continue to appeal to the pious, the liberal, and the wise. Let us bear in mind the condition of our forefathers, when, collected on the beach of England, they embarked, amidst the scoffings and the false predictions of the assembled multitude, for this distant land; and here, in spite of all the perils of forest and ocean, which they encountered, successfully laid the foundations of this glorious republic. Undismayed by the prophecies of the presumptuous, let us supplicate the aid of the American representatives of the people, and redoubling our labors, and invoking the blessings of an all-wise Providence, I boldly and confidently anticipate success. I hope the resolution which I offer will be unanimously adopted.

VI.

ON THE PUBLIC LANDS.

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1832.

[The proper disposition of the Public Lands of the United States, after the payment of the Revolutionary Debt, for which they were originally pledged, and to aid in discharging which was a principal inducement to their cession by the States to the Union, had for some time been a subject of increasing solicitude to our wisest statesmen. President JEFFERSON, as early as 1806, suggested the appropriation of their proceeds to the construction of works of Internal Improvement, and to the support of Education, even though it should be deemed pre-requisite to alter the Federal Constitution. General JACKSON, as early as 1830, again called the attention of Congress to the subject, and proposed the cession of the remaining Lands, without recompense, to the several States which contained them, thus shutting out the Old Thirteen States altogether (with a good part of the New), from any participation in their benefits. This proposition would very naturally be received with great favor in the States containing Public Lands, while the others might very safely be relied on, judging from all experience, to take little or no interest in the subject. Mr. CLAY and General JACKSON were then rival candidates for President, and the election not very distant; and the adversaries of Mr. CLAY, composing a decided majority in the Senate, having placed him at the head of the Committee on Manufactures, now resolved to embarrass and prejudice him with the New States by referring to that committee this proposition to give away to those States the Public Lands. Extraordinary as this resolution may well seem, it was carried into effect, and Mr. CLAY required to report directly on this project of Cession. He did not hesitate to discharge manfully the duty so ungraciously thrust upon him, and after earnest consideration, devised and reported a bill to DISTRIBUTE TO ALL THE STATES THE PROCEEDS OF THE PUBLIC LANDS. In support of this bill, he addressed the Senate as follows:—

IN rising to address the Senate, I owe, in the first place, the expression of my hearty thanks to the majority, by whose vote, just given, I am indulged in occupying the floor on this most important question. I am happy to see that the days when the sedition acts and gag laws were in force, and when screws were applied for the suppression of the freedom of speech and debate, are not yet to return; and that, when the consideration of a great question has been specially assigned to a particular day, it is not allowed to be arrested and thrust aside by any unexpected and unprecedented parliamentary manœuvre. The decision of the majority demonstrates that feelings of liberality, and courtesy, and kindness, still prevail in the Senate; and that they will be extended even to one of the humblest members of the body; for such, I assure the Senate, I feel myself to be.*

* This subject had been set down for this day. It was generally expected, in and out of the Senate, that it would be taken up, and that Mr. CLAY would address the Senate. The members were generally in their seats, and the gallery and lobbies crowded. At the customary hour, he moved that the subject pending should be laid on the table, *to take up the Land Bill.* It was ordered accordingly. At this point of time Mr. Forsyth made a motion, supported by Mr. Tazewell, that the Senate proceed to executive business. The motion was overruled.

It may not be amiss again to allude to the extraordinary reference of the subject of the public lands to the Committee of Manufactures. I have nothing to do with the motives of honorable Senators who composed the majority by which that reference was ordered. The decorum proper in this hall obliges me to consider their motives to have been pure and patriotic. But still I must be permitted to regard the proceeding as very unusual. The Senate has a standing Committee on the Public Lands, appointed under long-established rules. The members of that Committee are presumed to be well acquainted with the subject; they have some of them occupied the same station for many years, are well versed in the whole legislation on the public lands, and familiar with every branch of it—and four out of five of them come from the new States. Yet, with a full knowledge of all these circumstances, a reference was ordered by a majority of the Senate to the Committee on Manufactures—a Committee than which there is not another standing committee of the Senate whose prescribed duties are more incongruous with the public domain. It happened, in the constitution of the Committee of Manufactures, that there was not a solitary Senator from the new States, and but one from any western State. We earnestly protested against the reference, and insisted upon its impropriety; but we were overruled by the majority, including a majority of Senators from the new States. I will not attempt an expression of the feelings excited in my mind on that occasion. Whatever may have been the intention of honorable Senators, I could not be insensible to the embarrassment in which the Committee of Manufactures was placed, and especially myself. Although any other member of that Committee could have rendered himself, with appropriate researches and proper time, more competent than I was to understand the subject of the Public Lands, it was known that, from my local position, I alone was supposed to have any particular knowledge of them. Whatever emanated from the Committee was likely, therefore, to be ascribed to me. If the Committee should propose a measure of great liberality toward the new States, the old States might complain. If the measure should seem to lean toward the old States, the new might be dissatisfied. And, if it inclined to neither class of States, but recommended a plan according to which there would be distributed impartial justice among all the States, it was far from certain that any would be pleased.

Without venturing to attribute to honorable Senators the purpose of producing this personal embarrassment, I felt it as a necessary consequence of their act, just as much as if it had been in their contemplation. Nevertheless, the Committee of Manufactures cheerfully entered upon the duty which, against its will, was thus assigned to it by the Senate. And, for the causes already noticed, that of preparing a report and suggesting some measure embracing the whole subject, devolved in the committee upon me. The general features of our land system were strongly impressed upon my memory; but I found it necessary to re-examine some of the treaties, deeds of cession, and laws, which related to the acquisition and administration of the

public lands; and then to think of, and if possible strike out some project, which, without inflicting injury upon any of the States, might deal equally and justly with all of them. The report and bill, submitted to the Senate, after having been previously sanctioned by a majority of the committee, were the results of this consideration. The report, with the exception of the principle of Distribution which concludes it, obtained the unanimous concurrence of the Committee of Manufactures.

This report and bill were hardly read in the Senate before they were violently denounced. And they were not considered by the Senate before a proposition was made to refer the report to that very Committee of the Public Lands to which, in the first instance, I contended the subject ought to have been assigned. It was in vain that we remonstrated against such a proceeding, as unprecedented; as implying unmerited censure on the Committee of Manufactures; as leading to interminable references: for what more reason could there be to refer the report of the Committee of Manufactures to the Land Committee than would exist for a subsequent reference of the report of this committee, when made, to some third committee, and so on in an endless circle? In spite of all our remonstrances, the same majority, with but little if any variation, which had originally resolved to refer the subject to the Committee of Manufactures, now determined to commit its bill to the Land Committee. And this not only without particular examination into the merits of that bill, but without the avowal of any specific amendment which was deemed necessary! The Committee of Public Lands, after the lapse of some days, presented a report, and recommended a reduction of the price of the public lands immediately to one dollar per acre, and eventually to fifty cents per acre; and the grant to the new States of fifteen per cent. on the nett proceeds of the sales, instead of ten, as proposed by the Committee of Manufactures, and nothing to the old States.

And now, Mr. President, I desire at this time to make a few observations in illustration of the original report; to supply some omissions in its composition; to say something as to the power and rights of the general government over the public domain; to submit a few remarks on the counter report; and to examine the assumptions which it contains, and the principles on which it is founded.

No subject which had presented itself to the present, or perhaps any preceding Congress, was of greater magnitude than that of the public lands. There was another, indeed, which possessed a more exciting and absorbing interest, but the excitement was happily but temporary in its nature. Long after we shall cease to be agitated by the tariff, ages after our manufactures shall have acquired a stability and perfection which will enable them successfully to cope with the manufactures of any other country, the public lands will remain a subject of deep and enduring interest. In whatever view we contemplate them, there is no question of such vast importance. As to their extent, there is public land enough to found an empire; stretching across the immense continent, from the Atlantic to the

Pacific ocean, from the gulf of Mexico to the northwestern lakes, the quan tity, according to official surveys and estimates, amounting to the prodigious sum of one billion and eighty millions of acres! As to the duration of the interest regarded as a source of comfort to our people, and of public income — during the last year, when a greater quantity was sold than ever in one year had been previously sold, it amounted to less than three millions of acres, producing three and a half millions of dollars. Assuming that year as affording the standard rate at which the lands will be annually sold, it would require three hundred years to dispose of them. But the sales will probably be accelerated from increased population and other causes. We may safely, however, anticipate that long, if not centuries after the present day, the representatives of our children's children may be deliberating in the halls of Congress on laws relating to the public lands.

The subject, in other points of view, challenged the fullest attention of an American statesman. If there were any one circumstance more than all others which distinguished our happy condition from that of the nations of the Old World, it was the possession of this vast national property, and the resources which it afforded to our people and our government. No European nation (possibly with the exception of Russia) commanded such an an ample resource. With respect to the other republics of this continent, we have no information that any of them have yet adopted a regular system of previous survey and subsequent sale of their wild lands, in convenient tracts, well defined, and adapted to the wants of all. On the contrary, the probability is that they adhere to the ruinous and mad system of old Spain, according to which large, unsurveyed districts are granted to favorite individuals, prejudicial to them, who often sink under the incumbrance, and die in poverty, while the regular current of immigration is checked and diverted from its legitimate channels.

And if there be, in the operations of this government, one which more than any other displays consummate wisdom and statesmanship, it is that system by which the public lands have been so successfully administered. We should pause, solemnly pause, before we subvert it. We should touch it hesitatingly, and with the gentlest hand. The prudent management of the public lands, in the hands of the general government, will be more manifest by contrasting it with that of several of the States, which had the disposal of large bodies of waste lands. Virginia possessed an ample domain west of the mountains, and in the present State of Kentucky, over and above her munificent cession to the general government. Pressed for pecuniary means, by the revolutionary war, she brought her wild lands, during its progress, into market, receiving payment in paper-money. There were no previous surveys of the waste lands — no townships, no sections, no official definition or description of tracts. Each purchaser made his own location, describing the land bought as he thought proper. These locations or descriptions were often vague and uncertain. The consequence was, that the same tract was not unfrequently entered various times by different pur-

chasers, so as to be literally shingled over with conflicting claims. The State perhaps sold in this way more than it was entitled to, but then it received nothing in return that was valuable; while the purchasers, in consequence of the clashing and interference between their rights, were exposed to tedious, vexatious, and ruinous litigation. Kentucky long and severely suffered from this cause, and is just emerging from the troubles brought upon her by improvident land legislation. Western Virginia has also suffered greatly, though not to the same extent.

The State of Georgia had large bodies of waste lands, which she disposed of in a manner satisfactory, no doubt, to herself, but astonishing to every one out of that commonwealth. According to her system, waste lands are distributed in lotteries among the people of the State, in conformity with the enactments of the legislature. And when one district of country is disposed of, as there are many who do not draw prizes, the unsuccessful call out for fresh distributions. These are made from time to time, as lands are acquired from the Indians; and hence one of the causes of the avidity with which the Indian lands are sought. It is manifest that neither the present generation nor posterity can derive much advantage from this mode of alienating public lands. On the contrary, I should think, it can not fail to engender speculation and a spirit of gambling.

The State of Kentucky, in virtue of a compact with Virginia, acquired a right to a quantity of public lands south of Green river. Neglecting to profit by the unfortunate example of the parent State, she did not order the country to be surveyed previous to its being offered to purchasers. Seduced by some of those wild land projects, of which at all times there have been some afloat, and which hitherto the general government alone has firmly resisted, she was tempted to offer her waste lands to settlers, at different prices, under the name of head-rights or pre-emptions. As the laws, like most legislation upon such subjects, were somewhat loosely worded, the keen eye of the speculator soon discerned the defects, and he took advantage of them. Instances had occurred of masters obtaining certificates of head-rights in the name of their slaves, and thus securing the land, in contravention of the intention of the legislature. Slaves generally have but one name, being called Tom, Jack, Dick, or Harry. To conceal the fraud, the owner would add Black, or some other cognomination, so that the certificate would read Tom Black, Jack Black, &c. The gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy) will remember, some twenty-odd years ago, when we were both members of the Kentucky legislature, that I took occasion to animadvert upon these fraudulent practices, and observed that when the names came to be alphabeted, the truth would be told, whatever might be the language of the record; for the alphabet would read *Black* Tom, *Black* Harry, &c. Kentucky realized more in her treasury than the parent State had done, considering that she had but a remnant of public lands, and she added somewhat to her population. But her lands were far less available than they would have been under a system of previous survey and regular sale.

These observations in respect to the course of the respectable States referred to, in relation to their public lands, are not prompted by any unkind feelings toward them, but to show the superiority of the land system of the United States.

Under the system of the general government, the wisdom of which, in some respects, is admitted even by the report of the land committee, the country subject to its operation, beyond the Allegany mountains, has rapidly advanced in population, improvement, and prosperity. The example of the State of Ohio was emphatically relied on by the report of the committee of manufactures—its million of people, its canals and other improvements, its flourishing towns, its highly-cultivated fields, all put there within less than forty years. To weaken the force of this example, the land committee deny that the population of that State is principally settled upon public lands derived from the general government. But, Mr. President, with great deference to that committee, I must say that it labors under misapprehension. Three fourths, if not four fifths, of the population of that State are settled upon public lands purchased from the United States, and they are the most flourishing parts of the State. For the correctness of this statement, I appeal to my friend from Ohio (Mr. Ewing), near me. He knows, as well as I do, that the rich valleys of the Miami of Ohio, and the Maumee of the lake, the Scioto and the Muskingum, are principally settled by persons deriving titles to their lands from the United States.

In a national point of view, one of the greatest advantages which these public lands in the west, and this system of selling them, affords, is the resource which they present against pressure and want, in other parts of the Union, from the vocations of society being too closely filled and too much crowded. They constantly tend to sustain the price of labor, by the opportunity which they offer for the acquisition of fertile land at a moderate price, and the consequent temptation to emigrate from those parts of the Union where labor may be badly rewarded.

The progress of settlement, and the improvement in the fortunes and condition of individuals, under the operation of this beneficent system, are as simple as they are manifest. Pioneers of a more adventurous character, advancing before the tide of emigration, penetrate into the uninhabited regions of the West. They apply the ax to the forest, which falls before them, or the plough to the prairie, deeply sinking its share in the unbroken wild grasses in which it abounds. They build houses, plant orchards, inclose fields, cultivate the earth, and rear up families around them. Meantime, the tide of emigration flows upon them, their improved farms rise in value, a demand for them takes place, they sell to the new-comers at a great advance, and proceed farther west, with ample means to purchase from government, at reasonable prices, sufficient land for all the members of their families. Another and another tide succeeds, the first pushing on westwardly the previous settlers, who in their turn sell out their farms, constantly augmenting in price, until they arrive at a fixed and stationary

value. In this way, thousands and tens of thousands are daily improving their circumstances and bettering their condition. I have often witnessed this gratifying progress. On the same farm you may sometimes behold, standing together, the first rude cabin of round and unhewn logs, and wooden chimneys; the hewed-log house, chinked and shingled, with stone or brick chimneys; and lastly, the comfortable brick or stone dwelling; each denoting the different occupants of the farm, or the several stages in the condition of the same occupant. What other nation can boast of such an outlet for its increasing population, such bountiful means of promoting their prosperity, and securing their independence?

To the public lands of the United States, and especially to the existing system by which they are distributed with so much regularity and equity, are we indebted for these signal benefits in our national condition. And every consideration of duty, to ourselves, and to posterity, enjoins that we should abstain from the adoption of any wild project that would cast away this vast national property, holden by the general government in sacred trust for the whole people of the United States, and forbids that we should rashly touch a system which has been so successfully tested by experience.

It has been only within a few years that restless men have thrown before the public their visionary plans for squandering the public domain. With the existing laws the great State of the west is satisfied and contented. She has felt their benefit, and grown great and powerful under their sway. She knows and testifies to the liberality of the general government in the administration of the public lands, extended alike to her and to the other new States. There are no petitions from, no movements in Ohio, proposing vital and radical changes in the system. During the long period, in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, that her upright and unambitious citizen, the first representative of that State, and afterward successively Senator and Governor, presided over the committee of public lands, we heard of none of these chimerical schemes. All went on smoothly, and quiety, and safely. No man, in the sphere within which he has acted, ever commanded or deserved the implicit confidence of Congress more than Jeremiah Morrow. There existed a perfect persuasion of his entire impartiality and justice between the old States and the new. A few artless but sensible words, pronounced in his plain Scotch-Irish dialect, were always sufficient to insure the passage of any bill or resolution which he reported. For about twenty-five years, there was no essential change in the system; and that which was at last made, varying the price of the public lands from two dollars, at which it had all that time remained, to one dollar and a quarter, at which it has been fixed only about ten or twelve years, was founded mainly on the consideration of abolishing the previous credits.

Assuming the duplication of our population in terms of twenty-five years, the demand for waste land, at the end of every term, will at least be double what it was at the commencement. But the ratio of the increased demand will be much greater than the increase of the *whole* population of

the United States, because the Western States nearest to, or including the public lands, populate much more rapidly than other parts of the Union; and it will be from them that the greatest current of emigration will flow. At this moment Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, are the most migrating States in the Union.

To supply this constantly-augmenting demand, the policy which has hitherto characterized the general government has been highly liberal toward both individuals and the new States. Large tracts, far surpassing the demand of purchasers, in every climate and situation, adapted to the wants of all parts of the Union, are brought into market at moderate prices, the government having sustained all the expense of the original purchase, and of surveying, marking, and dividing the land. For fifty dollars any poor man may purchase forty acres of first-rate land; and for less than the wages of one year's labor, he may buy eighty acres. To the new States, also, has the government been liberal and generous in the grants for schools and for internal improvements, as well as in reducing the debt contracted for the purchase of lands, by the citizens of those States, who were tempted, in a spirit of inordinate speculation, to purchase too much, or at too high prices.

Such is a rapid outline of this invaluable national property—of the system which regulates its management and distribution, and of the effects of that system. We might here pause, and wonder that there should be a disposition with any to waste or throw away this great resource, or to abolish a system which has been fraught with so many manifest advantages. Nevertheless, there are such, who, impatient with the slow and natural operation of wise laws, have put forth various pretensions and projects concerning the public lands, within a few years past. One of these pretensions is an assumption of the sovereign right of the new States to all the lands within their respective limits, to the exclusion of the general government, and to the exclusion of all the people of the United States, those in the new States only excepted. It is my purpose now to trace the origin, examine the nature, and expose the injustice of this pretension.

This pretension may be fairly ascribed to the propositions of the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Benton) to graduate the public lands, to reduce the price, and cede the "refuse" lands (a term which I believe originated with him) to the States within which they lie. Prompted probably by these propositions, a late governor of Illinois, unwilling to be outdone, presented an elaborate message to the legislature of that State, in which he gravely and formally asserted the right of that State to all the land of the United States comprehended within its limits.) It must be allowed that the governor was a most impartial judge, and the legislature a most disinterested tribunal, to decide such a question!

The senator from Missouri was chanting most sweetly to the tune, "refuse lands," "refuse lands," "refuse lands," on the Missouri side of the Mississippi, and the soft strains of his music having caught the ear of his

excellency on the Illinois side, he joined in chorus and struck an octave higher. The senator from Missouri wished only to pick up some crumbs which fell from Uncle Sam's table; but the governor resolved to grasp the whole loaf. The senator modestly claimed only an old, smoked, rejected joint; but the stomach of his excellency yearned after the whole hog! The governor peeped over the Mississippi into Missouri, and saw the senator leisurely roaming in some rich pastures, on bits of refuse lands. He returned to Illinois, and, springing into the grand prairie, determined to claim and occupy it in all its boundless extent.

Then came the resolution of the senator from Virginia (Mr. Tazewell) in May, 1826, in the following words:—

"*Resolved*, That it is expedient for the United States to cede and surrender to the several States, within whose limits the same may be situated, all the right, title, and interest of the United States, to any lands lying and being within the boundaries of such States, respectively, upon such terms and conditions as may be consistent with the due observance of the public faith, and with the general interest of the United States."

The latter words rendered the resolution somewhat ambiguous; but still it contemplated a cession and surrender. Subsequently, the senator from Virginia proposed, after a certain time, a gratuitous surrender of all unsold lands, to be applied by the legislature, *in support of education* and the *internal improvement* of the State.

[Here Mr. Tazewell controverted the statement. Mr. Clay called to the Secretary to hand him the journal of April, 1828, which he held up to the Senate, and read from it the following:—

"The bill to graduate the price of the public lands, to make donations thereof to actual settlers, and to cede the refuse to the States in which they lie, being under consideration—

Mr. Tazewell moved to insert the following as a substitute:—

"That the lands which shall have been subject to sale under the provisions of this act, and shall remain unsold for two years, after having been offered at twenty-five cents per acre, shall be, and the same are ceded to the State in which the same may lie, to be applied by the legislature thereof in support of education, and the internal improvement of the State."]

Thus it appears not only that the honorable senator proposed the cession, but showed himself the friend of education and internal improvements, by means derived from the general government. For this liberal disposition on his part, I believe it was, that the State of Missouri honored a new county with his name. If he had carried his proposition, that State might well have granted a principality to him.

The memorial of the legislature of Illinois, probably produced by the message of the Governor already noticed, had been presented, asserting a claim to the public lands. And it seems—although the fact had escaped my recollection until I was reminded of it by one of her senators (Mr. Hendricks) the other day—that the legislature of Indiana had instructed her senators to bring forward a similar claim. At the last session, however, of the legislature of that State, resolutions had passed, instructing her delegation to ob-

tain from the general government *cessions* of the unappropriated public lands, on the most favorable terms. It is clear from this last expression of the will of that legislature, that, on reconsideration, it believed the right of the public lands to be in the general government, and not in the State of Indiana. For, if they did not belong to the general government, it had nothing to cede; if they belonged already to the State, no cession was necessary to the perfection of the right of the State.

I will here submit a passing observation. If the general government had the power to cede the public lands to the new States for particular purposes, and on prescribed conditions, its power must be unquestionable to make some reservations for similar purposes in behalf of the old States. Its power can not be without limit as to the new States, and circumscribed and restricted as to the old. Its capacity to bestow benefits or dispense justice is not confined to the new States, but is co-extensive with the whole Union. It may grant to all, or it can grant to none. And this comprehensive equity is not only in conformity with the spirit of the cessions in the deeds from the ceding States, but is expressly enjoined by the terms of those deeds.

Such is the probable origin of the pretension which I have been tracing; and now let us examine its nature and foundation. The argument in behalf of the new States, is founded on the notion, that as the old States, upon coming out of the Revolutionary war, had or claimed a right to all the lands within their respective limits, and as the new States have been admitted into the Union on the same footing and condition in all respects with the old, therefore they are entitled to all the waste lands embraced within their boundaries. But the argument forgets that all the revolutionary States had not waste lands; that some had very little, and others none. It forgets that the right of the States to the waste lands within their limits was controverted; and that it was insisted that, as they had been conquered in a common war, waged with common means, and attended with general sacrifices, the public lands should be held for the common benefit of all the States. It forgets that in consequence of this right asserted in behalf of the whole Union, the states that contained any large bodies of waste lands (and Virginia, particularly, that had the most) ceded them to the Union for the equal benefit of all the States. It forgets that the very equality, which is the basis of the argument, would be totally subverted by the admission of the validity of the pretension. For how would the matter then stand? The revolutionary States will have divested themselves of the large districts of vacant lands which they contained, for the common benefit of all the States; and those same lands will enure to the benefit of the new States exclusively. There will be, on the supposition of the validity of the pretension, a reversal of the condition of the two classes of States. Instead of the old having, as is alleged, the wild lands which they included at the epoch of the Revolution, they will have none, and the new States *all*. And this in the name and for the purpose of equality among all the members of the confederacy! What, especially, would be the situation of Virginia? She mag-

nanimously ceded an empire in extent for the *common benefit.* And now it is proposed, not only to withdraw that empire from the object of its solemn dedication, to the use of all the States, but to deny her any participation in it, and appropriate it exclusively to the benefit of the new States carved out of it!

If the new States had any right to the public lands, in order to produce the very equality contended for, they ought forthwith to cede that right to the Union, for the common benefit of all the States. Having no such right, they ought to acquiesce cheerfully in an equality which does, in fact, now exist between them and the old States.

The committee of manufactures has clearly shown, that if the right were recognised in the new States now existing, to the public lands within their limits, each of the new States, as they might hereafter be successively admitted into the Union, would have the same right; and consequently that the pretension under examination embraces, in effect, the whole public domain, that is, a billion and eighty millions of acres of land.

The right of the Union to the public lands is incontestable. It ought not to be considered debatable. It never was questioned but by a few, whose monstrous heresy, it was probably supposed, would escape animadversion from the enormity of the absurdity, and the utter impracticability of the success of the claim. The right of the whole is sealed by the blood of the Revolution, founded upon solemn deeds of cession from sovereign States, deliberately executed in the face of the world, or resting upon national treaties concluded with foreign powers, on ample equivalents contributed from the common treasury of the people of the United States.

This right of the whole was stamped upon the face of the new States at the very instant of their parturition. They admitted and recognised it with their first breath. They hold their stations, as members of the confederacy in virtue of that admission. The senators who sit here, and the members in the House of Representatives from the new States, deliberate in Congress with other senators and representatives, under that admission. And, since the new States came into being, they have recognised this right of the general government by innumerable acts:—

By their concurrence in the passage of hundreds of laws respecting the public domain, founded upon the incontestable right of the whole of the States;

By repeated applications to extinguish Indian titles, and to survey the lands which they covered;

And by solicitation and acceptance of extensive grants from the general government, of the public lands.

The existence of the new States is a falsehood, or the right of all the States to the public domain is an undeniable truth. They have no more right to the public lands, within their particular jurisdiction, than other States have to the mint, the forts and arsenals, or public ships within theirs, or than the people of the District of Columbia have to this magnificent Capitol, in whose splendid halls we now deliberate.

The equality contended for between all the States now exists. The public lands are now held, and ought to be held and administered for the common benefit of all. I hope our fellow-citizens of Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri, will reconsider the matter; that they will cease to take counsel from demagogues who would deceive them, and instil erroneous principles into their ears; and that they will feel and acknowledge that their brethren of Kentucky and of Ohio, and of all the States in the Union, have an equal right with the citizens of those three States in the public lands. If the possibility of an event so direful as a severance of this Union were for a moment contemplated, what would be the probable consequence of such an unspeakable calamity; if three confederacies were formed out of its fragments, do you imagine that the western confederacy would consent to the States including the public lands, holding them exclusively for themselves? Can you imagine that the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, would quietly renounce their right in all the public lands west of them? No, sir! No, sir! They would wade to their knees in blood before they would make such an unjust and ignominious surrender.

But this pretension, unjust to the old States, unequal as to all, would be injurious to the new States themselves, in whose behalf it has been put forth, if it were recognised. The interest of the new States is not confined to the lands within their limits, but extends to the whole billion and eighty millions of acres. Sanction the claims, however, and they are cut down and restricted to that which is included in their own boundaries. Is it not better for Ohio, instead of the five millions and a half for Indiana, instead of the fifteen millions — or even for Illinois, instead of the thirty-one or thirty-two millions — or Missouri, instead of the thirty-eight millions — within their respective limits, to retain their interest in those several quantities, and also retain their interest, in common with the other members of the Union, in the countless millions of acres that lie west, or northwest, beyond them!

I will now proceed, Mr. President, to consider the expediency of a reduction of the price of the public lands, and the reasons assigned by the land committee, in their report, in favor of that measure. They are presented there in formidable detail, and spread out under seven different heads. Let us examine them: the first is, "because the new States have a clear right to participate in the benefits of a reduction of the revenue to the wants of the government, *by getting the reduction extended to the article of revenue chiefly used by them.*" Here is a renewal of the attempt made early in the session to confound the public lands with foreign imports, which was so successfully exposed and refuted by the report of the committee on manufactures. Will not the new States participate in any reduction of the revenue, in common with the old States, without touching the public lands? As far as they are consumers of objects of foreign imports, will they not equally share the benefit with the old States? What right, over and above that equal participation, have the new States to a reduction of the price of the public

lands! As *States*, what right, much less what "clear right," have they to any such reduction? In their sovereign or corporate capacities, what right? Have not all the stipulations between them, *as States*, and the general government been fully complied with? Have the people within the new States, considered distinct from the States themselves, any right to such reduction? Whence is it derived? They went there in pursuit of their own happiness. They bought lands from the public because it was their interest to make the purchase, and they enjoy them. Did they, because they purchased some land, which they possess peacefully, acquire any, and what right, in the land which they did not buy? But it may be argued that, by settling and improving these lands, the adjacent public lands are enhanced in value. True; and so are their own. The enhanced value of the public lands was not a consequence which they went there to produce, but was a collateral effect, as to which they were passive. The public does not seek to avail itself of this augmentation in value, by augmenting the price. It leaves that where it was; and the demand for reduction is made in behalf of those who say their labor has increased the value of the public lands, and the claim to reduction is founded upon the fact of enhanced value! The public, like all other landholders, had a right to anticipate that the sale of a part would communicate, incidentally, greater value to the residue. And, like all other land proprietors, it has the right to ask more for that residue, but it does not; and for one, I should be as unwilling to disturb the existing price by augmentation as by reduction. But the public lands is the article of revenue which the people of the new states chiefly *consume*. In another part of this report liberal grants of the public lands are recommended, and the idea of holding the public lands as a source of revenue is scouted, because it is said that more revenue could be collected from the settlers as consumers, than from the lands. Here it seems that the public lands are the articles of revenue chiefly consumed by the new States.

With respect to lands yet to be sold, they are open to the purchase alike of emigrants from the old States, and settlers in the new. As the latter have more generally supplied themselves with lands, the probability is, that the emigrants are more interested in the question of reduction than the settlers. At all events, there can be no peculiar right to such reduction existing in the new States. It is a question common to all, and to be decided with reference to the interest of the whole Union.

"2. Because, the public debt being now paid, the public lands are entirely released from the pledge they were under to that object, and are free to receive a *new and liberal destination, for the relief of the States in which they lie.*"

The payment of the public debt is conceded to be near at hand; and it is admitted that the public lands, being liberated, may now receive a new and liberal destination. Such an appropriation of their proceeds is proposed by the bill reported by the committee of manufactures, and which I shall hereafter call the attention of the Senate more particularly to. But it did not seem just to that committee, that this new and liberal destination of them

should be restricted "for the relief of the States in which they lie" exclusively, but should extend to *all* the States indiscriminately, upon principles of equitable distribution.

"3. Because, nearly one hundred millions of acres of the land now in market are the refuse of sales and donations, through a long series of years, and are of very little actual value, and only fit to be given to settlers, or abandoned to the States in which they lie."

According to an official statement, the total quantity of public land which has been surveyed up to the 31st of December last, was a little upward of one hundred and sixty-two millions of acres. Of this a large proportion—perhaps even more than the one hundred millions of acres stated in the land report—has been a long time in market. The entire quantity which has ever been sold by the United States, up to the same day, after deducting lands relinquished and lands reverted to the United States, according to an official statement also, is twenty-five millions, two hundred forty-two thousand, five hundred and ninety acres. Thus, after the lapse of thirty-six years, during which the present land system has been in operation, a little more than twenty-five millions of acres have been sold, not averaging a million per annum, and upward of one hundred millions of the surveyed lands remain to be sold. The argument of the report of the land committee assumes that "nearly one hundred millions are the refuse of sales, and donations," are of very little actual value, and only fit to be given to settlers, or abandoned to the States in which they lie.

Mr. President, let us define as we go—let us analyze. What do the land committee mean by "refuse land"? Do they mean worthless, inferior, rejected land, which nobody will buy at the present government price? Let us look at facts, and make them our guide. The government is constantly pressed by the new States to bring more and more lands into the market; to extinguish more Indian titles; to survey more. The new States themselves are probably urged to operate upon the general government by immigrants and settlers, who see still before them, in their progress west, other new lands which they desire. The general government yields to the solicitations. It throws more land into the market, and it is annually and daily preparing additional surveys of fresh lands. It has thrown, and is preparing to throw, open to purchasers already, one hundred and sixty-two millions of acres. And now, because the capacity to purchase, in its nature limited by the growth of our population, is totally incompetent to absorb this immense quantity, the government is called upon, by some of the very persons who urged the exposition of this vast amount to sale, to consider all that remains unsold as refuse! Twenty-five millions in thirty-six years only are sold, and all the rest is to be looked upon as refuse. Is this right? If there had been five hundred millions in market, there probably would not have been more, or much more, sold. But I deny the correctness of the conclusion that it is worthless because not sold. It is not sold because there were not people to buy it. You must have gone to other countries, to other worlds, to the moon, and drawn thence people to buy the prodigious quantity which you offered to sell.

Refuse land! A purchaser goes to a district of country and buys out of a township a section which strikes his fancy. He exhausts his money. Others might have preferred other sections. Other sections may even be better than his. He can with no more propriety be said to have "refused" or rejected all the other sections, than a man who, attracted by the beauty, charms, and accomplishments of a particular lady, marries her, can be said to have rejected or refused all the rest of the sex.

Is it credible that out of one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty millions of acres of land in a valley celebrated for its fertility, there are only about twenty-five millions of acres of good land, and that all the rest is refuse? Take the State of Illinois as an example. Of all the States in the Union, that State probably contains the greatest proportion of rich, fertile lands—more than Ohio, more than Indiana, abounding as they both do in fine lands. Of the thirty-three and a half millions of public lands in Illinois, a little more than two millions have been sold. Is the residue of thirty-one millions *all* refuse land? Who, that is acquainted in the West, can assert or believe it? No, sir; there is no such thing. The unsold lands are unsold because of the reasons already assigned. Doubtless there is much inferior land remaining, but a vast quantity of the best of lands also. For its timber, soil, water-power, grazing, minerals, almost all land possesses a certain value. If the lands unsold are refuse and worthless in the hands of the general government, why are they sought after with so much avidity? If in our hands they are good for nothing, what more would they be worth in the hands of the new States? "Only fit to be given to settlers!" What settlers would thank you? what settlers would not scorn a gift of *refuse*, worthless land? If you mean to be generous, give them what is valuable; be manly in your generosity.

But let us examine a little closer this idea of refuse land. If there be any State in which it is found in large quantities, that State would be Ohio. It is the oldest of the new States. There the public lands have remained longer exposed in the market. But there we find only five and a half millions to be sold. And I hold in my hand an account of sales in the Zanesville district, one of the oldest in that State, made during the present year. It is in a paper entitled the "Ohio Republican," published at Zanesville, the 26th May, 1832. The article is headed "Refuse Land," and it states:—

"It has suited the interest of some to represent the lands of the United States which have remained in market for many years, as mere 'refuse' which can not be sold; and to urge a rapid reduction of price, and the cession of the residue in a short period to the States in which they are situated. It is strongly urged against this plan that it is a speculating project, which, by alienating a large quantity of land from the United States, will cause a great increase of price to actual settlers in a few years—instead of their being able for ever, as it may be said in the case under the present system of land sales, to obtain a farm at a reasonable price. To show how far the lands unsold are from being worthless, we copy from the 'Gazette' the following statement of recent sales in the Zanesville district, one of the oldest districts in the West. The sales at the Zanesville land-office since the commencement of the present year have been as follows: January, $7,120 80; February, $8,542 67; March, $11,744 75; April, $9,209 19; and since the first of the present month about $9,000 worth have been sold, more than half of which were in forty-acre lots."

And there can not be a doubt that the act, passed at this season, authorizing sales of forty acres, will, from the desire to make additions to farms,

and to settle young members of families, increase the sales very much, at least during this year.

A friend of mine in this city bought in Illinois last fall about two thousand acres of this refuse land, at the minimum price, for which he has lately refused six dollars per acre. An officer of this body, now in my eye, purchased a small tract of this same refuse land of one hundred and sixty acres, at second or third hand, entered a few years ago, and which is now estimated at nineteen hundred dollars. It is a business, a very profitable business, at which fortunes are made in the new States, to purchase these refuse lands, and, without improving them, to sell them at large advances.

Far from being discouraged by the fact of so much surveyed public land remaining unsold, we should rejoice that this bountiful resource, possessed by our country, remains in almost undiminished quantity, notwithstanding so many new and flourishing States have sprung up in the wilderness, and so many thousands of families have been accommodated. It might be otherwise if the public lands were dealt out by government with a sparing, grudging, griping hand. But they are liberally offered, in exhaustless quantities, and at moderate prices, enriching individuals, and tending to the rapid improvement of the country. The two important facts brought forward and emphatically dwelt on by the Committee of Manufactures stand in their full force, unaffected by anything stated in the report of the Land Committee. These facts must carry conviction to every unbiased mind that will deliberately consider them. The first is, the rapid increase of the new States, far outstripping the old, averaging annually an increase of eight and a half per cent., and doubling, of course, in twelve years. One of these States, Illinois, full of refuse land, increasing at the rate of eighteen and a half per cent.! Would this astonishing growth take place if the lands were too high, or all the good land sold? The other fact is, the vast increase in the annual sales: in 1830, rising of three millions. Since the report of the Committee of Manufactures, the returns have come in of the sales of last year, which had been estimated at three millions. They were, in fact, $3,566,127 94! Their progressive increase baffles all calculation. Would this happen if the price were too high?

It is argued that the value of different townships and sections is various, and that it is therefore wrong to fix the same price for all. The variety in the quality, situation, and advantages of different tracts, is no doubt great. After the adoption of any system of classification, there would still remain very great diversity in the tracts belonging to the same class. This is the law of nature. The presumption of inferiority, and of refuse land, founded upon the length of time that the land has been in market, is denied, for reasons already stated. The offer, at public auction, of all lands to the highest bidder, previous to their being sold at private sale, provides in some degree for the variety in the value, since each purchaser pushes the land up to the price which, according to his opinion, it ought to command. But if the price demanded by government is not too high for the good land (and no

one can believe it), why not wait until that is sold before any reduction in the price of the bad? And that will not be sold for many years to come. It would be quite as wrong to bring the price of good land down to the standard of the bad, as it is alleged to be to carry the latter up to that of the former. Until the good land is sold there will be no purchasers of the bad: for, as has been stated in the report of the Committee of Manufactures, a discreet farmer would rather give a dollar and a quarter per acre for first-rate land than accept refuse and worthless land as a present.

"4. Because the speedy extinction of the *federal* title within their limits is necessary to the *independence* of the *new* States, to their *equality* with the *elder* States; to the *development* of their resources; to the *subjection* of their soil to *taxation*, *cultivation*, and *settlement*, and to the *proper* enjoyment of their jurisdiction and sovereignty."

All this is mere assertion and declamation. The general government, at a moderate price, is selling the public land as fast as it can find purchasers. The new States are populating with unexampled rapidity; their condition is now much more eligible than that of some of the old States. Ohio, I am sorry to be obliged to confess, is, in internal improvement and some other respects, fifty years in advance of her elder sister and neighbor, Kentucky. How have her growth and prosperity, her independence, her equality with the elder States, the development of her resources, the taxation, cultivation, and settlement of her soil, or the proper enjoyment of her jurisdiction and sovereignty, been affected or impaired by the federal title within her limits? The federal title! It has been a source of blessings and of bounties, but not one of real grievance. As to the exemption from taxation of the public lands, and the exemption for five years of those sold to individuals, if the public land belonged to the new States, would they tax it? And as to the latter exemption, it is paid for by the general government, as may be seen by reference to the compacts; and it is, moreover, beneficial to the new States themselves, by holding out a motive to emigrants to purchase and settle within their limits.

"6. Because the ramified machinery of the land office department, and the ownership of so much soil, extends the patronage and authority of the general government into the *heart* and *corners* of the new States, and subjects their *policy* to the danger of a *foreign* and *powerful* influence."

A foreign and powerful influence! The federal government a foreign government! And the exercise of a legitimate control over the national property, for the benefit of the whole people of the United States, a deprecated penetration into the heart and corners of the new States! As to the calamity of the land offices which are held within them, I believe that is not regarded by the people of those States with quite as much horror as it is by the land committee. They justly consider that they ought to hold those offices themselves, and that no persons ought to be sent from the other *foreign* States of this Union to fill them. And if the number of the offices were increased, it would not be looked upon by them as a grievous addition to the calamity.

But what do the land committee mean by the authority of this foreign, federal government? Surely they do not desire to get rid of the federal government. And yet the final settlement of the land question will have effected but little in expelling its authority from the bosoms of the new States. Its action will still remain in a thousand forms, and the *heart* and *corners* of the new States will still be invaded by postoffices and postmasters, and postroads, and the Cumberland road, and various other modifications of its power.

"Because the sum of $425,000,000 proposed to be drawn from the new States and Territories, by the sale of their soil, at $1 25 per acre, is unconscionable and impracticable—such as never can be paid—and the bare attempt to raise which, must drain, exhaust, and impoverish these States, and give birth to the feelings which a sense of injustice and oppression never fail to excite, and the excitement of which should be so carefully avoided in a confederacy of free States."

In another part of their report, the committee say, speaking of the immense revenue alleged to be derivable from the public lands: "This ideal revenue is estimated at $425,000,000 for the lands now within the limits of the States and Territories, and at $1,363,589,691 for the whole federal domain. Such *chimerical* calculations preclude the propriety of argumentative answers." Well, if these calculations are all chimerical, there is no danger, from the preservation of the existing land system, of draining, exhausting, and impoverishing the new States, and of exciting them to rebellion.

The manufacturing committee did not state what the public lands would, in fact, produce. They could not state it. It is hardly a subject of approximate estimate. The committee stated what would be the proceeds, estimated by the minimum price of the public lands; what, at one half of that price; and added that, although there might be much land that would never sell at one dollar and a quarter per acre, "as fresh lands are brought into market and exposed to sale at auction, many of them sell at prices exceeding one dollar and a quarter per acre." They concluded by remarking that the least favorable view of regarding them was to consider them a capital yielding an annuity of three millions of dollars at this time; that in a few years that annuity would probably be doubled, and that the capital might then be assumed as equal to one hundred millions of dollars.

Whatever may be the sum drawn from the sales of the public lands, it will be contributed, not by citizens of the States alone in which they are situated, but by emigrants from all the States. And it will be raised, not in a single year, but in a long series of years. It would have been impossible for the State of Ohio to have paid, in one year, the millions that have been raised in that State by the sale of public lands; but in a period of upward of thirty years the payment has been made, not only without impoverishing, but with constantly-increasing prosperity to the State.

Such, Mr. President, are the reasons of the land committee for the reduction of the price of the public lands. Some of them had been anticipated

and refuted in the report of the manufacturing committee; and I hope that I have now shown the insolidity of the residue.

I will not dwell upon the consideration urged in that report against any large reduction, founded upon its inevitable tendency to lessen the value of the landed property throughout the Union, and that in the western States especially. That such would be the necessary consequence, no man can doubt who will seriously reflect upon such a measure as that of throwing into market, immediately, upward of one hundred and thirty millions of acres, and at no distant period upward of two hundred millions more, at greatly-reduced rates.

If the honorable chairman of the land committee (Mr. King) had relied upon his own sound practical sense, he would have presented a report far less objectionable than that which he has made. He has availed himself of another's aid, and the hand of the senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton) is as visible in the composition as if his name had been subscribed to the instrument. We hear again, in this paper, of that which we have so often heard repeated before in debate by the senator from Missouri — the sentiments of Edmund Burke. And what was the state of things in England to which those sentiments were applied?

England has too little land and too many people. America has too much land, for the present population of the country, and wants people. The British crown had owned, for many generations, large bodies of land, preserved for game and forest, from which but small revenues were derived. It was proposed to sell out the crown lands, that they might be peopled and cultivated, and that the royal family should be placed on the civil list. Mr. Burke supported the proposition by convincing arguments. But what analogy is there between the crown lands of the British sovereign and the public lands of the United States? Are they here locked up from the people, and, for the sake of their game or timber, excluded from sale? Are not they freely exposed in market, to all who want them, at moderate prices? The complaint is that they are not sold fast enough — in other words, that people are not multiplied rapidly enough to buy them. Patience, gentlemen of the land committee, patience! The new States are daily rising in power and importance. Some of them are already great and flourishing members of the confederacy. And, if you will only acquiesce in the certain and quiet operation of the laws of God and man, the wilderness will quickly teem with people, and be filled with the monuments of civilization.

The report of the land committee proceeds to notice, and to animadvert upon, certain opinions of a late Secretary of the Treasury, contained in his annual report, and endeavors to connect them with some sentiments expressed in the report of the committee of manufactures. That report has before been the subject of repeated commentary in the Senate, by the senator from Missouri, and of much misrepresentation and vituperation in the public press. Mr. Rush showed me the rough draught of that report, and I advised him to expunge the paragraphs in question, because I foresaw that

they would be misrepresented, and that he would be exposed to unjust accusation. But, knowing the purity of his intentions, believing in the soundness of the views which he presented, and confiding in the candor of a just public, he resolved to retain the paragraphs. I can not suppose the senator from Missouri ignorant of what passed between Mr. Rush and me, and of his having, against my suggestions, retained the paragraphs in question, because these facts were all stated by Mr. Rush himself, in a letter addressed to a late member of the House of Representatives, representing the district in which I reside, which letter, more than a year ago, was published in the western papers.

I shall say nothing in defence of myself—nothing to disprove the charge of my cherishing unfriendly feelings and sentiments toward any part of the west. If the public acts in which I have participated, if the uniform tenor of my whole life, will not refute such an imputation, nothing that I could here say would refute it.

But I *will* say something in defence of the opinions of my late patriotic and enlightened colleague, not here to speak for himself; and I will vindicate his official opinions from the erroneous glosses and interpretations which have been put upon them.

Mr. Rush, in an official report which will long remain a monument of his ability, was surveying with a stateman's eye the condition of America. He was arguing in favor of the Protective Policy—the American System. He spoke of the limited vocations of our society, and the expediency of multiplying the means of increasing subsistence, comfort, and wealth. He noticed the great and the constant tendency of our fellow-citizens to the cultivation of the soil, the want of a market for their surplus produce, the inexpediency of all blindly rushing to the same universal employment, and the policy of dividing ourselves into various pursuits. He says:—

"The manner in which the remote lands of the United States are selling and settling, while it possibly may tend to increase more quickly the aggregate population of the country, and the mere means of subsistence, does not increase capital in the same proportion. * * * Anything that may serve to hold back this tendency to diffusion from running *too far and too long into an extreme*, can scarcely prove otherwise than salutary. * * * * If the population of these (a majority of the States, including some western States), not yet redundant in fact, though appearing to be so, under this legislative incitement to emigrate, remain fixed in more instances, as it probably would be by extending the *motives* to manufacturing labor, it is believed that the nation would gain in two ways: first, by the more rapid accumulation of capital; and next, by the gradual reduction of the *excess* of its agricultural population over that engaged in other vocations. It is not imagined that it ever would be practicable, even if it were desirable, *to turn* this *stream* of emigration aside; but resources, opened through the influence of the laws, in new fields of industry, to the inhabitants of the States already sufficiently peopled to enter upon them, might operate to lessen in some degree, and usefully lessen, its absorbing force."

Now, Mr. President, what is there in this view adverse to the West, or unfavorable to its interests? Mr. Rush is arguing on the tendency of the people to engage in agriculture, and the incitement to emigration produced by our laws. Does he propose to change those laws in that particular? Does he propose any new measure? So far from suggesting any alteration of the conditions on which the public lands are sold, he expressly says that

it is not desirable, if it were practicable, to turn this stream of emigration aside. Leaving all the laws in full force, and all the motives to emigration, arising from fertile and cheap lands, untouched, he recommends the encouragement of a new branch of business, in which all the Union, the West as well as the rest, is interested; thus presenting an option to population to engage in manufactures or in agriculture, at its own discretion. And does such an option afford just ground of complaint to any one? Is it not an advantage to all? Do the land committee desire (I am sure they do not) to create starvation in one part of the Union, that emigrants may be forced into another? If they do not, they ought not to condemn a multiplication of human employments, by which, as its certain consequence, there will be an increase in the means of subsistence and comfort. The objection to Mr. Rush, then, is that he looked at his *whole* country, and at all parts of it; and that, while he desired the prosperity and growth of the West to advance undisturbed, he wished to build up, on deep foundations, the welfare of all the people.

Mr. Rush knew that there were thousands of the poorer classes who never would emigrate; and that emigration, under the best auspices, was far from being unattended with evil. There are moral, physical, pecuniary obstacles to all emigration; and these will increase as the good vacant lands of the west are removed, by intervening settlements, further and further from society, as it is now located. It is, I believe, Dr. Johnson, who pronounces that of all vegetable and animal creation, man is the most difficult to be uprooted and transferred to a distant country; and he was right. Space itself, mountains, and seas, and rivers, are impediments. The want of pecuniary means — the expenses of the outfit, subsistence, and transportation of a family — is no slight circumstance. When all these difficulties are overcome (and how few, comparatively, can surmount them!) the greatest of all remains — that of being torn from one's natal spot, separated for ever from the roof under which the companions of his childhood were sheltered, from the trees which have shaded him from summer's heats, the spring from whose gushing fountain he drank in his youth, the tombs that hold the precious relic of his venerated ancestors!

But I have said that the land committee had attempted to confound the sentiments of Mr. Rush with some of the reasoning employed by the committee of manufactures against the proposed reduction of the price of the public lands. What is that reasoning? Here it is; it will speak for itself, and, without a single comment, will demonstrate how different it is from that of the late Secretary of the Treasury, unexceptionable as that has been shown to be.

"The greatest emigration," says the manufacturing committee, "that is believed now to take place from any of the States, is from Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The effects of a material reduction in the price of the public lands would be — 1st, to lessen the value of real estate in those three States; 2d, to diminish their interest in the public domain as a common fund for the benefit of all the States; and, 3d, to offer what would operate as a bounty to further emigration from those States, occasioning more and more lands, situated within them, to be thrown into the market, thereby not only lessening the value of their lands, but draining them of both their population and labor."

There are good men in different parts, but especially in the Atlantic portion of the Union, who have been induced to regard lightly this vast national property; who have been persuaded that the people of the West are dissatisfied with the administration of it; and who believe that it will, in the end, be lost to the nation, and that it is not worth present care and preservation. But these are radical mistakes. The great body of the West are satisfied, perfectly satisfied, with the general administration of the public lands. They would indeed like, and are entitled to, a more liberal expenditure among them of the proceeds of the sales. For this, provision is made by the bill to which I will hereafter call the attention of the Senate. But the great body of the West have not called for, and understand too well their real interest to desire, any essential change in the system of survey, sale, or price of the lands. There may be a few, stimulated by demagogues, who desire change; and what system is there, what government, what order of human society, that a few do not desire to change?

It is one of the admirable properties of the existing system that it contains within itself and carries along principles of conservation and safety. In the progress of its operation, new States become identified with the old, in feeling, in thinking, and in interest. Now, Ohio is as sound as any old State in the Union in all her views relating to the public lands. She feels that her share in the exterior domain is much more important than would be an exclusive right to the few millions of acres left unsold within her limits, accompanied by a virtual surrender of her interest in all the other public lands of the United States. And I have no doubt that now the people of the other new States, left to their own unbiased sense of equity and justice, would form the same judgment. They can not believe that what they have not bought, what remains the property of themselves and all their brethren of the United States in common, belongs to them exclusively. But if I am mistaken—if they have been deceived by erroneous impressions on their mind, made by artful men—as the sales proceed, and the land is exhausted, and their population increased, like the State of Ohio, they will feel that their true interest points to their remaining copartners in the whole national domain, instead of bringing forward an unfounded pretension to the inconsiderable remnant which will be then left within their own limits.

And now, Mr. President, I have to say something in respect to the particular plan brought forward by the Committee of Manufactures for a temporary appropriation of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands.

The committee say that this fund is not wanted by the general government; that the peace of the country is not likely, from present appearances, to be speedily disturbed; and that the general government is absolutely embarrassed in providing against an enormous surplus in the treasury. While this is the condition of the federal government, the States are in want of, and can most beneficially use, that very surplus with which we do not know what to do. The powers of the general government are limited; those of the States are ample. If those limited powers authorized an appli-

cation of the fund to some objects, perhaps there are some others, of more importance, to which the powers of the States would be more competent, or to which they may apply a more provident care.

But the government of the whole and of the parts at last is but one government of the same people. In form they are two, in substance one. They both stand under the same solemn obligation to promote, by all the powers with which they are respectively intrusted, the happiness of the people; and the people, in their turn, owe respect and allegiance to both. Maintaining these relations, there should be mutual assistance to each other afforded by these two systems. When the states are full-handed, and the coffers of the general government are empty, the states should come to the relief of the general government, as many of them did, most promptly and patriotically, during the late war. When the conditions of the parties are reversed, as is now the case—the States wanting what is almost a burden to the general government—the duty of this government is to go to the relief of the States.

They were views like these which induced a majority of the committee to propose the plan of distribution contained in the bill now under consideration. For one, however, I will again repeat the declaration, which I made early in the session, that I unite cordially with those who condemn the application of any principle of distribution among the several States, to surplus revenue derived from taxation. I think income derived from taxation stands upon ground totally distinct from that which is received from the public lands. Congress can prevent the accumulation, at least for any considerable time, of revenue from duties, by suitable legislation, lowering or augmenting the imposts; but it can not stop the sales of the public lands without the exercise of arbitrary and intolerable power. The powers of Congress over the public lands are broader and more comprehensive than those which they possess over taxation and the money produced by it.

This brings me to consider—1st, the power of Congress to make the distribution. By the second part of the third section of the fourth article of the constitution, Congress "have power to *dispose of* and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States." The power of disposition is plenary, unrestrained, unqualified. It is not limited to a specified object or to a defined purpose, but left applicable to any object or purpose which the wisdom of Congress shall deem fit, acting under its high responsibility.

The government purchased Louisiana and Florida. May it not apply the proceeds of lands within those countries to any object which the good of the Union may seem to indicate? If there be a restraint in the constitution, where is it—what is it?

The uniform practice of the government has conformed to the idea of its possessing full powers over the public lands. They have been freely granted, from time to time, to communities and individuals, for a great variety of purposes: to States for education, internal improvements, public buildings;

to corporations for education; to the deaf and dumb; to the cultivators of the olive and the vine; to pre-emptioners; to General Lafayette, &c.

The deeds from the ceding States, far from opposing, fully warrant the distribution. That of Virginia ceded the land as "a common fund for the use and benefit of *such* of the United States as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation or federal alliance of the said States, Virginia inclusive." The cession was for the benefit of all the States. It may be argued that the fund must be retained in the common treasury, and thence paid out. But, by the bill reported, it will come into the common treasury, and then the question how it shall be subsequently applied for the use and benefit of *such* of the United States as compose the confederacy, is one of modus only. Whether the money is disbursed by the general government directly, or is paid out upon some equal and just principle to the States, to be disbursed by them, can not affect the right of distribution. If the general government retained the power of ultimate disbursement, it could execute it only by suitable agents; and what agency is more suitable than that of the States themselves? If the States expend the money, as the bill contemplates, the expenditure will, in effect, be a disbursement for the benefit of the whole, although the several States are organs of the expenditure; for the whole and all the parts are identical. And whatever redounds to the benefit of all the parts, necessarily contributes in the same measure to the benefit of the whole. The great question should be, 'Is the distribution upon equal and just principles?' And this brings me to consider—

2d. The terms of the distribution proposed by the bill of the Committee of Manufactures. The bill proposes a division of the net proceeds of the sales of the public lands among the several States composing the Union, according to their federal representative population, as ascertained by the last census; and it provides for new States that may hereafter be admitted into the Union. The basis of the distribution, therefore, is derived from the constitution itself, which has adopted the same rule in respect to representation and direct taxes. None could be more just and equitable.

But it has been contended, in the land report, that the revolutionary States which did not cede their public lands ought not to be allowed to come into the distribution. This objection does not apply to the purchases of Louisiana and Florida, because the consideration for them was paid out of the common treasury, and was consequently contributed by all the States. Nor has the objection any just foundation when applied to the public lands derived from Virginia and the other ceding States; because, by the terms of the deeds, the cessions were made for the use and benefit of all the States. The ceding States having made no exception of any State, what right has the general government to interpolate in the deeds, and now create an exception? The general government is a mere trustee, holding the domain in virtue of those deeds, according to the terms and conditions which they expressly describe; and it is bound to execute the trust accordingly. But how is the fund produced by the public lands now expended? It comes into

the common treasury, and is disbursed for the common benefit, without exception of any State. The bill only proposes to substitute to that object, now no longer necessary, another and more useful common object. The general application of the fund will continue, under the operation of the bill, although the particular purposes may be varied.

The equity of the proposed distribution, as it respects the two classes of States, the old and the new, must be manifest to the Senate. It proposes to assign to the new States, besides the five per cent. stipulated for in their several compacts with the general government, the further sum of ten per cent. upon the net proceeds. Assuming the proceeds of the last year, amounting to $3,566,127 94, as the basis of the calculation, I hold in my hand a paper which shows the sum that each of the seven new States would receive. They have complained of the exemption from taxation of the public lands sold by the general government for five years after the sale. If that exemption did not exist, and they were to exercise the power of taxing those lands, as the average increase of their population is only eight and a half per cent. per annum, the additional revenue which they would save would be only eight and a half per cent. per annum; that is to say, a State now collecting a revenue of $100,000 per annum, would collect only $108,500 if it were to tax the lands recently sold. But, by the bill under consideration, each of the seven new States will annually receive, as its distributive share, more than the whole amount of its annual revenue.

It may be thought that to set apart ten per cent. to the new States, in the first instance, is too great a proportion, and is unjust toward the old States. But it will be recollected that, as they populate much faster than the old States, and as the last census is to govern in the apportionment, they ought to receive more than the old States. If they receive too much at the commencement of the term, it may he neutralized by the end of it.

After the deduction shall have been made of the fifteen per cent. allotted to the new States, the residue is to be divided among the twenty-four States, old and new, composing the Union. What each of the States would receive, is shown by a table annexed to the report. Taking the proceeds of the last year as the standard, there must be added one sixth to what is set down in that table as the proportion of the several States.

If the power and the principle of the proposed distribution be satisfactory to the Senate, I think the objects can not fail to be equally so. They are Education, Internal Improvements, and Colonization — all great and beneficent objects — all national in their nature. No mind can be cultivated and improved, no work of internal improvement can be executed in any part of the Union, nor any person of color transported from any of its ports, in which the whole Union is not interested. The prosperity of the whole is an aggregate of the prosperity of the parts.

The States, each judging for itself, will select, among the objects enumerated in the bill, that which comports best with its own policy. There is no compulsion in the choice. Some will prefer, perhaps, to apply the fund to

the extinction of debt, now burdensome, created for Internal Improvement; some to new objects of Internal Improvement; others to Education; and others, again, to Colonization. It may be supposed possible that the States will divert the fund from the specified purposes: but against such a misapplication we have, in the first place, the security which arises out of their presumed good faith; and, in the second, the power to withhold subsequent, if there has been any abuse in previous, appropriations.

It has been argued that the general government has no power in respect to Colonization. Waiving that, as not being a question at this time, the real inquiry is, 'Have the States themselves any such power?'—for it is to the States that the subject is referred. The evil of a free black population is not restricted to particular States, but extends to and is felt by all. It is not, therefore, the slave question, but totally distinct from and unconnected with it. I have heretofore often expressed my perfect conviction that the general government has no constitutional power which it can exercise in regard to African slavery. That conviction remains unchanged. The States in which slavery is tolerated have exclusively in their own hands the entire regulation of the subject. But the slave States differ in opinion as to the expediency of African colonization. Several of them have signified their approbation of it. The legislature of Kentucky, I believe unanimously, recommended the encouragement of colonization to Congress.

Should a war break out during the term of five years that the operation of the bill is limited to, the fund is to be withdrawn and applied to the vigorous prosecution of the war. If there be no war, Congress, at the end of the term, will be able to ascertain whether the money has been beneficially expended, and to judge of the propriety of continuing the distribution.

Three reports have been made, on this great subject of the public lands, during the present session of Congress, besides that of the Secretary of the Treasury at its commencement—two in the Senate and one in the House. All three of them agree—1st, in the preservation of the control of the general government over the public lands; and, 2d, they concur in rejecting the plan of a cession of the public lands to the States in which they are situated, recommended by the Secretary. The land committee of the Senate propose an assignment of fifteen per cent. of the net proceeds, besides the five per cent. stipulated in the compacts (making together twenty per cent.), to the new States, and *nothing to the old.*

The Committee of Manufactures of the Senate, after an allotment of an additional sum of ten per cent. to the new States, propose an equal distribution of the residue among all the States, old and new, upon equitable principles.

The Senate's land committee, besides the proposal of a distribution, restricted to the new States, recommends an immediate reduction of the price of "fresh lands" to a minimum of one dollar per acre, and to fifty cents per acre for lands which have been five years or upward in market.

The land committee of the House is opposed to all distribution, general or partial, and recommends a reduction of the price to one dollar per acre.

And now, Mr. President, I have a few more words to say, and shall be done. We are admonished by all our reflections, and by existing signs, of the duty of communicating strength and energy to the glorious Union which now encircles our favored country. Among the ties which bind us together, the public domain merits high consideration. And if we distribute, for a limited time, the proceeds of that great resource among the several States, for the important objects which have been enumerated, a new and powerful bond of affection and of interest will be added. The States will feel and recognise the operation of the general government, not merely in power and burdens, but in benefactions and blessings. And the general government in its turn will feel, from the expenditure of the money which it dispenses to the States, the benefits of moral and intellectual improvement of the people, of greater facility in social and commercial intercourse, and of the purification of the population of our country, themselves the best parental sources of national character, national union, and national greatness. Whatever may be the fate of the particular proposition now under consideration, I sincerely hope that the attention of the nation may be attracted to this most interesting subject; that it may justly appreciate the value of this immense national property; and that, preserving the regulation of it by the will of the whole, for the advantage of the whole, it may be transmitted, as a sacred and inestimable succession, to posterity, for its benefit and blessing for ages to come.

VII.

ON A TRUE PUBLIC POLICY.

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, MARCH 4, 1842.

[On the 25th of February, Mr. CLAY, in anticipation of his retirement from public life, submitted to the Senate resolutions indicative of the line of policy upon which, in his judgment, the federal government should be conducted. These resolutions coming up for consideration, Mr. CLAY spoke as follows:]

MR. PRESIDENT: The resolutions which are to form the subject of the present discussion are of the greatest importance, involving interests of the highest character, and a system of policy which, in my opinion, lies at the bottom of any restoration of the prosperity of the country. In discussing them, I would address myself to you in the language of plainness, of soberness, and of truth. I did not come here as if I were entering a garden full of flowers and of the richest shrubbery, to cull the tea-roses, the japonicas, the jasmines and woodbines, and weave them into a garland of the gayest

colors, that by the beauty of the assortment and by their fragrance I may gratify fair ladies. Nor is it my wish—it is far, far from my wish—to revive any subjects of a party character, or which might be calculated to renew the animosities which, unhappily, have hitherto prevailed between the two great political parties in the country. My course is far different from this; it is to speak to you of the sad condition of our country; to point out, not the remote and original, but the proximate, the immediate causes which have produced and are likely to continue our distresses, and to suggest a remedy. If any one, in or out of the Senate, has imagined it to be my intention on this occasion to indulge in any ambitious display of language, to attempt any rhetorical flights, or to deal in any other figures than figures of arithmetic, he will find himself greatly disappointed. The farmer, if he is a judicious man, does not begin to plough till he has first laid off his land, and marked it off at proper distances by planting stakes, by which his plowmen are to be guided in their movements; and the plowman accordingly fixes his eye upon the stake opposite to the end of the destined furrow, and then endeavors to reach it by a straight and direct course. These resolutions are my stakes.

But, before I proceed to examine them, let me first meet and obviate certain objections, which, as I understand, have been or may be urged against them generally. I learn that it is said of these resolutions that they present only general propositions, and that, instead of this, I should at once have introduced separate bills, and entered into detail, and shown in what manner I propose to accomplish the objects which the resolutions propose. Let me here say, in reply, that the course dictated by the ancient principles and modes of legislation which have ever prevailed from the foundation of this government, has been to fix first upon the general principles which are to guide us, and then carry out these principles by detailed legislation. Such has ever been the course pursued, not only in the country from which we derive our legislative institutions, but in our own. The memorable resolution offered in the British house of commons by the celebrated Mr. Dunning, is no doubt familiar to the mind of every one—that "the power of the crown [and it is equally true of our own Chief Magistrate] had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." When I was a member of another legislative body, which meets in the opposite extremity of this Capitol, it was the course, in reference to the great questions of internal improvement and other leading measures of public policy, to propose specific resolutions, going to mark out the principles of action which ought to be adopted, and then to carry out these principles by subsequent enactments. Another objection is urged, as I understand, against one of these resolutions, which is this, that by the Constitution no bill for raising revenue can originate anywhere but in the House of Representatives. It is true that we can not originate such a bill; but undoubtedly, in contemplating the condition of public affairs, and in the right consideration of all questions touching the amount of revenue and the mode in which it shall

be raised, and involving the great questions of expenditure and retrenchment, and how far the expenses of the government may safely and properly be diminished, it is perfectly legitimate for us to deliberate and to act as duty may demand. There can be no question but that, during the present session of Congress, a bill of revenue will be sent to us from the other House; and if, when it comes, we shall first have gone through with a consideration of the general subject, fixing the principles of policy proper to be pursued in relation to it, it will greatly economize the time of the Senate, and proportionably save a large amount of the public money.

Perhaps no better mode can be pursued of discussing the resolutions I have had the honor to present, than to take them up in the order of their arrangement, as I presented them to the Senate, after much deliberate consideration. The first resolution declares:—

"That it is the duty of the General Government, conducting its administration, to provide an adequate revenue within the year to meet the current expenses of the year; and that any expedient, either by loan or treasury-notes, to supply, in time of peace, a deficiency of revenue, especially during successive years, is unwise and must lead to pernicious consequences."

I have heard it asserted that this rule is but a truism. If so, I regret to say that it is one from which governments too often depart, and from which this government especially has departed during the last five years. Has an adequate revenue been provided within each of those years to meet the necessary expenses of those same years? No: far otherwise. In 1837, at the called session, instead of imposing the requisite amount of taxes on the free articles, according to the provisions of the compromise act, what was the resort of the administration? To treasury-notes. And the same expedient of treasury-notes was ever since adopted, from year to year, to supply the deficit accruing. And of necessity this policy cast upon the administration succeeding an unascertained, unliquidated debt, inducing a temporary necessity on that administration to have resort to the same means of supply.

I do not advert to these facts with any purpose of crimination or recrimination. Far from it: for we have reached that state of the public affairs when the country lies bleeding at every pore, and when, as I earnestly hope and trust, we shall, by common consent, dispense with our party prejudices, and agree to look at any measure proposed for the public relief as patriots and statesmen. I say, then, that during the four years of the administration of Mr. Van Buren, there was an excess of expenditure over the income of the Government to the amount of between seven and eight millions of dollars; and I say that it was the duty of that administration, the moment they found this deficit to exist in the revenue, to have resorted to the adequate remedy by laying the requisite amount of taxes on the free articles to meet and supply the deficiency.

I shall say nothing more on the first resolution, because I do hope that, whatever the previous practice of this government may have been, there is no senator here who will hesitate to concur in the truth of the general prop-

osition it contains. The next three resolutions all relate to the same general subjects—subjects which I consider much the most important of any here set forth; and I shall, for that reason, consider them together. These resolutions assert:—

"That such an adequate revenue can not be obtained by duties on foreign imports without adopting a higher rate than twenty per cent, as provided for in the compromise act, which, at the time of its passage, was supposed and assumed as a rate that would supply a sufficient revenue for an economical administration of the Government."

"That the rate of duties on foreign imports ought to be augmented beyond the rate of twenty per cent., so as to produce a net revenue of twenty-six millions of dollars—twenty-two for the ordinary expenses of Government, two for the payment of the existing debt, and two millions as a reserved fund for contingencies."

"That, in the adjustment of a tariff to raise an amount of twenty-six millions of revenue, the principles of the compromise act generally should be adhered to; and that especially a maximum rate of ad-valorem duties should be established, from which there ought to be as little departure as possible."

The first question which these resolutions suggest is this: What should be the amount of the annual expenditures of this government? Now, on this point, I shall not attempt what is impossible, to be exact and precise in stating what that may be. We can only make an approximation. No man, in his private affairs, can say, or pretends to say, at the beginning of the year, precisely what shall be the amount of his expenses during the year: that must depend on many unforeseen contingencies, which can not with any precision be calculated beforehand: all that can be done is to make an approximation to what ought to be, or what may be, the amount. Before I consider that question, allow me to correct here an assertion made first by the senator from South Carolina (Mr. Calhoun), and subsequently by the senator from Missouri, near me (Mr. Linn), and I believe by one or two other gentlemen, namely, that the Whig party, when out of power, asserted that, if trusted with the helm, they would administer this government at an amount of expenditure not exceeding thirteen millions of dollars. I hope, if such an assertion was actually made by either or all of these gentlemen, that it will never be repeated again without resorting to proof to sustain it. I know of no such position ever taken by the Whig party, or by any prominent member of the Whig party. Sure I am that the party generally pledged itself to no such reduction of the public expenses—none.

And I again say, that I trust, before such an assertion is repeated, the proofs will be adduced. For in this case, as in others, that which is asserted and reiterated comes at last to be believed. The Whig party did promise economy and retrenchment, and I trust will perform their promise. I deny (in no offensive sense) that the Whig party ever promised to reduce the expenditures of the government to thirteen millions of dollars. No; but this is what they said: During the four years of the administration of Mr. Adams, the average amount of the public expenditure was but thirteen millions, and you charged that administration with outrageous extravagance, and came yourselves into power on promises to reduce the annual expenditure: but, having obtained power, instead of reducing the public expenses,

you carried them up to the astonishing amount of nearly forty millions. But, while the Whigs never asserted that they would administer the government with thirteen millions, our opponents, our respected opponents, after having been three years in power, instead of bringing the expense below the standard of Mr. Adams's administration, declared that fifteen millions was the amount at which the expenditures should be fixed. This was the ground taken by Mr. M'Lane, when he was at the head of the Treasury. I have his report before me; but as the fact, I presume, will not be denied, I forbear to read from it. He suggests as the fit amount to be raised by the tariff he had proposed, the sum of fifteen millions of dollars as sufficient to meet the wants of the Government.

I hope, now, I have shown that the Whig party, before they obtained power, never were pledged to bring down the public expenses either to thirteen or to fifteen millions. They were pledged, I admit, to retrench unnecessary expenditures, and to make a reasonable reduction whenever it could properly be made consistently with the public service: that process, as I understand, is now going on in both Houses, and I trust the fruits will be seen before the end of the present session. Unpledged, therefore, as the Whig party was, as to any specific amount, the question recurs, at what sum can the expenses of the Government be now fixed?

I repeat that the exact amount is difficult to be ascertained. I have stated it, in the resolution I now offer, at *twenty-two millions;* and I shall soon show how I have arrived at that amount. But, before I do that, allow me to call the attention of the Senate to the expenditures of the preceding administration; for, in attempting to fix a sum for the future, I know of no course but to look back upon the experience of the past, and then to endeavor to deduce from it the probable amount of future expenditure. What, then, were the expenditures of the four years of the past administration?

In 1837 the amount was	$37,265,037 15
In 1838 it was	39,455,438 35
In 1839	37,614,936 15
In 1840	28,226,533 81
Making an aggregate of	$142,561,945 46

which gives us an average per year of 35,640,486 38. The sum I have proposed is only twenty-two millions, which, deducted from thirty-five as above, leaves a reduction of $13,640,000—being a sum greater than the whole average expenditure of the extravagant and profligate administration of Mr. Adams, which they told us was so enormous that it must be reduced by a great "Retrenchment and Reform."

I am not here going to inquire into the items which composed the large expenditures of the four years of Mr. Van Buren's administration. I know what has been said, and will again be said, on that subject—that there were many items of extra expenditure, which may never occur again. Be it so;

but do we not know that every administration has its extras, and that these may be expected to arise, and will and must arise, under every administration beneath the sun? But take this also into view in looking at the expenses of that administration: that less was expended on the national defences—less in the construction or repair of fortifications—less for the navy, and less for other means of repelling a foreign attack, than perhaps ought to have been expended. At present we are all animated with a common zeal and determination on the subject of defence; all feel the necessity of some adequate plan of defence, as well upon the ocean as the land, and especially of putting our navy and our fortifications in a better state to defend the honor and protect the rights of the nation. We feel this necessity, although we all trust that the calamity of a war may be averted. This calls for a greater amount of money for these purposes than was appropriated under Mr. Van Buren's administration; besides which, in the progress of affairs, unforeseen exigencies may arise, and do constantly occur, calling for other appropriations, which no man can anticipate. Every ministry in every government—every administration of our own government, has its extraordinaries and its contingencies; and it is no apology for Mr. Van Buren's administration to say that the circumstances which occasioned its expenditures were extraordinary and peculiar. Making all the allowances which its warmest friends can ask for the expenses of the inglorious war in Florida—a contest which has profusely wasted not only the resources of the Treasury, but the best blood of the nation—making the amplest allowance for this and for all other extras whatever, the sum expended by the last administration still remains far, far beyond what is proposed in these resolutions as sufficient for the present, and for years to come. It must, in candor, be conceded that this is a very great diminution of the national expenditure; and such, if nothing else were done, would redeem the pledge of the Whig party.

But let us now consider the subject in another light. Thirteen millions was the average annual amount of expenditure under Mr. Adams's administration, which terminated thirteen years ago. I should be authorized, therefore, to take the commencement of his administration in 1825 being a period of seventeen years, in making a comparison of the progressive increase of the national expenditures; or, at all events, adding one half of Mr. Adams's term to make the period as running fifteen years back; but I shall not avail myself of this perfectly fair calculation; and I will therefore say that, at the end of thirteen years, from the time when the expenditures were thirteen millions, I propose that they be raised to twenty-two millions. And is this an extraordinary increase for such a period, in a country of such rapid increase and development as this is? What has occurred during this lapse of time? The army has been doubled, or nearly so; it has increased from a little over 6,000 men to 12,000. We have built six, eight, or ten ships-of-the-line (I do not recollect the precise number); two or three new States have been added to the Union; and two periodical enumerations

have been made of the national population; besides which there have been, and yet are to be, vast expenditures on works of fortification and national defence. Now, when we look at the increase in the number of members in both Houses of Congress, and consider the necessary and inevitable progress and growth of the nation, is it, I ask, an extraordinary thing that, at the end of a period of thirteen years our expenditures should increase from thirteen to twenty-two millions of dollars? If we take the period at seventeen years (as we fairly may), or at but fifteen years, the increase of expenses will be found not to go beyond the proportional increase of our population within the same period. That increase is found to be about four per cent. annually; and the increase of government expenditures, at the rate above stated, will not exceed that. This is independent of any augmentation of the army or navy, of the addition of new States and Territories, or the enlargement of the numbers in Congress. Taking the addition, at the end of thirteen years, to be nine millions of dollars, it will give an annual average increase of about $700,000. And I think that the government of no people, young, free, and growing, as is this nation, can, under circumstances like ours, be justly charged with rashness, recklessness, or extravagance, if its expenses increase but at the rate of $700,000 per annum. If our prosperity, after their numbers shall have swelled to one hundred millions, shall find that their expenses have augmented in no greater ratio than this, they will have no cause of complaint of the profuseness or extravagance of their government.

But it should be recollected that while I have fixed the rate of expenditure at the sum I have mentioned, viz.: twenty-two millions, this does not preclude further reductions, if they shall be found practicable, after existing abuses have been explored, and all useless or unnecessary expenditures have been lopped off.

The honorable Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Calhoun) has favored us, on more occasions than one, with an account of the reforms he effected when at the head of the War Department of this government; and certainly no man can be less disposed than I am to deprive him of a single feather which he thinks he put in his cap by that operation. But what does he tell us was his experience in this business of retrenchment? He tells us what we all know to be true — what every father, every householder, especially finds to be true in his own case — that it is much easier to plunge into extravagance than to reduce expenses; and it is pre-eminently true of a nation. Every nation finds it far easier to rush into an extravagant expenditure of the money intrusted to its public agents than to bring down the public expenditures from a profuse and reckless to an economical standard. All useful and salutary reforms must be made with care and circumspection. The gentleman from South Carolina admits that the reforms he accomplished took him four years to bring about. It was not till after four years of constant exertion that he was enabled to establish a system of just accountability, and to bring down the expenses of the army to that average,

per man, to which they were at length reduced. And now, with all his personal knowledge of the difficulties of such a task, was it kind in him, was it kind or fair in his associates, to taunt us, as they have done, by already asking, "Where are the reforms you promised to accomplish when you were out of power?"

[Mr. CALHOUN here rose to explain, and observed that what he had again and again said on the subject of reforms was no more than this, that it was time the promised reforms should begin; it was time they should *begin;* and that was all he now asked.]

Very well; if that is all he asks, the gentleman will not be disappointed. We could not begin at the extra session; it could not then reasonably be expected of us; for what is the duty of a new administration when it first comes into the possession of power? Its immediate and pressing care is to carry on the government; to become acquainted with the machine; to look how it acts in its various parts, and to take care that it shall not work injuriously to the public interest. They can not at once look back at the past abuses; it is not practicable to do so; it must have time to look into the pigeon-holes of the various bureaux, to find out what has been done, and what is doing. Its first great duty is to keep the machine of government in regular motion. It could not, therefore, be expected that Congress would go into a thorough process of reform at the extra session. Its peculiar object then was to adopt measures of immediate and indispensable relief to the people and to the government. Besides which, the subsequent misfortunes of the Whig party were well known. President Harrison occupied the chair of State but for a single month, and the members of his cabinet left it under circumstances which, let me here say, do them the highest honor. I do not enter upon the inquiry, whether the state of things which they supposed to exist did actually exist or not; but believing it to exist, as they did, their resignation presents one of the most signal examples of the sacrifice of the honors and emoluments of high station, at great expense and personal inconvenience, and of noble adherence to honor and good faith, which the history of any country can show. But I may justly claim, not only on behalf of the retiring Secretaries, but for the whole Whig party, a stern adherence to principle, in utter disregard of the spoils doctrine, and of all those base motives and considerations which address themselves to some men with so great a power. I say, then, that the late extra session was no time to achieve a great and extensive and difficult reform throughout the departments of the government; a process like that can be attempted only during a regular session of Congress; and do not gentlemen know that it is now in progress, by the faithful hands to which it has here and elsewhere in Congress been committed? and that an extraordinary committee has been raised in this body, insomuch that to effect it, the Senate has somewhat shot from its usual and appropriate orbit by establishing a standing Committee of Retrenchment? If the honorable Senator from

South Carolina took four years to bring down the expenses of the War Department, when under his own immediate superintendence, I may surely, with confidence, make my appeal to his sense of justice and liberality, to allow us at least two years before he reproaches us with a failure in a work so much more extensive.

I will now say that, in suggesting the propriety of fixing the annual average expenditure of this government at $22,000,000 from this time and for some years to come, it is not my purpose to preclude any further reduction of expense by the dismissal of useless officers, the abolition of useless institutions, and the reduction of unnecessary or extravagant expenditures. No man is more desirous than I am of seeing this government administered at the smallest possible expense consistent with the duties intrusted to us in the management of our public interests both at home and abroad. None will rejoice more if it shall be found practicable to reduce our expenses to $18,000,000, to $15,000,000, or even to $13,000,000. None, I repeat it, will rejoice in such a triumph of economy more heartily than I; none—none. But now allow me to proceed to state by what process I have reached the sum of $22,000,000, as proposed in the resolution I have offered. The Secretary of the Treasury has presented to us estimates for the current year, independent of permanent expenses of $1,500,000, amounting to about $24,500,000, which may be stated under the following heads, namely:—

For the civil list, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous	$4,000,987 85
For the war department, including all branches	11,717,791 27
Naval service	8,705,579 83
Making	$24,424,358 95

And here let me say a single word in defence of the army. The department of War comes to us with estimates for the sum of $11,717,791 27; and those who look only on the surface of things may suppose that this sum is extraordinarily large; but there are many items in that sum. I have before me a statement going to show that of that sum only $4,000,000 are asked for the military service proper—a sum less than is demanded for the naval service proper, and only double the amount at which it stood when the honorable gentleman from South Carolina left the department. The sum was then about $2,000,000; it is now quite $4,000,000; while, during the same period, the army has been nearly doubled, besides the raising of mounted regiments, the most expensive, for that very reason, of any in the service. I think the gentleman from South Carolina, if he looks into the subject in detail, will find that the cost of the army is not at this hour greater, per man, than it was when it was under his own personal administration. So I am informed; and that, although the pay has been raised a dollar a month, which has very largely augmented the expenditure.

The executive branch of the government has sent its estimates, amounting in all to $24,500,000 for the service of the current year, which, with the $1,500,000 of permanent expenditure, makes $26,000,000. How much is to

be added to that amount for appropriations not yet estimated, which may be made during the session by Congress, to meet honest claims, and for other objects of a public nature? I remember one item proposed by my friend near me (Mr. Mangum) for a quarter of a million for the building of a steamship, an item not included in the estimates, but for which the Senate has already appropriated; besides which there are various other items which have passed or will pass during the present session. When the honorable gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. Woodbury) was at the head of the Treasury, he made, in his communications to Congress, constant complaints of this very practice. He well remembers that he was ever complaining that the expenditures of government were swelled far beyond the executive estimates, by appropriations made by Congress not estimated for by the departments. I have calculated that we shall add to the $26,000,000, estimated for by the executive departments or permanently required, at least $1,500,000, which would raise the sum for this year to $27,500,000.

How, then, do I propose to bring this down to $22,000,000? I have, I own, some fears that we shall not be able to effect it; but I hope we shall so far reduce the estimates and prevent unnecessary appropriations, that the total expenditure shall not exceed that amount. The mode in which I propose to reach such a result is this: I suppose we may effect a reduction of the civil list to the amount of $500,000. That general head includes, among other things, the expenses of the two Houses, and, as I have heard, the other House has already introduced a report which, if adopted, will cut down those expenses $100,000, though I think that they should be reduced much more. I estimate, then, $3,500,000 for the civil list, instead of $4,000,000; then I estimate $9,000,000 for the War Department, instead of $11,717,000. In a conversation which I have lately held with the Chairman of the Military Committee of this body, he expressed the apprehension that it could not be reduced below $10,000,000, but I hope it may be cut down to nine. As to the naval service, the estimates of the department for that branch of the service amount to $8,707,500; an amount I think far too high, and indeed quite extravagant. I was greatly astonished at learning the amount was so large. Still I know that the navy is the favorite of all, and justly; it is the boast of the nation, and our great resource and chief dependence in the contingency of a war; no man thinks, for a moment, of crippling or disabling this right arm of our defence. But I have supposed that, without injury, the appropriation asked for might be reduced from $8,707,500 to $6,500,000. This would put the reduction in the naval on a footing with that in the military appropriation, and still leave a greater appropriation than usual to that department. The reduction to $6,500,000 is as large as I think will be practicable, if we are to provide for proposed experiments in the application of steam, and are, besides, to add largely to the marine corps. How, then, will the total of our expenditures stand? We shall have—

For the civil and diplomatic expenses of the Government	$3,500,000
For the military service	9,000,000
For the naval service	6,500,000
For permanent appropriations	1,500,000
For appropriations not included in the estimates	1,500,000
Making an aggregate of	$22,000,000

To this amount I suppose and hope our expenses may be reduced, until, on due investigation, it shall be discovered that still further reductions may be effected.

Well, then, having fixed the amount at $22,000,000 for the ordinary current expenses of government, I have supposed it necessary and proper to add $2,000,000 more to make provision for the payment of the existing national debt, which is, in the event of the loan being taken up, $17,000,000. And then I go on to add $2,000,000 more as a reserved fund, to meet contingencies, so that, should there be a temporary rise of the expenditures beyond $22,000,000, or any sudden emergency occur which could not be anticipated or calculated on, there may be the requisite means in the treasury to meet it. Nor has there been a single Secretary at the head of the Treasury since the days of Mr. Gallatin, including the respectable gentleman from New Hampshire opposite (Mr. Woodbury), who has not held and expressed the opinion that a reserved fund is highly expedient and proper for contingencies. Thus I propose that $22,000,000 shall be appropriated for ordinary expenses, $2,000,000 more to provide for the public debt, and the other $2,000,000 a reserved fund to meet contingencies—making in all $26,000,000.

The next inquiry which presents itself is, 'How this amount ought to be raised?' There are two modes of estimating the revenue to be derived from foreign imports, and either of them presents only ground for a conjectural result; but so fluctuating is the course of commerce, that every one must see it to be impossible to estimate with precision the exact amount of what it will yield. In forming my estimate, I have taken the amount of exports as presenting the best basis of calculation. But here let me add that at the Treasury they have taken the imports as the basis; and I am gratified to be able to state that I understand, on comparing the results arrived at, although the calculations were made without concert, those of the Secretary turn out to be very nearly, if not exactly, the same with those to which I have been conducted. I will here state why it is I have taken the exports as the ground of my calculation, adding thereto fifteen per cent. for profits. The exports are our means of making foreign purchases. Their value is ascertained at the ports of exportation, under the act of 1820, and the returns generally present the same value. The price of cotton, as an example, at home, is always regulated by the price in the Liverpool market. It follows, therefore, that by taking the value of any commodity at the place of its export, you reach its true value; for, if the price realized abroad be sometimes above and sometimes below that amount, the excess and deficiency will probably neutralize each other. This is the fairest mode for

another reason: if in any one year more foreign goods shall be purchased than the exports of that year would pay for, a credit is created abroad which must be extinguished by the exports of some succeeding year.

[Mr. BUCHANAN here inquired if any deduction had been made by Mr. CLAY from the exports, to pay the interest, &c., on American debt held abroad. Mr. CLAY replied that the Senator would presently see that he had.]

I think the Senate will agree with me in assuming that the exports form a more correct and reliable standard of estimation than the imports. However that may be, the accidental coincidence between the results arrived at in either mode fortifies and proves the calculation itself to have been founded on correct principles. Those results, as shown by the Secretary of the Treasury, are now, I believe, in the House; and I regretted that I could not examine them before I rose to address the Senate.

I will now show you that the exports from 1836 to 1841, inclusive—a period of six years—amount to $621,004,125, being an average annual amount of $103,500,687. That I take as presenting a safe ground of calculation for the future. To this I propose to add fifteen per cent. for profits—in which I do but follow Mr. EWING, the late Secretary, in his report at the Extra Session. It is certainly a great profit (I include, of course, all expenses and charges of every kind); and, with this addition, the annual amount will be $118,957,187—say $119,000,000. Deducting, for the interest and principal of the American debt abroad, $10,000,000 per annum, it will leave a net amount of $109,000,000. There can be no dispute as to the propriety of such a deduction: the debt exists—it must be provided for; aud my fear is that this amount will prove too small to meet it. I think that much more may probably be needed; but certainly none can object to the reserve of $10,000,000. We thus get, as I said, a net balance from our annual exports, including profits, of $109,000,000.

Of this amount of importation, how much is now free from duty? The free goods, including tea and coffee, amount to $30,000,000; from which amount I deduct for tea and coffee, assuming that they will be subjected to moderate duties, $12,000,000, leaving the amount of free articles at $18,000,000; deduct this from $109,000,000, the amount of exports, and it will leave a balance of $91,000,000, which may be assumed as the amount of dutiable articles for some years to come. How, then, out of these $91,000,000 of dutiable goods, are we to raise a revenue of $26,000,000? No man, I presume, will rise here in his place and say that we are to rely on either direct or internal taxes. Who has the temerity to meet the waves of popular indignation which will flow around and bury him, whoever he may be, that should propose, in time of peace, to raise a revenue by direct taxation? Yet this is the only resource to fly to, save the proceeds of the public lands, on which I shall speak presently, and which I can satisfy any man are not to be thought of. You are, therefore, to draw this amount of $26,000,000 from the $91,000,000 of dutiable articles imported, and, to reach that sum, at what rate per cent. must you go?

I shall here say nothing, or but a word or two, on the subject of Home Valuation — a subject which a friend has care of (Mr. Simmons), than whom none is more competent to its full elucidation. He thinks, as I understand, that there can be devised a satisfactory system of such valuation, and I heartily wish him success in the attempt. I will only say that, in my opinion, if we raise but $10,000,000, without any reference whatever to Protection, without reference to anything but to mere honesty, however small the amount may be, we should ourselves assess the value of the goods on which we lay the duty, and not leave that value to be fixed by foreigners. As things now stand, we lay the duty, but foreigners fix the value of the goods. Give me but the power of fixing the value of the goods, and I care little, in comparison, what may be the rate of duty you impose. It is evident that on the *ad-valorem* principle, it is the foreigner who virtually fixes the actual amount of the duty paid. It is the foreigner, who, by fixing that value, virtually legislates for us, and that in a case where his interest is directly opposed to that of our revenue. I say, therefore, that independent of all considerations of Protection, independent of all ends or motives but the prevention of those infamous frauds which have been the disgrace of our customhouse — frauds in which the foreigner, with his double, and triple, and quadruple invoices, ready to be produced as circumstances may require, fixes the value of the merchandise taxed — every consideration of national dignity, justice, and independence, demands the substitution of Home Valuation in the place of foreign. What effect such a change may have in the augmentation of the revenue I am not prepared to say, because I do not know the amount: I think the rate may be set down at from twenty to twenty-five per cent. in addition to the foreign value of imports. I do not speak with great confidence. If the rate is twenty-five per cent., then it would add only five per cent. to the rate of twenty per cent. established by the Compromise Act. Of course, if the home be substituted for the foreign valuation, the augmentation of duties beyond twenty per cent. will be less by that home valuation, whatever it may be. Without, however, entering into the question of home valuation, and leaving that subject to be arranged hereafter, I shall treat the subject as if the present system of foreign valuation is to continue.

I then return to the inquiry, on an importation amounting to $91,000,000, how much duty must be imposed in order to raise a net revenue of $26,000,000? The question does not admit of perfect accuracy; the utmost that can be reached is a reasonable approximation. Suppose every one of the imported articles to be subject to a duty of thirty per cent., then the gross revenue will amount to $27,300,000. Deducting the expenses of collection, which may be stated at $1,600,000, will give $25,700,000, or $300,000 less than the proposed amount of $26,000,000.

But I might as well take this opportunity to explain a subject which is not well understood. It has been supposed, when I propose to fix a rate of ad-valorem duty as the maximum to be allowed, that my meaning is, that

all articles, of every description, are to be carried up to that point, and fixed at that rate, as on a sort of bed of Procrustes. But that is not my idea. No doubt certain articles ought to go up to the maximum—I mean those of prime necessity, belonging to the class of protected articles. There are others, such as jewelry and watches, and some others of small bulk and great comparative value, and therefore easily smuggled, and presenting a great temptation to the evasion of duty, which ought to be subjected to a less rate. There should, therefore, be a discrimination allowed under the maximum rate according to the exigency of the respective circumstances of each particular interest concerned. Since it will require a duty of thirty per cent. on all articles to give the amount of $25,700,000, and since some of them will not bear so high a duty as thirty per cent., it follows that less than that rate will certainly not answer the necessary demands of the government, and it may in some particular cases require a rate somewhat higher than that in order to raise the proposed sum of $26,000,000. But as the reserved fund of $2,000,000 for contingencies will not require an annual revenue for that purpose, should the amount of duties levied be less than $26,000,000, or even between $24,000,000 and $25,000,000, the reserved fund may be made up by accumulations, during successive years, and still leave an amount sufficient to meet an annual expenditure of $22,000,000, and $2,000,000 for the public debt. I now approach the consideration of a very important branch of the subject in its connection with the [Tariff] Compromise Act.

I shall not here attempt to go again into the history of that act. I will only say that, at the time of its passage, it was thought right that the country should make a fair experiment of its effect; and that, as the law itself met the approbation of all parts of the country, its provisions ought not lightly to be departed from; that the principles of the act should be observed in good faith; and that, if it be necessary to raise the duties higher than twenty per cent., we ought to adhere to the principles of the compromise, then, so far as it should be possible to do so. I have been animated, in the propositions I now offer to the Senate, by the same desire that prompted me, whenever the act has been assailed by its opponents, to stand by and defend it. But it is necessary now to consider what the principles of the Compromise Act really are:—

I. The first principle is, that there should be a fixed rate of ad-valorem duty, and discrimination below it.

II. That the excess of duty beyond twenty per cent. should, by a gradual process, commencing on the 31st December, 1833, be reduced, so that by the 30th June, 1842, it should be brought down to twenty per cent.

III. That, after that day, *such duties should be laid* for the purpose of raising *such* revenue as might be necessary for an economical administration of the government; consequently excluding all resort to internal taxation, or to the proceeds of the public lands. For, contemporaneously with the pendency of the compromise act, a bill was pending for the distribution of those proceeds.

IV. That, after the 30th June, 1842, all duties should be paid in ready money, to the exclusion of all credits.

V. That, after the same day, the assessment of the value of all imports should be made at home and not abroad.

VI. That, after the same day, a list of articles specified and enumerated in the act should be admitted free of duty, for the benefit of the manufacturing interest.

These are the principles, and all the principles, of the compromise act. An impression has been taken up, most erroneously, that the rate of duty was never to exceed twenty per cent. There is no such limitation in the act. I admit that, at the time of the passage of the act, a hope was entertained that a rate of duty not exceeding twenty per cent. would supply an adequate revenue to an economical administration of the Government. Then we were threatened with that overflow of revenue with which the Treasury was subsequently inundated; and the difficulty was to find articles which should be liberated from duty and thrown into the free class. Hence, wines, silks, and other luxuries, were rendered free. But the act, and no part of the act, when fairly interpreted, limits Congress to the iron rule of adhering for ever, and under all circumstances, to a fixed and unalterable rate of twenty per cent. duty. The first section is in the following words:

"*Be it enacted, &c.* That from and after the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, in all cases where duties are imposed on foreign imports by the act of the fourteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, entitled 'An act to alter and amend the several acts imposing duties on imports,' or by any other act, shall exceed twenty per centum on the value thereof, one tenth part of such excess shall be deducted; from and after the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, another tenth part thereof shall be deducted; from and after the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, another tenth part thereof shall be deducted; from and after the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, another tenth part thereof shall be deducted; and from and after the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, one half of the residue of such excess shall be deducted; and from and after the thirtieth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, the other half thereof shall be deducted."

The provision of that section is nothing more nor less than that the existing duties should be, by the 30th June, 1842, brought down to twenty per cent. What then? Were they always to remain at that rate? The section does not so declare. Not only is this not expected, and was not so understood, but directly the reverse is asserted, and was so understood, if the exigencies of the Treasury required a higher rate to provide the revenue necessary to an economical administration of the Government. The third section, which embodies most of the great principles of the act, is in these words:—

"SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That, until the thirteenth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, the duties imposed by existing laws, as modified by this act, shall remain and continue to be collected. And, from and after the day last aforesaid, all duties upon imports shall be collected in ready money; and all credits now allowed by law, in the payment of duties, shall be, and hereby are, abolished; and such duties shall be laid for the purpose of raising such revenue as may be necessary to an economical administration of the government; and, from and after the day last aforesaid, the duties required to be paid by law on goods, wares, and merchandise, shall be assessed upon the value thereof at the port where the same shall be entered, under such regulations as may be prescribed by law."

What is the meaning of this language? Can anything be more explicit, or less liable to misconception? It contains two obligations. The first is, that there shall be an economical administration of the Government; no waste, no extravagance, no squandering of the public money. I admit this obligation in its fullest force, in all its length and breadth, and I trust that my friends, with or without my aid, will fulfil it in letter and spirit, with the most perfect fidelity. But the second obligation is no less binding and imperative; and that is, that such duties *shall be laid* as may be necessary to raise *such* revenue as is requisite to an economical administration of the Government. The source of the revenue is defined and prescribed—the foreign imports to the exclusion of all other sources. The amount, from the nature of things, could not be specified; but whatever it may be, be it large or small, allowing us to come below, or requiring that we should go beyond twenty per cent., that amount is to be raised. I contend, therefore, with entire confidence, that it is perfectly consistent with the provisions of the compromise act to impose duties to any amount whatever, thirty, forty or more per cent., subject to the single condition of an economical administration of the Government.

What are the other principles of the act? First, there is the principle that a fixed ad-valorem duty shall prevail and be in force at all times. For one, I am willing to abide by that principle. There are certain vague notions afloat as to the utility and necessity of specific duties and discriminations, which I am persuaded arise from a want of a right understanding of the subject. We have had the *ad-valorem* principle practically in force ever since the compromise act was passed; and there has been no difficulty in administering the duties of the Treasury on that principle.

It was necessary first to ascertain the value of the goods, and then to impose the duty upon them; and, from the commencement of the act to this day, the *ad-valorem* principle has been substantially in operation. Compare the difference between specific and the *ad-valorem* system of duties, and I maintain that the latter is justly entitled to the preference. The one principle declares the duty paid shall be upon the real value of the article taxed; the specific principle imposes an equal duty on articles greatly unequal in value. Coffee, for example (and it is an article which always suggests itself to my thoughts), is one of the articles on which a specific duty has been levied. Now, it is perfectly well known that the Mocha coffee is worth at least twice as much as the coffee of St. Domingo or Cuba, yet both pay the same duty. The tax has no respect to the value, but is arbitrarily levied on all articles of a specific kind alike, however various and unequal may be their value. I say that in theory, and according to every souud principle of justice, the *ad-valorem* mode of taxation is entitled to the preference. There is, I admit, one objection to it: as the value of an article is a matter subject to opinion, and as opinions will ever vary, either honestly or fraudulently, there is some difficulty in preventing frauds. But with the home valuation proposed by my friend from Rhode Island (Mr. Simmons), the

ad-valorem system can be adopted with all practicable safety, and will be liable to those chances only of fraud which are inevitable under any and every system.

Again; What has been the fact from the origin of the Government until now? The articles from which the greatest amount of revenue has been drawn, such as woollens, linens, silks, cottons, worsteds, and a few others, have all been taxed on the *ad-valorem* system, and there has been no difficulty in the operation. I believe, upon the whole, that it is the best mode. I believe that if we adopt a fixed rate *ad valorem*, wherever it can be done, the revenue will be subject to fewer frauds than the injustice and frauds incident to specific duties. One of the most prolific sources of the violation of our revenue laws has been, as everybody knows, the effort to get in goods of a finer quality and higher value, admitted under the lower rate of duty required for those of a lower value. The honorable gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. Woodbury), and the honorable senator from New York (Mr. Wright), both well know this. But if the duty was laid *ad valorem*, there could be no motive for such an effort, and the fraud, in its present form, would have no place. In England—as all who have read the able report made by Mr. Hume, a Scottish member in the house of commons, must perceive—they seem to be giving up specific duties, and the tendency in the public mind appears to be, instead of having a variety of specific duties and a variety of *ad-valorem* duties, to have one permanent, fixed rate of duties for all articles. I am willing, I repeat, to adhere to this great principle as laid down in the compromise act. If there be those who suppose that, under the specific form of duty, a higher degree of protection can be secured than under the other mode, I would observe that the actual measure of protection does not depend upon the *form* but on the *amount* of the duty which is levied on the foreign rival article.

Assuming that we are to adhere to this principle, then every one of the leading principles of the same act can be adhered to and fully carried out; for I again assert that the idea that duties are always to remain at precisely twenty per cent. and never to vary from that point, be the exigencies of government what they may, does not belong to the language of the act, nor is it required by any one of its provisions. The next resolution I have proposed to the consideration of the Senate is this:—

Resolved, That the provision in the act of the Extra Session for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, requiring the operation of that act to be suspended in the contingency of a higher rate of duty than twenty per cent., ought to be repealed.

Now, according to the calculation I have made, the repeal of the clause in question, and the recall of the proceeds of the sales of public lands from the States, even if made, will not dispense with the necessity of a great increase in the existing rate of taxation. I have shown that a duty of thirty per cent. will not be too much to furnish the requisite amount of revenue for a just and economical administration of the Government. And how much of that rate will be reduced, should you add to the revenue from

imports the $1,500,000 (which was the amount realized the last year) derived from sales of the public domain? It will be but the difference between thirty and about twenty-eight and a half per cent. For, since thirty per cent. yields a revenue of $26,000,000, one per cent. will bring about $900,000; and every $1,000,000 derived from the lands will reduce your taxation on imports only $900,000; if you get $1,500,000 from the lands, it will reduce the taxes only from thirty to twenty-eight and a half per cent.; or if you get $3,000,000, as some gentlemen insist will be the case, then you will save taxes to the amount of the difference between thirty per cent. and about twenty-seven per cent. This will be the whole extent of benefit derived from this land fund, which some senators have supposed would be so abundant as to relieve us from all necessity of additional taxation at all. I put it, then, to every senator, no matter whether he is opposed to the land bill or not, whether he is willing, for the sake of this trifling difference between thirty and twenty-eight and a half per cent., or between thirty and twenty-seven per cent., to disturb a great, momentous, and perplexing subject of our national policy, which is now settled, and thereby show such an example of instability in legislation as will be exhibited by the fact of unsettling so great a question within less than eight months after it had been fixed on the most mature consideration! If gentlemen can make more out of the land fund than I have here stated it likely to yield, I shall be glad to hear on what ground they rest their calculations. I say that all the difference it will produce in the amount of our increased taxation is the difference between thirty and twenty-eight and a half, or between thirty and twenty-seven per cent. Will you, I repeat the question, when it is absolutely and confessedly necessary that more revenue shall be raised, and the mode in which it may be done is fraught with so many and so great benefits to the country, as I shall presently show, will you disturb a great and vexed national question for the sake of eking out in so trifling a degree the amount to be raised? But let us look at the subject in another view. The resources on which government should depend for paying the public creditor, and maintaining inviolate the national faith and credit, ought to be such as to admit of some certain estimate and calculation. But what possible reliance can be placed on a fund so fluctuating and variable as that which is derivable from the sales of the public lands? We have seen it rise to the extraordinary height of $26,000,000 in one year, and in less than six years afterward fall down to the low amount of $1,500,000!

The next resolution affirms a proposition which I hope will receive the unanimous consent of the Senate. It is as follows:—

Resolved, That it is the duty of government, at all times, but more especially in a season such as now exists, of general embarrassment and pecuniary distress, to abolish all useless institutions and offices, to curtail all unnecessary expenses, and to practice rigid economy.

And the seventh declares—

Resolved, That the contingent expenses of the two Houses of Congress ought to be greatly reduced; and the mileage of members of Congress ought to be regulated and more clearly defined.

It has appeared to me that the process of retrenchment of the public expenses and reform of existing abuses ought to begin in an especial manner here, with ourselves, in Congress itself, where is found one of the most extravagant of all the branches of the government. We should begin at home, and encourage the work of retrenchment by our own example. I have before me a document which exhibits the gradual progress in the contingent expenses of the two Houses of Congress from 1820 to 1840, embracing a period of twenty years, divided into terms four years apart, and it shows that the amount of the contingent fund has advanced from $86,000, which it was in 1824, to $121,000, in 1828, a rate of increase not greater than was proper considering the progress of the country; to $165,000 in 1832; to $263,000 in 1836, and in 1840 it amounted under an administration which charged that in 1824 with extravagance, to the enormous sum of $384,333! I am really sorry, for the credit of Congress, to be obliged to read a statement exhibiting such shameful, such profligate waste. And allow me here to say, without any intention of being unkind to those able and competent officers, the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerks of the House of Representatives (not the present Clerk), that they ought to bear a share of the responsibility for the great and sudden growth of this expenditure. How did it arise? The Clerk presents his estimate of the sum that will be necessary, and the Committee of Ways and Means, being busily occupied in matters of greater moment, take it without sufficient examination, and insert it at once in the appropriation bill. But I insist that it should be cut down to a sum of which members of Congress may with some decency speak to their constituents. A salutary reform has been commenced in the House of Representatives, which ought to be followed up here. They have already stricken $100,000 from the contingent fund for both Houses; but they should go much lower. I hope there will be another item of retrenchment, in fixing a reasonable maximum amount to be allowed for stationery furnished to the members of Congress. If this shall be adopted, much will have been done, for this is one of the most fruitful sources of Congressional extravagance. I am told that the stationery furnished during the 25th Congress averages more than $100 per head to each member. Can any man believe that any such amount as this can be necessary? Is it not an instance of profligate waste and profusion? My next resolution is directed to the expenses of the Judicial department of the government:

Resolved, That the expenses of the Judicial Department of Government have, of late years, been greatly increased, and ought to be diminished.

In this department, also, there has been a vast augmentation of the expenses, and such a one as calls for a thorough investigation. The amount of the appropriation for the Judicial Department has sprung up from $209,000, which it was in 1824, to $471,000 at which it stood for the year 1840. Can any man believe that this has all been fairly done? that that department actually requires the expenditure every year of nearly

$500,000? I have no doubt that the District Judges and the Marshals who have great control of the expenditure of the fund, and the Clerks, ought to be held responsible for this enormous increase. Without any intention to indulge in any invidious distinctions, I think I could name a district in which great abuses prevail, and the expenditures are four or five times greater than they are in any other district throughout the country. I hope this whole matter will be thoroughly investigated, and that some necessary restraints will be imposed upon this branch of the public service. I am truly sorry that in a branch of the government which, for its purity and uprightness, has ever been distinguished, and which so well merits the admiration of the whole country, there should have occurred so discreditable an increase in the expenses of its practical administration. The next asserts—

Resolved, That the Diplomatic Relations of the United States with foreign powers have been unnecessarily extended during the last twelve years, and ought to be reduced.

I will not dwell long on this subject. I must remark, however, that, since the days of Mr. Adams's administration, the number of foreign ministers of the first grade has nearly doubled, and that of ministers of the second grade has nearly tripled. Why, we have ministers abroad who are seeking for the governments to which they are accredited, and the governments are not to be found! We have ministers at Constantinople and Vienna—and for what? We have an unreciprocated mission to Naples—and for what? There was at the last session an attempt to abolish this appointment, but it unfortunately failed. One would think that in such a one-sided, unreciprocated diplomacy, if a regard to economy did not prompt us to discontinue the relation, national pride would. In like manner, we might look round the coasts of Europe and of this continent, and find mission after mission which there seems to be no earthly utility in retaining. But I forbear.

On the subject of Mileage, I hope there may be an effort to equalize it justly, and render it uniform, and that the same allowance will be made for the same distance traveled, whether by land, by water, or by steam-route, or whether the distance be ascertained by horizontal or surface measurement. I think the former the best mode, because it limits us to a single and simple inquiry, and leaves no open door for abuses. I hope, therefore, that we shall adopt it. The next resolution of the series reads thus:

Resolved, That the franking privilege ought to be further restricted, the abusive uses of it restrained and punished, the postage on letters reduced, the mode of estimating distances more clearly defined and prescribed, and a small addition to postage made on books, pamphlets, and packages transmitted by mail, to be graduated and increased according to their respective weights.

The franking privilege has been most direfully abused. We have already reached a point of abuse, not to say corruption, though the Government has been in operation but about fifty years. which it has taken Great Britain

centuries to attain. Blank envelopes, I have heard it said, ready franked, have been inclosed to individuals at a distance, who have openly boasted that their correspondence is free of charge. The limitation as to weight is now extended, I believe, to two ounces. But what of that, if a man may send under his frank a thousand of these two-ounce packages? The limitation should be to the total weight included in any single mail, whether the packages be few or many. The report of the Postmaster General, at a former session, states the astounding fact, that, of the whole amount transported in the mails, *ninety-five per cent.* goes free of all duty, and letters of business and private correspondence have to defray the expenses of the whole. It is monstrous, and calls loudly for some provision to equalize the charge. The present postage on letters is enormously high in proportion to the other business of the country. If you will refuse to carry those packages, which are now transmitted by mail, simply because, in that mode, they can travel free of cost, you will greatly relieve the business interests of the country, which now bear nearly the whole burden for all the rest. This it is your duty to do. Let us throw at least, a fair portion of the burdens on those who receive at present, the whole of the benefit. Again: the law is very loose and uncertain as to the estimation of distances. Since the introduction of steam-travel, the distance traveled has, in many cases, been increased, while the time consumed has been shortened. Take, as an illustration, a case near at hand. The nearest distance from here to Frederick City, in Maryland, is forty-four miles; but if you go hence to the dépôt on the Baltimore road, and thence take the train to Frederick, you arrive sooner, but the distance is increased to one hundred miles. Now, as letters are charged according to the miles traveled, I hold it very wrong to subject a letter to this more than double charge in consequence of adopting a longer route in distance, though a shorter in time. Such cases ought to be provided against by specific rules. I come now to the last resolution offered; which is as follows:—

Resolved, That the Secretary of State, of the Treasury, of War, and of the Navy Department, and the Postmaster General, be severally directed, so soon as practicable, to report what offices can be abolished, and what retrenchments of public expenditure can be made, without public detriment, in the respective branches of the public service under their charge.

We all know that, if the heads of Departments will not go to work with us honestly and faithfully, in truth and sincerity, Congress, thus unaided, can effect comparatively little. I hope they will enter with us on this good work of retrenchment and reform. I shall be the last to express in advance any distrust of their upright intentions in this respect. The only thing that alarms me is, that two of these departments have come to us asking for appropriations far beyond any that have heretofore been demanded in time of peace, and that with a full knowledge of the fact of an empty Treasury. But I still hope, when they shall see Congress heartily in earnest, engaged in retrenching useless expenditure, and reducing estimates that can not be complied with that they will boldly bring out to view all abuses which

exist in their several spheres of action, and let us apply the pruning-knife so as to reduce the national expenditure within some proper and reasonable amount. At all events, they are, of course, most familiar with the details of the subject as it relates to their several branches of the administration. Among other items, there are several useless mints, which only operate to waste the public money. A friend, occupied in investigating this subject, has told me that the mint in New Orleans has already cost the country $500,000 for getting ready to coin bullion not yet dug out of the mines! Every piece of coin made by these useless establishments could just as well be coined by the central mint at Philadelphia.

And now, having gone through with all the details of this series of resolutions, which I thought it my duty to notice, allow me, in drawing to a conclusion of these remarks, to present some of the advantages which it appears to me should urge us to adopt the system of financial arrangement contemplated in the resolutions.

And first. The Government will, in this way, secure to itself an adequate amount of revenue, without being obliged to depend on temporary and disreputable expedients, and thus preserve the public credit unsullied — which I deem a great advantage of the plan. Credit is of incalculable value, whether to a nation or an individual. England, proud England, a country with which we may one day again come in conflict — though it gives me pleasure to say that I can not perceive at present the least "speck of war" in the political horizon — owes her greatness, her vastness of power pervading the habitable globe, mainly to her strict and uniform attention to the preservation of the National credit.

2. The next thing recommended is retrenchment in the National expenditure, and greater economy in the administration of the government. And do we not owe it to this bleeding country, to ourselves, and the unparalleled condition of the times, to exhibit to the world a fixed, resolute, and patriotic purpose to reduce the public expenditure to an economical standard?

3. But a much more important advantage than either of those I have yet adverted to is to be found in the check which the adoption of this plan will impose on the efflux of the precious metals from this country to foreign countries. I shall not now go into the causes by which the country has been brought down from the elevated condition of prosperity it once enjoyed to its present state of general embarrassment and distress. I think that those causes are as distinctly in my understanding and memory as any subjects were ever impressed there; but I have no desire to go into a discussion which can only revive the remembrance of unpleasant topics. My purpose, my fixed purpose on this occasion, has been to appeal to all gentlemen on all political sides of this chamber to come out and make a sacrifice of all lesser differences in a patriotic, generous and general effort for the relief of their country. I shall not open those bleeding wounds which have, in too many instances, been inflicted by brothers' hands — especially will I

not do so at this time, and on this occasion. I shall look merely at facts as they are. I shall not ask what have been the remote causes of the depression and wretchedness of our once glorious and happy country. I will turn my view only on causes which are proximate, indisputable, and immediately before us.

One great, if not sole cause is to be found in the withdrawal of coin from the country to pay debts accrued or accruing abroad for foreign imports, or debts contracted during former periods of prosperity, and still hanging over the country. How this withdrawal operates in practice is not difficult to be understood. The Banks of the country, when they are in a sound state, act upon this coin as the basis of their circulation and discounts: the withdrawal of it not only obliges the Banks to withhold discounts and accommodations, but to draw in what is due from their debtors, at the precise time when they, sharing in the general stricture, are least able to meet the calls. Property is then thrown into the market to raise means to comply with those demands, depression ensues, and, as is invariably the case when there is a downward tendency in its value, it falls below its real worth. But the foreign demand for specie to pay commercial and other public debt, operates directly upon the precious metals themselves, which are gathered up by bankers, brokers, and others, obtained from these depositories, and thence exported. Thus this foreign demand has a double operation — one upon the Banks, and through them upon the community, and the other upon the coin of the country. Gentlemen, in my humble opinion, utterly deceive themselves in attributing to the banking institutions all the distress of the country. Doubtless the erroneous and fraudulent administration of some of them has occasioned much local and individual distress. But this would be temporary and limited, while the other cause — the continued efflux of specie from the country — if not arrested, would perpetuate the distress. Could you annihilate every Bank in the Union, and burn every bank-note, and substitute in their place a circulation of nothing but the precious metals, so long as such a Tariff continues as now exists, two years would not elapse till you would find the imperative necessity of some paper medium for conducting the domestic exchanges.

I announce only an historical truth when I declare that, during and ever since our colonial existence, necessity has given rise to the existence of a paper circulation of some form in every colony on this continent; and there was a perpetual struggle between the Crown and Royal Governors on one hand, and the Colonial Legislatures on the other, on this very subject of paper-money. No, if you had to-morrow a circulation consisting of nothing but the precious metals, they would leave you as the morning dew leaves the fields, and you would be left under the necessity of devising a mode to fill the chasm produced by their absence.

I am ready to make one concession to the gentlemen on the other side. I admit that, if the circulation were in coin alone, the thermometer of our monetary fluctuations would not rise so high nor fall so low as when the

circulation is of a mixed character, consisting partly of coin and partly of paper. But then the fluctuations themselves, within a more circumscribed range, would be quite as numerous, and they will and must exist so long as such a Tariff remains as forces the precious metals abroad. I again repeat the assertion that, could you annihilate to-morrow every Bank in the country, the very same description of embarrassment, if not in the same degree, would still be found which now pervades our country.

What, then, is to be done to check the foreign drain? We have tried Free Trade. We have had the principles of Free Trade operating on more than half the total amount of our imports for the greater part of nine years past. That will not do, we see. Do let me recall to the recollection of the Senate the period when the Protective system was thought about to be permanently established. What was the great argument then urged against its establishment? It was this: that if duties were laid directly for Protection, then we must resort to direct taxation to meet the wants of the Government; everybody must make up their minds to a system of internal taxation. Look at the debate in the House of Representatives of 1824, and you will find that that was the point on which the great stress was laid. Well, it turned out as the friends of Protection told you it would. We said that such would not be the effect. True, it would diminish importation, as it did; but the augmented amount of taxes would more than compensate for the reduced amount of goods. This we told you, and we were right.

How has Free Trade operated on other great interests? I well remember that, ten years ago, one of the most gifted of the sons of South Carolina (Mr. Hayne), after drawing a most vivid and frightful picture of the condition of the South—of fields abandoned, houses dilapidated, overseers becoming masters and masters overseers—general stagnation and approaching ruin—a picture which, I confess, filled me with dismay—cried out to us: 'Abolish your Tariff—reduce your revenue to the standard of economical government—and once more the fields of South Carolina will smile with beauty—her embarrassments will vanish—commerce will return to her harbors, labor to her plantations, augmented prices for her staples, and contentment, and prosperity, and universal happiness, to her oppressed people!' Well, we *did* reduce the Tariff; and, after nine years of Protection, we have had nine years of a descending Tariff and of Free Trade. Nine years (from 1824 to 1833) we had the Protective policy of a high Tariff; and nine years (from 1833 to 1842) we have had the full operation of Free Trade on more than a moiety of the whole amount of our imports, and a descending Tariff on the residue. And what is the condition of South Carolina at this day? Has she regained her lost prosperity? has she recovered from the desolation and ruin so confidently imputed to the existence of a high Tariff? I believe if the gentleman from South Carolina could be interrogated here, and would respond in candor, unbiased by the delusions engendered by a favorite but delusive theory, he would tell us that she had not experienced the promised prosperity which was dwelt upon with so much eloquence by

his fellow-citizen. How is it in regard to the great staple of the South? how stand the prices of cotton during these nine years of the descending Tariff and the prevalence of Free Trade? How do these years compare with the nine years of Protection and high Tariff? Has the price of cotton increased, as we were told it would by the talented South-Carolinian? It has happened that during the nine Tariff years the average price of cotton was, from 1824 to 1833, higher than during the nine years of descending Tariff and Free Trade; and at the instant I am speaking, I understand that cotton is selling at lower rates than have ever been realized since the war with Great Britain. I know with what tenacity theorists adhere to a favorite theory, and search out for imaginary causes of results before their eyes, and deny the true. I am not going into the land of abstractions and of metaphysics. There are two great, leading, incontestable facts, which gentlemen must admit: first, that a high Tariff did not put down the prices of staple commodities; and, second, that a low Tariff and Free Trade have not been able to save them from depression. These are the facts; let casuists, and theorists, and the advocates of a one-sided, paralytic Free Trade, in which we turn our sound side to the world, and our blighted, and paralyzed, and dead side toward our own people, make of them what they can. At the very moment that England is pushing the resources of Asia, cultivating the fields of India, and even contemplating the subsidizing of Africa, for the supply of her factories with cotton, and when the importations from India have swelled from 200,000 bales to 580 000, we are told that there are to be no restrictions on Free Trade!

Let me not be misunderstood, and let me entreat that I may not be misrepresented. I am not advocating the revival of a high Protective Tariff. I am for abiding by the principles of the Compromise Act; I am for doing what no southern man of a fair or candid mind has ever yet denied—giving to the country a revenue which may provide for the economical wants of the Government, and at the same time give an incidental Protection to our Home Industry. If there be here a single gentleman who will deny the fairness and propriety of this, I shall be glad to see and hear who he is.

The check on the flow of specie abroad, to pay either a commercial or a public debt, will operate by the imposition of duties to meet the wants of the Government—will keep the precious metals at home to a much greater extent than is now possible. I hope that we shall learn to live within our own means, and not remain so dependent as we now are on the mere good pleasure and domestic policy of foreign governments. We go for revenue—for an amount of revenue adequate to an economical administration of the Government. We can get such revenue nowhere else than from a tariff on importations. No man in his senses will propose a resort to direct or internal taxes. And this arrangement of the tariff, while it answers this end, will at the same time operate as a check on the efflux of the precious metals, and retain what is necessary for the purpose of exchange and circulation.

The fourth advantage attending the adoption of the system proposed will

be, that the States will be left in the undisturbed possession of the land-fund secured to them by the act of the last session, and which was intended to aid them in the embarrassment under which some of them are now laboring.

And the last is that to which I have already adverted, viz.: that it will afford, indirectly, Protection to the interests of American Industry. And the most bitter and persevering opponeat to the Protective policy I ever met with, has never denied that it is both the right and the duty of Government to lay the taxes necessary to the public service so as to afford incidental Protection to our own Home Industry.

But it is said that, by the adoption of one fixed, arbitrary maximum of ad-valorem duty, we shall not derive that measure of Protection which is expected; and I admit that there may be certain articles, the product of the mechanic arts — such, for example, as shoes, hats, and ready-made clothing, and sugar, iron, and paper — some or all of which may not derive the Protection which they need under the plan I propose. On that subject I can only say, what I said at the time of the passage of the Compromise Act, if some few articles shall not prove to be sufficiently protected beneath the established maximum rate, I should hope that, in the spirit of harmony and compromise, additional duties above that rate, sufficient to afford reasonable protection to those few articles, by general consent would be imposed. I am not at present prepared to say whether the rule I have suggested will afford adequate protection to these particular interests or not; I fear it may not. But if the subject shall be looked at in this spirit of patriotism, without party bias or local influences, it will be found that the few articles alluded to are so distributed, or are of such a nature, as to furnish the grounds of a friendly adjustment. The interests of the sugar of the South may then be set against the iron of the centre and the productions of the mechanic arts, which, although prevailing everywhere, are most concentrated at the North. With respect to these, without reference to any general system of protection, they have been at all times protected. And who that has a heart, or the sympathies of a man, can say or feel that our hatters, tailors, and shoemakers, should not be protected against the rival productions of other countries? Who would say that the shoemaker, who makes the shoes of his wife — his own wife, according to the proverb, being the last woman in the parish that is supplied with hers — shall not be protected? that the tailor who furnishes him with a new coat, or the hatter that makes him a new hat, to go to church, to attend a wedding or christening, or to visit his neighbor, shall not be adequately protected?

Then there is the essential article of iron — that is a great central interest. Whether it will require a higher degree of protection than it will derive from such a system as I have sketched, I have not sufficient information to decide; but this I am prepared to say: that question will be with the representatives of those States which are chiefly interested, and, if their iron is not sufficiently protected, they must take the matter up and make out their

case to be an exception to the general arrangement. When I speak of the representatives of these States, I mean their entire delegation, without regard to political denominations or distinctions. They must look into the matter; and if they take it up and bring forward their propositions, and make out a clear case of exception to the general rule, I shall be an humble follower of their lead, but I will not myself take the lead in any such case. If these States want certain interests protected, they must send delegates here who are prepared to protect them. Such a State can not reasonably expect senators from other States, having no direct local or particular concern in such interests, to force on her the protection of her own interests against her own will, as that will is officially expressed by her representatives in Congress. I again say, I am ready to follow, but I will not lead.

With me, from the first moment I conceived the idea of creating, at home, a protection for the production of whatever is needed to supply the wants of man, up to this moment, it has always been purely a question of expediency. I never could comprehend the constitutional objections which to some gentlemen seem so extremely obvious. I could comprehend, to be sure, what these gentlemen mean to argue, but I never had the least belief in the constitutional objection which slept from 1789 (or rather, which reverses the doctrine of 1789), till it suddenly waked up in 1820. Then, for the first time since the existence of the Constitution, was the doctrine advanced that we could not legitimately afford any protection to our own home industry against foreign and adverse industry. I say that with me it always was a question of expediency only. If the nation does not want protection, I certainly never would vote to force it on the nation; but, viewing it as a question of expediency wholly, I have not hesitated heretofore, on the broad and comprehensive ground of expediency, to give my assent to all suitable measures proposed with a view to that end.

The Senate will perceive that I have forborne to go into detail. I have presented to it a system of policy embodied in these resolutions, containing those great principles in which I believe that the interest, prosperity, and happiness of the country, are deeply involved — principles, the adoption of which alone can place the finances of the Government upon a respectable footing, and free us from a condition of servile dependence on the legislation of foreign nations. I have persuaded myself that the system now brought forward will be met in a spirit of candor and of patriotism, and in the hope that, whatever may have been the differences in the Senate in days past, we have now reached a period in which we can forget our prejudices and agree to bury our transient animosities deep at the foot of the altar of our common country, and come together as an assemblage of friends, and brothers, and compatriots, met in common consultation to devise the best mode of relieving the public distress. It is in this spirit that I have brought forward my proposed plan; and I trust in God — invoking, as I humbly do, the aid and blessing of his providence — that the senators, on all sides of the chamber, will lay aside all party feelings, and more especially that habitual sus-

picion to which we are all more or less prone (and from which I profess not to be exempted more than other men), that impels us to reject without examination, and to distrust whatever proceeds from a quarter we have been in the habit of opposing. Let us lay aside prejudice; let us look at the distresses of the country, and those alone. I trust that in this spirit we shall examine these resolutions, and decide upon them according to the dictates of our own consciences, and in a pure and patriotic regard to the welfare of our country.

VIII.

ON RETIRING FROM THE SENATE.

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, MARCH 31, 1842.

[MR. CLAY had intended to retire from the Senate at the close of the Extra Session, but was prevented by the entreaties of his friends, and the unsettled state of our public affairs. He early, however, gave notice to the Legislature of Kentucky, that he should resign by the end of March, in order that his successor might be chosen and in readiness to take his place. Mr. CRITTENDEN having been unanimously elected, and having arrived at Washington, Mr. CLAY was at length at liberty to withdraw, and on the 31st of March he addressed the Senate as follows:] —

BEFORE proceeding to make the motion for which I have risen, I beg leave to submit, on the only occasion afforded me, an observation or two on a different subject. It will be remembered that I offered on a former day some resolutions going to propose certain amendments to the Constitution of the United States. They have undergone some discussion, and I have been desirous of obtaining an expression of the sense of the Senate upon their adoption; but, owing to the infirm state of my health, to the pressure of business in the Senate, and especially to the absence at this moment of several of my friends, I have concluded this to be unnecessary; nor should I deem myself called upon to reply to the arguments of such gentlemen as have considered it their duty to oppose the resolutions. I shall commit the subject, therefore, to the hands of the Senate, to be disposed of as their judgment shall dictate; concluding what I have to say in relation to them with the remark, that the convictions I have before entertained in regard to the several amendments I still deliberately hold, after all that I have heard upon the subjects of them.

And now, allow me to announce, formally and officially, my retirement from the Senate of the United States, and to present the last motion I shall ever make in this body. But, before I make that motion, I trust I shall be pardoned if I avail myself of the occasion to make a few observations which are suggested to my mind by the present occasion.

I entered the Senate of the United States in December, 1809. I regarded that body then, and still contemplate it, as a body which may compare, without disadvantage, with any legislative assembly, of either ancient or modern times, whether I look to its dignity, the extent and importance of its powers, or the ability by which its individual members have been distinguished, or its constitution. If compared, in any of these respects, with the Senates either of France or of England, that of the United States will sustain no derogation. With respect to the mode of its constitution, of those bodies I may observe that in the house of peers in England, with the exception but of Ireland and of Scotland—and in that of France with no exception whatever—the members hold their places under no delegated authority, but derive them from the grant of the crown, transmitted by descent, or expressed in new patents of nobility; while here we have the proud title of Representatives of sovereign States, of distinct and independent Commonwealths.

If we look again at the powers exercised by the Senates of France and England, and by the Senate of the United States, we shall find that the aggregate of power is much greater here. In all, the members possess the legislative power. In the foreign Senates, as in this, the judicial power is invested, although there it exists in a larger degree than here. But, on the other hand, that vast, undefined, and undefinable power involved in the right to co-operate with the Executive in the formation and ratification of treaties, is enjoyed in all its magnitude and weight by this body, while it is possessed by neither of theirs; besides which, there is another of very great practical importance—that of sharing with the executive branch in distributing the vast patronage of the Government. In both these latter respects, we stand on grounds different from the house of peers of either England or France. And then as to the dignity and decorum of its proceedings, and ordinarily as to the ability of its members, I can with great truth declare, that during the whole long period of my knowledge of this Senate, it can, without arrogance or presumption, sustain no disadvantageous comparison with any public body in ancient or modern times.

Full of attraction, however, as a seat in this Senate is, sufficiently to fill the aspirations of the most ambitious heart, I have long determined to forego it, and to seek that repose which can be enjoyed only in the shades of private life, and amid the calm pleasures which belong to that beloved word "home."

It was my purpose to terminate my connection with this body in November, 1840, after the memorable and glorious political struggle which distinguished that year; but I learned soon after, what indeed I had for some time anticipated from the result of my own reflections, that an extra session of Congress would be called; and I felt desirous to co-operate with my personal and political friends in restoring, if it could be effected, the prosperity of the country by the best measures which their united counsels might be able to devise, and I therefore attended the extra session. It was called, as

all know, by the lamented HARRISON; but his death and the consequent accession of his successor produced an entirely new aspect of public affairs. Had he lived, I have not one particle of doubt that every important measure for which the country had hoped with so confident an expectation, would have been consummated by the co-operation of the Government. And here allow me to say, only, in regard to that so much reproached extra session of Congress, that I believe if any of those who, through the influence of party spirit or the bias of political prejudice, have loudly censured the measures then adopted, will look at them in a spirit of candor and of justice, their conclusion, and that of the country generally, will be that if there exists any just ground of complaint, it is to be found, not in what was done, but in what was left unfinished.

Had President HARRISON lived, and the measures devised at that session been fully carried out, it was my intention to have resigned my seat. But the hope (I feared it might prove a vain hope), that at the regular session the measures which we had left undone might even then be perfected, or the same object attained in equivalent form, induced me to postpone the determination; and events which arose after the extra session, resulting from the failure of those measures which had been proposed at that session, and which appeared to throw on our political friends a temporary show of defeat, confirmed me in the resolution to attend the present session also, and, whether in prosperity or adversity, to share the fortune of my friends. But I resolved at the same time to retire as soon as I could do so with propriety and decency.

From 1806, the period of my entry on this noble theatre, with short intervals, to the present time, I have been engaged in the public councils, at home and abroad. Of the nature or the value of the services rendered during that long and arduous period of my life, it does not become me to speak; History, if she deigns to notice me, or posterity, if the recollections of my humble actions shall be transmitted to posterity, are the best, the truest, the most impartial judges. When death has closed the scene, their sentence will be pronounced, and to that I appeal and refer myself. My acts and public conduct are a fair subject for the criticism and judgment of my fellow-men; but the private motives by which they have been prompted, they are known only to the great Searcher of the human heart and to myself; and I trust I may be pardoned for repeating a declaration made some thirteen years ago, that, whatever errors — and doubtless there have been many — may be discovered in a review of my public service to the country, I can with unshaken confidence appeal to that Divine Arbiter for the truth of the declaration, that I have been influenced by no impure purposes, no personal motive — have sought no personal aggrandizement; but that in all of my public acts I have had a sole and single eye, and a warm and devoted heart, directed and dedicated to what in my judgment I believed to be the true interest of my country.

During that period, however, I have not escaped the fate of other public

men, nor failed to incur censure and detraction of the bitterest, most unrelenting, and most malignant character; and, though not always insensible to the pain it was meant to inflict, I have borne it in general with composure, and without disturbance here [pointing to his breast], waiting as I have done, in perfect and undoubting confidence, for the ultimate triumph of justice and truth, and in the entire persuasion that time would, in the end, settle all things as they should be, and that whatever wrong or injustice I might experience at the hands of man, He to whom all hearts are open and fully known, would in the end, by the inscrutable dispensations of his providence, rectify all error, redress all wrong, and cause ample justice to be done.

But I have not, meanwhile, been unsustained. Everywhere, throughout the extent of this great continent, I have had cordial, warm-hearted, and devoted friends, who have known me and justly appreciated my motives. To them, if language were susceptible of fully expressing my acknowledgments, I would now offer them, as all the returns I have now to make for their genuine, disinterested, and persevering fidelity, and devoted attachment. But if I fail in suitable language to express my gratitude to them for all the kindness they have shown me, what shall I say — what can I say — at all commensurate with those feelings of gratitude which I owe to the State whose humble representative and servant I have been in this chamber?

I emigrated from Virginia to the State of Kentucky now nearly forty-five years ago: I went as an orphan who had not yet attained the age of majority — who had never recognised a father's smile nor felt his caresses — poor, penniless — without the favor of the great; with an imperfect and inadequate education, limited to the ordinary business and common pursuits of life; but scarce had I set my foot upon her generous soil when I was seized and embraced with parental fondness, caressed as though I had been a favorite child, and patronised with liberal and unbounded munificence. From that period, the highest honors of the State have been freely bestowed upon me; and afterward, in the darkest hour of calumny and detraction, when I seemed to be forsaken by all the rest of the world, she threw her broad and impenetrable shield around me, and, bearing me up aloft in her courageous arms, repelled the poisoned shafts that were aimed at my destruction, and vindicated my good name against every false and unfounded assault.

But the ingenuity of my assailants is never exhausted, and it seems I have subjected myself to a new epithet, and I do not know whether it should be taken in honor or derogation: I am held up to the country as a 'Dictator.' A Dictator! The idea of a dictatorship is drawn from Roman institutions; and at the time the office was created, the person who wielded the tremendous authority it conferred, concentrated in his own person an absolute power over the lives and property of all his fellow-citizens; he could raise armies; he could man and build navies; he could levy taxes at will, and raise any amount of money he might choose to demand; and life

and death rested on his fiat. If I had been a Dictator, as I am said to have been, where is the power with which I have been clothed? Had I any any army? any navy? any revenue? any patronage? in a word, any power whatever? If I had been a Dictator, I think that even those who have the most freely applied to me the appellation, must be compelled to make two admissions: first, that my dictatorship has been distinguished by no cruel executions, stained by no blood, nor soiled by any act of dishonor; and, in the second place, I think they must own (though I do not exactly know what date my commission of Dictator bears; I imagine, however, it must have commenced with the extra session) that if I did usurp the power of a Dictator, I at least voluntarily surrendered it within a shorter period than was allotted for the duration of the dictatorship of the Roman commonwealth.

If to have sought, at the extra session and at the present, by the co-operation of my friends, to carry out the great measures intended by the popular majority of 1840, and to have desired that they should all have been adopted and executed; if to have anxiously desired to see a disordered currency regulated and restored, and irregular exchanges equalized and adjusted; if to have labored to replenish the empty coffers of the Treasury by suitable duties; if to have endeavored to extend relief to the unfortunate bankrupts of the country, who had been ruined in a great measure by the erroneous policy, as we believed, of this Government; if to seek to limit, circumscribe, and restrain executive authority; if to retrench unnecessary expenditure and abolish useless offices and institutions; if, while the public money is preserved untarnished by supplying a revenue adequate to meet the national engagements, incidental protection can be afforded to the national industry; if to entertain an ardent solicitude to redeem every pledge and execute every promise fairly made by my political friends with a view to the acquisition of power from the hands of an honest and confiding People; if these objects constitute a man a DICTATOR, why then, I suppose I must be content to bear, though I still only share with my friends, the odium or the honor of the epithet, as it may be considered on the one hand or the other.

That my nature is warm, my temper ardent, my disposition, especially in relation to the public service, enthusiastic, I am fully ready to own; and those who supposed that I have been assuming the dictatorship, have only mistaken for arrogance or assumption that fervent ardor and devotion which is natural to my constitution, and which I may have displayed with too little regard to cold, calculating, and cautious prudence, in sustaining and zealously supporting important national measures of policy which I have presented and proposed.

During a long and arduous career of service in the public councils of my country, especially during the last eleven years I have held a seat in the Senate, from the same ardor and enthusiasm of character, I have no doubt, in the heat of debate, and in an honest endeavor to maintain my opinions

against adverse opinions equally honestly entertained, as to the best course to be adopted for the public welfare, I may have often inadvertently or unintentionally, in moments of excited debate, made use of language that has been offensive and susceptible of injurious interpretation toward my brother senators. If there be any here who retain wounded feelings of injury or dissatisfaction produced on such occasions, I beg to assure them that I now offer the amplest apology for any departure on my part from the established rules of parliamentary decorum and courtesy. On the other hand, I assure the Senate, one and all, without exception and without reserve, that I retire from this Senate-chamber without carrying with me a single feeling of resentment or dissatisfaction to the Senate or to any one of its members.

I go from this place under the hope that we shall mutually consign to perpetual oblivion, whatever personal collisions may at any time unfortunately have occurred between us; and that our recollections shall dwell in future only on those conflicts of mind with mind, those intellectual struggles, those noble exhibitions of the powers of logic, argument, and eloquence, honorable to the Senate and to the country, in which each has sought and contended for what he deemed the best mode of accomplishing one common object, the greatest interest and the most happiness of our beloved country. To these thrilling and delightful scenes it will be my pleasure and my pride to look back in my retirement.

And now, Mr. President, allow me to make the motion which it was my object to submit when I rose to address you. I present you the credentials of my friend and successor. If any void has been created by my own withdrawal from the Senate, it will be filled to overflowing by him; whose urbanity, whose gallant and gentlemanly bearing, whose steady adherence to principle, and whose rare and accomplished powers in debate, are known already in advance to the whole Senate and country. I move that his credentials be received, and that the oath of office be now administered to him.

In retiring, as I am about to do, for ever from the Senate, suffer me to express my heartfelt wishes that all the great and patriotic objects for which it was constituted by the wise framers of the Constitution may be fulfilled; that the high destiny designed for it may be fully answered; and that its deliberations, now and hereafter, may eventuate in restoring the prosperity of our beloved country, in maintaining its rights and honors abroad, and in securing and upholding its interests at home. I retire, I know it, at a period of infinite distress and embarrassment. I wish I could take my leave of you under more favorable auspices; but, without meaning at this time to say whether on any, or on whom, reproaches for the sad condition of the country should fall, I appeal to the Senate and to the world to bear testimony to my earnest and anxious exertions to avert it, and that no blame can justly rest at my door.

May the blessing of Heaven rest upon the whole Senate and each member of it, and may the labors of every one redound to the benefit of the

nation and the advancement of his own fame and renown. And when you shall retire to the bosom of your constituents, may you meet the most cheering and gratifying of all human rewards — their cordial greeting of "Well done, good and faithful servants."

IX.

ON AMERICAN POLITICS AND PARTIES.

SPEECH AT RALEIGH, N. C., APRIL 13 1844.

[Mr. Clay spent the winter of 1843–'4 mainly in New Orleans, as he did, in good part, that of several subsequent years, finding the winter climate of that southern city genial to his constitution, now beginning to feel the weight of years. He returned to Kentucky by way of Washington, stopping at several points on his journey to exchange congratulations with his fellow-citizens, in compliance with their urgent solicitations. At Raleigh, North Carolina, he was welcomed by a very large assemblage of the citizens of North Carolina, mainly his political friends, whom he addressed as follows:]

Friends and fellow-citizens, ladies and gentlemen of North Carolina:

A long-cherished object of my heart is accomplished. I am at your capital, and in the midst of you. I have looked forward to this my first visit to North Carolina with anxious wishes, and with high expectations of great gratification; and I am happy to say that my fondest anticipations have been more than realized. Wherever I have passed on my way to your city, wherever I have stopped, at the depots of railroads, in country, town, or village, it has been my good fortune to receive the warmest demonstrations of respect and kindness, from all parties, from both sexes, and from every age; but nowhere have I met, nowhere had I expected, such a distinguished reception, and such enthusiastic greetings as those with which my arrival here has been attended. I am rejoiced to be with you this day, to stand surrounded by you in the shade of this magnificent capitol, a noble monument of your public liberality and taste, and while my grateful heart has been warmed by the thrilling grasp of each outstretched hand, and my eye cheered by the smiles and beauty of the fair daughters of North Carolina, who have honored this occasion by their presence, I can not but rejoice, and I do rejoice, that I am an American citizen; and feel that, though far removed from my immediate home and friends, yet I tread here the soil of my own country, am in the midst of my friends and countrymen, and can exclaim, in the language of the Scottish bard, that this, "this is indeed my own, my native land." I own that I have been truly and greatly, but agreeably, surprised. I had expected to find some hundreds, perhaps a few

thousands, assembled here to meet and greet me. I did not expect to witness such an outpouring. I did not expect to see the whole State congregated together. But here it is! From the mountains and from the seaboard, from the extremities and from the centre, I see around me the sons and the daughters of the good old North State—a State which has earned this estimable title by the purity, simplicity, and efficiency of its institutions; by its uniform patriotism and inflexible virtue; by its quiet, unobtrusive, and unambitious demeanor; and by its steady and firm attachment to the Union, of which it is one of the surest props and pillars—a noble title, of which, although it is not proud, because it is not in its nature to be proud, its sister-states may well envy and emulate her. For these hearty manifestations of your respect and esteem, I thank you all. I thank my fair countrywomen for gracing this meeting by their countenance and presence. I thank your worthy chief magistrate for the generous manner in which he has represented your hospitality. I thank the various committees for the kindness and attention which I have received at their hands, and particularly the committee who did me the honor to meet me on the borders of your State, and escort me to this city.

I am here, fellow citizens, in compliance with your own summons. Warm and repeated invitations to visit this State, and my own ardent desire to see it, to form the acquaintance and to share the hospitalities of its citizens, have brought me in your presence. I have come with objects exclusively social and friendly. I have come upon no political errand. I have not come as a propagandist. I seek to change no man's opinion, to shake no man's allegiance to his party. Satisfied and contented with the opinions which I have formed upon public affairs, after thorough investigation and full deliberation, I am willing to leave every other man in the undisturbed possession of his opinions. It is one of our great privileges, in a free country, to form our own opinions upon all matters of public concern. Claiming the exercise of it for myself, I am ever ready to accord to others equal freedom in exercising it for themselves. But, inasmuch as the manner in which we may exercise the rights appertaining to us, may exert, reciprocally, an influence upon each other, for good or for evil, we owe the mutual duty of considering fairly, fully, and disinterestedly, all measures of public policy which may be proposed for adoption.

Although, fellow-citizens, I have truly said that I have not come to your State with any political aims or purposes, I am aware of the general expectation entertained here that I should embrace the occasion to make some exposition of my sentiments and views in respect to public affairs. I do not feel at liberty to disappoint this expectation. And yet I must declare, with perfect truth, that I have not and never had any taste for these public addresses. I have always found them irksome and unpleasant. I have not disliked public speaking, but it has been public speaking in legislative halls, on public measures affecting the welfare of my country, or before the tribunals of justice—it has been public speaking in which there was a precise

and well-defined object to be pursued, by a train of thought and argument adapted to its attainment.

Without presuming to prescribe to anybody else the course which he ought to pursue in forming his judgment upon political parties, public measures, and the principles which ought to guide us, I will state my own. In respect to political parties, of which I have seen many in this country, during a life which is now considerably protracted, I believe, in the main, most of them think, or have persuaded themselves to believe, that they are aiming at the happiness of their country. Their duties and their interests, well understood, must necessarily urge them to promote its welfare. They are, it is true, often deceived by their own passions and prejudices, and still more by interested demagogues who cloak and conceal their sinister designs. Political parties, according to my humble opinion of their legitimate sphere of action, ought to be regarded as nothing more than instruments or means, subordinate but important instruments or means, in effecting the great purposes of a wise administration of government; highly useful when not factious, and controlled by public virtue and patriotism; but, when country is lost sight of, and the interests of the party become paramount to the interests of the country — when the government is seized by a party, and is not administered for the benefit of the people, and the whole people, but to advance the purposes and selfish aims of itself, or rather of its leaders, then is such a party, whatever may be the popular name it may assume, highly detrimental and dangerous. I am a Whig, warmly attached to the party which bears that respected name, from a thorough persuasion that its principles and policy are best calculated to secure the happiness and prosperity of our common country; but, if I believed otherwise, if I were convinced that it sought party or individual aggrandizement, and not the public good, I would instantly and for ever abandon it, whatever might be the consequences to myself, or whatever the regrets which I might feel in separating from veteran friends. My opinions upon great and leading measures of public policy have become settled convictions, and I am a Whig because that party seeks the establishment of those measures. In determining with which of the two great parties of the country I ought to be connected, I have been governed by a full consideration and fair comparison of the tendency of their respective principles, measures, conduct, and views. There is one prominent and characteristic difference between the two parties which eminently distinguishes them, and which, if there were no other, would be sufficient to decide my judgment; and that is, the respect and deference uniformly displayed by the one, and the disregard and contempt exhibited by the other, to the constitution, to the laws, and to public authority. In a country where a free and self-government is established, it should be the pleasure, and it is the bounden duty, of every citizen to stand by and uphold the constitution and laws, and support the public authority; because they are *his* constitution, *his* laws, and the public authority emanates from *his* will. Having concurred, by the exercise of his privileges, in the adoption

of the constitution, and in the passage of the laws, any outrage or violation attempted of either ought to be regarded as an offence against himself, an offence against the majesty of the people. In an arbitrary and absolute government, the subject may have some excuse for evading the edicts and ukases of the monarch, because they are not only promulgated without consulting his will, but sometimes against the wishes and interests of the people. In that species of government the power of the bayonet enforces a reluctant obedience to the law. With a free people, the fact that the laws are *their* laws, ought to supply, in a prompt and voluntary rally to the support of the public authority, a force more peaceful, more powerful, and more reasonable, than any derivable from a mercenary soldiery.

It is far from my intention or desire to do the least injustice to the party to which I am opposed; but I think that in asserting the characteristic difference between the two parties which I have done, I am fully borne out by facts, to some of which, only, on this occasion, can I refer, and these shall all be of a recent nature.

The first to which I shall call your attention has occurred during the present session of Congress. The variety in the mode of electing members to the House of Representatives of the United States, some being chosen by whole States, and others by separate districts, was long a subject of deep and general complaint. It gave to the States unequal power in the councils of the nation. Mississippi or New Hampshire, for example, by a general ticket securing the election of its members to the House of Representatives all of one political party, might acquire more power in that House than the State of New-York, which, electing its members by districts, might return an equal or nearly an equal number of members of both parties. According to the general ticket system, it is impossible that the elective franchise can be exercised with the same discretion and judgment as under the district system. The elector can not possess the same opportunity under the one system as under the other of becoming acquainted with and ascertaining the capacity and fidelity of the candidate for his suffrage. An elector, residing in one extreme of the State, can not be presumed to know a candidate living at a distance from him, perhaps at the other extreme. By the general ticket, the minority in a State is completely smothered. From these, and other views of the subject, it has long been a patriotic wish entertained that there should be some uniform mode, of both electing members to the House of Representatives and choosing electors of president and vice-president. I recollect well, some twenty years ago, when public opinion appeared to be almost unanimous upon this subject. Well, the last Whig Congress, in order to prevent the abuses and correct the inequality arising out of the diverse modes of electing members of the House of Representatives, passed an act requiring that it should be uniform, and by districts. This act was in conformity with an express grant of power contained in the Constitution of the United States, which declares that "the times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives

shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; *but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.*" With that reasonable, equal, and just act of Congress, every Whig State, whose legislature assembled in time after its passage, strictly complied, and laid off their respective States into districts accordingly. But four States, with Democratic legislatures—Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, and New Hampshire—refused to conform to the law, treated it with contemptuous neglect, and suffered the elections for members of the House of Representatives to proceed in total disregard of its provisions. This was a new species of nullification, not less reprehensible than that which was attempted formerly in another State, though admitting of a more easy and peaceful remedy. That remedy was to refuse to allow the members returned from the four States to take their seats in the House of Representatives, which they had no constitutional or legal right to occupy. That question the present House of Representatives had to decide. But it was predicted, long before they assembled, confidently predicted, that the members from the four refractory States would be allowed to take their seats, the Constitution and the law notwithstanding. Why was it so predicted? Was it not because it was known, from the general character and conduct of the dominant party in the House, that it would not hesitate to trample under foot both law and Constitution, if necessary to the accomplishment of a party object? Accordingly, the question recently came up in the House, and the members from the four States were admitted to their seats.

And what, fellow-citizens, do you suppose was the process of reasoning by which this most extraordinary result was brought about? Congress, you have seen, is invested with unlimited power to make regulations as to the times, places, and manner of holding elections for representatives, or to *alter* those which might have been previously made by the State legislatures. There is nothing in the grant of the power which enjoins upon Congress to exercise the whole of it or none. Considerations of obvious convenience concur in leaving to the several States themselves the fixation of the times and places of holding those elections. In that, each State may be governed by its sense of its own convenience, without injuriously affecting other States. But it is different with the *manner* of holding elections; that is, whether it be by general ticket or by the district system. If some States elect by a general ticket, it gives to them an undue advantage over those States which elect by the district system. The manner, therefore, of holding elections was a fit subject, and the only fit subject, contained in the grant of power for congressional legislation. If Congress had legislated beyond that, it would have overreached the convenience and necessity of the case. But the dominant party in the present House of Representatives have strangely assumed that Congress could not execute a part of the granted power without the whole. According to their logic, the major does not include the minor. In this view, Government can not execute a part of a power with which it is intrusted, unless it executes the whole of

a power vested in it. If this principle be true when applied to a part of the Constitution, it would be equally true in its application to the whole Constitution. But there are many parts of the Constitution that never have been, and probably never will be executed; and, if the doctrine of the dominant party of the House of Representatives be sound, all the laws enacted by Congress since the commencement of the Government are null and void, because Congress has not executed all the powers of Government with which it is intrusted. The doctrine, applied to the enjoyment of private property, would restrain a man from using any part of his property unless he used the whole of it.

The case of the New-Jersey Election is familiar with everybody. There the Whig members, who presented themselves at Washington to take their seats, bore with them the highest credentials, under the great seal of the State, demonstrating their right to occupy them. They had been regularly declared and returned elected members of the House of Representatives, by the regular authorities, and according to the law of the State of New Jersey. Agreeably to the uniform usage which had prevailed in that House from the commencement of the Government, and according to the usage which prevails in every representative body, they had a right to demand to be admitted to their seats, and to hold and occupy them until any objection which might exist against them should be subsequently investigated. In the case of the four States already noticed, it was important to the interests of the dominant party, in order to swell their majority, that the members returned should be allowed to take their seats, although elected contrary to law. In the New Jersey case, it was important to the dominant party, to enable it to retain its majority, to exclude the Whig members, although returned according to law. The decision in both cases was adapted to the exigency of party interest, in utter contempt of both Constitution and law; and it is worthy of observation that, in the decision against the Whig members of New Jersey, members who boast of being emphatically the patrons and defenders of State Rights concurred in trampling under foot the laws and authorities of that State.

In connection with the subject on which I am now addressing you, the manner of admission of Michigan into the Union is worthy of notice. According to the usage which had uniformly prevailed prior to the admission of the States of Michigan and Arkansas, a previous act of Congress was passed authorizing the sense of the people of the territory to be taken in convention, and regulating the election of members to that body, limiting their choice to citizens of the United States residing in the territory. Michigan, without the sanction of a previous act of Congress, undertook, upon her sole authority, to form a constitution, and demanded admission into the Union. In appointing members to that convention, a great number of aliens, as well as citizens of the United States, were allowed to vote, against the earnest remonstrances of many resident citizens. Under these circumstances, she applied to Congress to be admitted into the Union. No one

questioned or doubted that she was entitled to be received whenever she presented herself regularly and according to law. But it was objected against her admission that she had assumed to act, against all usage, without the authority of Congress; and that, contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States, she had permitted aliens to partake of the elective franchise. The danger was pointed out of allowing aliens, unnaturalized and without renouncing their allegiance to foreign sovereigns and potentates, to share in that great and inestimable privilege. But all objections were unavailing; the dominant party, under the hope of strengthening their interests, in spite of all irregularity and in contravention of law, admitted Michigan as a State into the Union.

In intimate connection with this case, the subject of Dorrism may be noticed. Rhode Island had an existing government of long duration, under which her population had lived happily and prosperously. It had carried her triumphantly through the war of the Revolution, and borne her into the Union as one of the original thirteen independent sovereign States. Under the operation of it, the people of no State in the Union, in proportion to her population, had displayed more valor, patriotism, and enterprise. Dorr did not find his ambitious aspirations sufficiently gratified under this venerable government, and he undertook to subvert it. Asserting the principle that every people have a right to alter, modify, and change their government whenever they think proper — an abstract principle which, with cautious limitations, may be true — without consulting the established government and the public authorities, he undertook to beat up for recruits, to hold irregular elections, at which persons qualified and unqualified, dead and living, were pretended to have voted, and thus securing a heterogeneous majority, he proceeded to form a new constitution and to set up a new government. In the mean time, the legitimate and regular government proceeded in operation, and prepared to sustain itself, and put down the insurrectionary proceeding. Dorr flew to arms and collected a military force, as irregular and heterogeneous as his civil majority had been. But, on the first approach of military force on the part of the legitimate and regular government, Dorr took to his heels and ignominiously fled, leaving his motley confederates to fare as they might. Now, fellow-citizens, what has been the conduct of the two parties in respect to this insurrection, which at one time seemed to be so threatening? The Whigs everywhere, I believe to a man, have disapproved and condemned the movement of Dorr. It has been far otherwise with our opponents. Without meaning to assert that the whole of them countenanced and supported Dorr, everybody knows that all the sympathy and encouragement which he has received have been among them. And they have introduced the subject into the present House of Representatives. We shall see what they will do with it. You can readily comprehend and feel what would be the effects and consequences of Dorrism here at the South, if Dorrism were predominant. Any unprincipled adventurer would have nothing to do but to collect around him a

mosaic majority, black and white, aliens and citizens, young and old, male and female, overturn existing governments, and set up new ones, at his pleasure or caprice! What earthly security for life, liberty, or property, would remain, if a proceeding so fraught with confusion, disorder, and insubordination, were tolerated and sanctioned?

Then there is Repudiation—that dark and foul spot upon the American name and character—how came it there? The stain has been put there by the Democratic majority of the legislature of Mississippi. Under special pleas and colorable pretexts, which any private man of honor and probity would scorn to employ, they have refused to pay the debts of that State—debts contracted by the receipt of an equivalent expended within the State! The Whigs of that State, who are the principal tax-paying portion of the population, with remarkable unanimity are in favor of preserving its honor and good faith by a reimbursement of the debt; but the Democratic majority persists in refusing to provide for it. I am far from charging the whole of the Democratic party with this shameful public fraud, perpetrated by their brethren in the State of Mississippi. Without the State, to their honor be it said, most of them disapprove it; and within the State there are many honorable exceptions among the Democrats.

Other examples might be cited to prove the destructive and disorganizing tendency of the character and principles of the Democratic party, but these will suffice for this occasion. If the systems and measures of public policy of the two parties are contrasted and compared, the result will be not less favorable to the Whig party. With the Whig party there prevails entire concurrence as to the principles and measures of public policy which it espouses. In the other party we behold nothing but division and distraction—their principles varying at different times and in different latitudes. In respect to the Tariff, while in some places they are proclaiming that free trade is the true Democratic doctrine, and the encouragement of domestic industry Federal heresy, in other parts of the Union they insist that the Democrats are alone to be relied upon to protect the industry of the country, and that the Whigs are opposed to it.

That is a great practical and administrative question, in respect to which there is happily now prevailing among the Whigs throughout the whole Union a degree of unanimity as unprecedented as it is gratifying. From New Orleans to this place I have conversed with hundreds of them, and I have not met with a solitary one who does not assent to the justice and expediency of the principle of a Tariff for Revenue with discriminations for Protection. On this interesting question, fellow-citizens, it is my purpose to address you with the utmost freedom and sincerity, and with as little reserve as if I were before an audience in the State of Kentucky. I have long given to this subject the most impartial and deliberate consideration of which my mind is capable. I believe that no great nation has ever existed, or can exist, which does not derive within itself essential supplies of food and raiment and the means of defence. I recollect no example to the con-

trary in ancient or modern times. Although Italy did not itself afford all those supplies to ancient Rome, the deficiency was drawn from her subjugated provinces. Great Britain, although her commerce encompasses the world, supplies herself mainly from the little island under her immediate dominion. Limited and contracted as it is, it furnishes her with bread and other provisions for the whole year, with the exception only of a few days; and her manufactures not only supply an abundance of raiment and means of defence, but afford a vast surplus for exportation to foreign countries.

In considering the policy of introducing and establishing manufactures in our country, it has always appeared to me that we should take a broad and extensive view, looking to seasons of war as well as peace, and regarding the future, as well as the past and the present. National existence is not to be measured by the standard of individual life. But it is equally true, both of nations and of individuals, that, when it is necessary, we must submit to temporary and present privations, for the sake of future and permanent benefits. Even if it were true, as I think I shall be able to show it is not, that the encouragement of domestic manufactures would produce some sacrifices, they would be compensated and more than counterbalanced by ultimate advantages secured, combining together seasons of peace and of war. If it were true that the policy of Protection enhanced the price of commodities, it would be found that their cheapness, prevailing in a time of peace, when the foreign supply might be open to us, would be no equivalent for the dearness in a period of war, when that supply would be cut off from us. I am not old enough to recollect the sufferings of the soldiery and population of the United States during the war of independence; but history and tradition tell us what they were; they inform us what lives were sacrificed, what discomforts existed, what hardships our unclad and unshod soldiers bore, what enterprises were retarded or paralyzed. Even during the last war, all of us, who are old enough to remember it, know with what difficulties, and at what great cost, the necessary clothing and means of defence were obtained. And who does not feel conscious pride and patriotic satisfaction that these sufferings, in any future war, will be prevented, or greatly alleviated, by the progress which our infant manufactures have already made? If the policy of encouraging them wisely, moderately, and certainly, be persevered in, the day is not distant when, resting upon our own internal resources, we may be perfectly sure of an abundant supply for all our necessary wants, and in this respect put foreign powers and foreign wars at defiance. I know that, from extreme suffering and the necessity of the case, manufactures, in the long run, would arise to sustain themselves, without any encouragement from government, just as an unaided infant child would learn to rise, to stand, and to walk; but, in both instances, great distress may be avoided, and essential assistance derived from the kindness of the parental hand.

The advantages arising from the division of the labor of the population of a country are too manifest to need being much dwelt upon. I think the

advantage of a home, as well as foreign markets, is equally manifest; but the home market can only be produced by diversified pursuits, creating subjects of exchanges at home as well as abroad. If one portion of the population of a country be engaged in the business of manufacturing, it must derive its means of subsistence from the agricultural products of the country in exchange for their fabrics. The effect of these mutual exchanges is beneficial to both parties and the whole country.

The great law which regulates the prices of commodities is that of supply and demand. If the supply exceed the demand, the price falls; if the demand exceed the supply, the price rises. This law will be found to be invariably true. Any augmentation of supply is beneficial to the consumer; but, by establishing manufactures in the United States, an additional supply is created. Again, another principle, universally admitted to be beneficial to consumption, is the principle of competition. If Europe alone supply the American consumption of manufactures, Europe will enjoy a monopoly in that supply. That monopoly, it is true, will be subject to the competition which may exist in Europe; but it would be still restricted to that competition. By the existence of manufactures in the United States, an additional competition is created, and this new competitor enters the American market, contending for it with the previous European competitors. The result is an increase in the aggregate of supply, and a consequent reduction in price. But it has been argued that the fabrics manufactured in America take the place only of so many which had been before manufactured in Europe; that there is no greater consumption in consequence of the home manufacture than would exist without it; and that it is immaterial to the consumer whether the theatre of manufacture be Europe or the United States. But I think this is an extremely contracted and fallacious view of the subject. Consumption is greater in consequence of the existence of manufactures at home. They create a demand for labor, which would not exist without them, and the employment of labor creates an ability to consume which would not exist without it. How could the American labor, employed in manufactures at home, supply its consumption of European commodities, if it were deprived of that employment? What means of purchase would it possess? It is in vain to point to agriculture, for every department of that is already producing superabundantly. It can not be questioned that the chief cause of the reduced price of cotton is the excess of production. The price of it would rise if less were produced, by diverting a portion of the labor employed in its cultivation to some other branch of industry. This new pursuit would furnish new subjects of exchange, and those who might embark in it, as well as those who would continue in the growth of cotton, would be both benefited by mutual exchanges. The day will come, and it is not distant, when the South will feel an imperative necessity voluntarily to make such a diversion of a portion of its labor. Considering the vast water-power, and other facilities of manufacturing, now wasting and unemployed at the south, and its possession at home of

the choice of the raw material, I believe the day will come when the cotton region will be the greatest manufacturing region of cotton in the world.

The power of consuming manufactured articles being increased, in consequence of the domestic establishment of manufactures, by the wages of labor which they employ, and by the wealth which they create, there is an increase also in the use and consumption of cotton and other raw materials. To the extent of that increase, the cotton-grower is directly and positively benefited by the location of manufactures at home instead of abroad.

But, suppose it true that the shifting, to a certain extent, of the theatre of manufactures from foreign countries to our own did not increase consumption at all, and did not augment the demand for cotton, there will be no just ground of complaint with the cotton planter, and the most he could say is that it would be a matter of indifference to him. All that would happen to him would be a substitution of a certain number of American customers for an equal number of European customers. But ought it to be, can it be, a matter of indifference to him, whether any portion of his fellow-citizens of the United States are in a state of prosperity or adversity? If, without prejudice to him, his own countrymen can acquire a part of the wealth which arises out of the prosecution of manufacturing industry, instead of the foreigner, ought he not to rejoice at it? Is it to him a matter of no consequence that a certain amount of wealth, created by manufactures, shall be in his own country instead of foreign countries? If here, its influence and effects will be felt, directly or indirectly, in all the departments of human business, and in a greater or less degree in all parts of the country. It becomes a clear addition to the aggregate wealth of the nation, increasing its resources, and forming a basis of taxation and revenue in seasons of war or peace, if necessary.

But the advantage resulting from domestic manufactures, in producing an American competition with the European competition, augmenting the supply of manufactured articles, and tending consequently to a reduction of prices, is not the sole advantage, great as that is. A double market is produced both in the *purchase* of fabrics for consumption and in the *sale* of productions of agriculture. And how superior is the home to any other market in the condition of its proximity, its being under our own control, and its exemption from the contingency of war! It has been argued, however, that we sell no more than we should do if we were deprived of the home market. I have shown that to be otherwise. The importance of opening new markets is universally admitted. It is an object of the policy of all nations. If we could open a new market for 400,000 bales of cotton with any foreign power, should we not gladly embrace it? Every one owns the benefit which arises out of various markets. All who reside in the neighborhood of large cities or market-towns are sensible of the advantage. It is said that our manufacturers absorb only about 400,000 bales of cotton, which is a very small part of the total crop. But suppose that were thrown upon the market of Liverpool, already overstocked and glut-

ted. It would sink the price far below what it now is. France consumes also about 400,000 bales. If the market of Havre were closed, and that quantity were crowded into the market of Liverpool, would not the effect be ruinous to the cotton-grower? Our American market is growing, annually increasing; and, if the policy of the country can only become firmly fixed, the time will come, I have no doubt, when the manufacture of cotton in the United States will exceed that of England. I do not desire to see any market closed, domestic or foreign. I think it our true interest to cherish and cultivate all. But I believe it to be our indispensable duty to afford proper and reasonable encouragement to our own.

But it must be borne in mind that, although cotton is by far the most important of our agricultural products, it is not the only one. Where should we find a market for our Indian corn, if it were not for the existence of our manufactures? We should absolutely have none. My friend, Mr. Pettigrew, who sits before me, can find no market for his corn in North Carolina, because his neighbors, like himself, are occupied in producing it. Nor can he find any in foreign countries. But he meets with a good, sure, and convenient market in Boston and Providence, and other Northern capitals. Where should we seek a market for the flour, provisions, and other raw agricultural produce, now consumed by our manufacturers? If their present business were destroyed, they would be employed themselves in producing cotton, corn, provisions, and other agricultural products, thus augmenting the quantity and inevitably leading to a further decline of prices.

It has been contended that the effect of affording legal encouragement to domestic manufactures is to enhance the price of commodities, and to impose a tax upon the consumer. This argument has been a thousand times refuted.

It has been shown, again and again, that the price of almost every article on which the system of encouragement has effectually operated has been reduced to the consumer. And this was the necessary consequence of that law of supply and demand, and that principle of competition, to which I have before adverted. It was foretold long ago by myself and other friends of the policy. But it is in vain that we appeal to facts. It is in vain that we take up article by article, and, comparing present with former prices, show the actual and gradual reduction. The free-trader has mounted his hobby, and he is determined to spur and whip him on, rough shod, over all facts, obstacles, and impediments, that lie in his way. It was but the other day I heard one of these free-trade orators addressing an audience, and depicting, in the most plaintive and doleful terms, the extreme burdens and oppressive exactions arising out of the abominable tariff 'Why (says he), fellow-citizens, every one of you that wears a shirt is compelled to pay six cents a-yard more for it than you otherwise would do, in order to increase the enormous wealth of Northern capitalists.' An old man in the crowd, shabbily dressed, and with scarcely anything but a shirt on, stopped the

eloquent orator, and asked him how that could be? For, says he, "I have a good shirt on, that cost me only five and a half cents per yard, and I should like to know how I paid a duty of six cents."

These ingenious and indefatigable theorists not only hold all facts and experience in contempt, but they are utterly inconsistent with themselves. At one time they endeavored to raise the alarm that the Tariff would put an end to all foreign commerce, and, thus drying up our principal source of revenue in imports, it would become necessary to resort to direct taxes and internal taxation. In process of time, however, their predictions were falsified, and the system was found to produce an abundant revenue. Then they shifted their ground; the Treasury, said they, is overflowing; the Tariff is the cause, and the system must be abandoned. If they had taken the trouble to inquire, they might have ascertained that although England is the greatest manufacturing nation in the world, in amount, extent, and variety, she nevertheless draws a vast revenue from customs.

Allow me to present you, fellow-citizens, with another view of this interesting subject. The Government wishes to derive a certain amount of revenue from foreign imports. Let us suppose the total annual amount of imports to be $100,000,000, and the total annual amount of revenue to be raised from it to be $20,000,000. Is it at all material whether that $20,000,000 be spread in the form of duties, equally over the whole $100,000,000, or that it be drawn from some $50,000,000 or more of the imports, leaving the rest free of duty? In point of fact, such has been the case for several years. Is not a compensation found for the duty paid upon one article by the exemption from the duty of another article? Take the wearing apparel of a single individual, and, suppose you have a duty of $2 to raise upon it; is it of any consequence to him whether you levy the whole $2 upon all parts of his wearing apparel equally, or levy it exclusively upon his coat and his shirt, leaving the other articles free? And if, by such discriminations as I have described, without prejudice to the consumer, you can raise up, cherish, and sustain, domestic manufactures, increasing the wealth and prosperity, and encouraging the labor of the nation, ought it not to be done?

We are invited, by the partisans of the doctrine of free trade, to imitate the liberal example of some of the great European powers. England, we are told, is abandoning her restrictive policy, and adopting that of free trade. England adopting the principle of free trade! Why, where are her corn laws? — those laws which exclude an article of prime necessity — the very bread which sustains human life — in order to afford protection to English agriculture. And, on the single article of American tobacco, England levies annually an amount of revenue equal to the whole amount of duties levied annually by the United States upon all articles of import from all the foreign nations of the world, including England. That is her free trade! And as for France, we have lately seen a state paper from one of her high functionaries complaining in bitter terms of the American tariff of

1842, and ending with formally announcing to the world that France steadily adheres to the system of protecting French industry!

But, fellow-citizens, I have already detained you too long on this interesting topic, and yet I have scarcely touched it. For near thirty years it has agitated the nation. The subject has been argued and debated a thousand times, in every conceivable form. It is time that the policy of the country should become settled and fixed. Any stable adjustment of it, whatever it may be, will be far preferable to perpetual vacillation. When once determined, labor, enterprise, and commerce, can accommodate themselves accordingly. But in finally settling it, the interest of the whole Union, as well as all its parts, should be duly weighed and considered, and in a paternal and fraternal spirit. The confederacy consists of twenty-six states, besides territories, embracing every variety of pursuit, every branch of human industry. There may be an apparent, there is no real, conflict between these diversified interests. No one state, no one section, can reasonably expect or desire that the common government of the whole should be administered exclusively according to its own peculiar opinion, or so as to advance only its particular interests, without regard to the opinions or the interests of all other parts. In respect to the tariff, there are two schools holding opposite and extreme doctrines. According to one, perfect freedom in our foreign trade with no or very low duties ought to prevail. According to the other, the restrictive policy ought, on many articles, to be pushed by a high and exorbitant tariff, to the point of absolute prohibition. Neither party can hold itself up as an unerring standard of right and wisdom. Fallibility is the lot of all men, and the wisest know how little they do know. The doctrine of free trade is a concession to foreign powers, without an equivalent, to the prejudice of native industry. Not only without equivalent, but in the face of their high duties, restrictions, and prohibitions, applied to American products, by foreign powers, our rivals, jealous of our growth and anxious to impede our onward progress. Encouragement of domestic industry is a concession to our fellow-citizens; to those whose ancestors shared, in common with our ancestors, in the toils of the Revolution; to those who have shared with us in the toils and sufferings of our day; to those whose posterity are destined to share with our posterity in the trials, in the triumphs, and the glories that await them. It is a concession to those who are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, and who in some other beneficial form do make, and are ready to make, equivalent concessions to us. It is still more; it is a concession by the whole to the whole; for every part of the country possesses a capacity to manufacture, and every part of the country more or less does manufacture. Some parts have advanced further than others, but the progress of all is forward and onward.

Again, I ask what is to be done in this conflict of opinion between the two extremes which I have stated? Each believes, with quite as much confidence as the other, that the policy which he espouses is the best for

the country. Neither has a right to demand that his judgment shall exclusively prevail. What, again I ask, is to be done? Is compromise or reconciliation impossible? Is this glorious Union to be broken up and dissolved, and the hopes of the world, which are concentrated in its fate, to be blasted and destroyed for ever? No, fellow-citizens, no! The Union must be preserved. In the name of the people of this noble old State, the first to announce the independence of the United States by the memorable declaration of Mecklenburg, and which has ever since been among the most devoted and faithful to the preservation of this Union — in the name of the people of my own gallant State — and in the name of the whole people of the United States, I feel authorized to say that this Union will not, must not, shall not be dissolved. How, then, can this unhappy conflict of opinion be amicably adjusted and accommodated? Extremes, fellow-citizens, are ever wrong. Truth and justice, sound policy and wisdom, always abide in the middle ground, always are to be found in the *juste milieu.* Ultraism is ever baneful, and, if followed, never fails to lead to fatal consequences. We must reject the doctrines both of free trade and of a high and exorbitant tariff. The partisans of each must make some sacrifices of their peculiar opinions. They must find some common ground on which both can stand, and reflect that, if neither has obtained all that it desires, it has secured something, and what it does not retain has been gotten by its friends and countrymen. There are very few who dissent from the opinion that, in time of peace, the federal revenue ought to be drawn from foreign imports, without resorting to internal taxation. Here is a basis for accommodation and mutual satisfaction. Let the amount which is requisite for an economical administration of the Government, when we are not engaged in war, be raised exclusively on foreign imports; and, in adjusting a tariff for that purpose, let such discriminations be made as will foster and encourage our own domestic industry. All parties ought to be satisfied with a tariff for revenue and discriminations for protection. In thus settling this great and disturbing question in a spirit of mutual concession and of amicable compromise, we do but follow the noble example of our illustrious ancestors in the formation and adoption of our present happy constitution. It was that benign spirit that presided over all their deliberations; and it has been in the same spirit that all the threatening crises that have arisen during the progress of the administration of the Constitution have been happily quieted and accommodated.

Next, if not superior in importance to the question of encouraging the national industry, is that of the national currency. I do not propose to discuss the point, whether a paper representative of the precious metals, in the form of bank-notes or in other forms, convertible into those metals on demand, at the will of the holder, be or be not desirable and expedient. I believe it could be easily shown that in the actual state of the commercial world, and considering the amount and the distribution of the precious metals throughout the world, such a convertible paper is indispensably

necessary. But that is not an open question. If it were desirable that no such paper should exist, it is not in the power of the General Government, under its present Constitution, to put it down, or prevent its creation or circulation. Such a convertible paper has existed, does exist, and probably will always exist, in spite of the General Government. The twenty-six States which compose the Union claim the right and exercise the right, now not to be controverted, to authorize and put forth such a convertible paper, according to their own sense of their respective interests. If even a large majority of the States were to resolve to discontinue the use of a paper representative of specie, the paper would nevertheless be created and circulated, unless every State in the Union abandoned its use — which nobody believes is ever likely to happen. If some of the States should continue to employ and circulate such a paper, it would flow into, and be current in, other States that might have refused to establish banks. And, in the end, the States which had them not would find themselves, in self-defence, compelled to charter them. I recollect — perhaps my friend near me (Mr. B. W. Leigh), if he be old enough, may also recollect — the introduction of banks in our native State. Virginia adopted slowly and reluctantly the banking system. I recollect, when a boy, to have been present, in 1792 or 1793, when a debate occurred in the Virginia legislature on a proposition, I think it was, to renew the charter of a bank in Alexandria — the first that ever was established in that State — and it was warmly opposed and carried with some difficulty. Afterward, Virginia, finding herself surrounded by States that had banks, and that she was subject to all their inconvenience, whatever they might be, resolved to establish banks upon a more extensive scale, and accordingly did establish two principal banks with branching power, to secure to herself whatever benefits might arise from such institutions.

The same necessity that prompted, at that period, the legislature of Virginia, would hereafter influence States having no banks, but adjacent to those which had. It follows, therefore, that there are, and probably always will be, local banks. These local banks are often rivals, not only acting without concert, but in collision with each other, and having very imperfect knowledge of the general condition of the whole circulation of the United States, or the state of our monetary relations with foreign powers. The inevitable consequence must be, irregularity in their movements, disorder and unsoundness in the currency, and frequent explosions. The existence of local banks, under the authority and control of the respective States, begets the necessity for a United States bank under the authority and control of the General Government. The power of Government is distributed in the United States between the States and the Federal Government. All that is general and national appertains to the Federal Government; all that is limited and local to the State Governments. The States can not perform the duties of the General Government, nor ought that to attempt to perform, nor can it so well execute, the trusts confided to the State Govern-

ments. We want a national army, a national navy, a national postoffice establishment, national laws regulating our foreign commerce and our coasting-trade; above all, perhaps, we want a national currency. The duty of supplying these national means of safety, convenience, and prosperity, must be executed by the General Government, or it will remain neglected and unfulfilled. The several States can no more supply a national currency than they can provide armies and navies for the national defence. The necessity for a national institution does not result merely from the existence of local institutions, but it arises also out of the fact that all the great commercial nations of the world have their banks. England, France, Austria, Russian, Holland, and all the great powers of Europe, have their national banks. It is said that money is power, and that to imbody and concentrate it in a bank is to create a great and dangerous power. But we may search the records of history, and we shall find no instance since the first introduction of banking institutions, of any one of them having sought to subvert the liberties of a country or to create confusion and disorder. Their well-being depends upon the stability of laws and legitimate and regular administration of government. If it were true that the creation of a bank is to imbody a moneyed power, is not such a power in the hands of the General Government necessary to protect the people against the moneyed power in the form of banking institutions in the several States, and in the hands of foreign governments? Without it, how can the commerce of the United States cope and compete with the commerce of foreign powers having national banks? In the commercial struggles which are constantly in operation between nations, should we not labor under great and decided disadvantage if we had no bank and they had their banks? We all recollect, a few years ago, when it was alleged to be the policy of the bank of England to reduce the price of our great southern staple; in order to accomplish that object, the policy was adopted of refusing to discount the notes and bills of any English houses engaged in the American trade. If a bank of the United States had been in existence at that time, it could have adopted some measure of counteraction; but there was none, and the bank of England effected its purpose.

It has been asked, what will you have banks merely because the monarchies of Europe have them? Why not also introduce their kings, lords, and commoners and their aristocracy? This is a very shallow mode of reasoning. I might ask, in turn, why have armies, navies, laws regulating trade, or any other national institutions or laws, because the monarchies of the old world have them? Why eat, or drink, clothe or house ourselves, because monarchs perform these operations? I suppose myself the course of true wisdom and common sense to be, to draw from their arts, sciences, and civilization, and political institutions whatever is good, and avoid whatever is bad.

Where, exclusive of those who oppose the establishment of a Bank of the United States upon constitutional ground, do we find the greatest opposition to it? You are, fellow-citizens, perhaps, not possessed of information which

I happen to have acquired. The greatest opposition to a Bank of the United States will be found to arise out of a foreign influence, and may be traced to the bankers and brokers of Wall-street, New York, who are wielding a foreign capital. Foreign powers and foreign capitalists see with satisfaction whatever retards the growth, checks the prosperity, or arrests the progress of this conntry. Those who wield that foreign capital find, from experience, that they can employ it to the best advantage in a disordered state of the currency, and when exchanges are fluctuating and irregular. There are no sections of the Union which need a uniform currency, sound and everywhere convertible into specie on demand, so much as you at the south, and we in the west. It is indispensable to our prosperity. And, if our brethren at the north and the east did not feel the want of it themselves, since it will do them no prejudice, they ought, upon principles of sympathy and mutual accommodation, to concur in supplying what is so essential to the business and industry of other sections of the Union. It is said that the currency and exchanges have improved and are improving, and so they have and are. This improvement is mainly attributable to the salutary operation of the tariff of 1842, which turned the balance of foreign trade in our favor. But such is the enterprise and buoyancy of our population that we have no security for the continuation of this state of things. The balance of trade may take another direction, new revulsions in trade may take place, seasons of distress and embarrassment we must expect. Does anybody believe the local banking system of the United States is competent to meet and provide for these exigencies? It is the part of a wise government to anticipate and provide, as far as possible, for all these contingencies. It is urged against banks that they are often badly and dishonestly administered, and frequently break, to the injury and prejudice of the community. I am far from denying that banks are attended with mischief and some inconvenience, but that is the lot of all human institutions. The employment of steam is often attended with disastrous consequences, of which we have had recent melancholy examples. But does anybody on that account think of proposing to discontinue the agency of steam power either on the land or the water? The most that is thought of is that it becomes our duty to increase vigilance and multiply precautions against the recurrence of accidents. As to banks the true question is, whether the sum of the inconvenience of dispensing with them would not be greater than any amount of which they are productive? And, in any new charters that may be granted, we should anxiously endeavor to provide all possible restrictions, securities, and guaranties, against their mismanagement which reason or experience may suggest.

Such are my views of the question of establishing a Bank of the United States. They have been long, and honestly, and sincerely entertained by me; but I do not seek to enforce them upon any others. Above all, I do not desire any Bank of the United States attempted or established, unless and

until it is imperatively demanded, as I believe demanded it will be, by the opinion of the people.

I should have been glad, fellow-citizens, if I had time and strength, to make a full exposition of my views and opinions upon all the great measures and questions that divide us and agitate our country. I should have been happy to have been able to make a full examination of the principles and measures of our opponents, if we could find out what they are, and contrast them with our own. I mean them no disrespect; I would not use one word to wound the feelings of any one of them; but I am really and unaffectedly ignorant of the measures of public policy which they are desirous to promote and establish. I know what they oppose. I know that they stand in direct opposition to every measure which the whigs espouse. But what are their substitutes? The Whigs believe that the executive power has during the last two and the present administration, been intolerably abused; that it has disturbed the balances of the constitution; and that, by its encroachments upon the co-ordinate branches of the Government, it has become alarming and dangerous. The Whigs are, therefore, desirous to restrain it within constitutional and proper limits. But our opponents, who assume to be emphatically the friends of the people, and sustain the executive in all its widest and most extravagant excesses. They go for vetoes in all their variety; for sub-treasuries, standing armies, treasury circulars. Occupying a similar ground with the tories of England, they stand up for power and prerogative against privilege and popular rights. The Democrats or Republicans of 1798–'9, taught by the fatal examples of history, were jealous and distrustful of executive power. It was of that department that their fears were excited, and against that their vigilance was directed. The Federalists of that day, imbibing the opinion from the founders of the constitution, honestly believed that the executive was the weakest branch of the government, and hence they were disposed to support and strengthen it. But experience has demonstrated their error, and the best part of them have united with the Whigs. And the Whigs are now in the exact position of the Republicans of 1798–'9. The residue, and probably the larger part of the Federalists, joined our opponents, and they are now in the exact position of the federalists of 1798–'9—with this difference, that they have shut their eyes against all the lights of experience, and pushed the federal doctrines of that day far beyond the point to which they were ever carried by their predecessors.

But I am trespassing too long on your patience, and must hasten to a close. I regret that I am too much exhausted, and have not time to discuss other interesting subjects that engage the public attention. I should be very glad to express to you my views on the public domain, but I have often on the floor of the Senate and on other public occasions, fully exposed them. I consider it the common property of the nation. I believe it to be essential to its preservation, and the preservation of the funds which may accrue from the sales, that it should be withdrawn from the theatre of party

politics, and from the temptations and abuse incident to it while it remains there. I think that fund ought to be distributed, upon just and liberal principles, among all the states, old as well as new. If that be not done, there is much ground to apprehend, at no very distant period, a total loss of the entire domain. Considering the other abundant and exhaustless resources of the general government, I think that the proceeds of the sales of the public lands may be well spared to the several states, to be applied by them to beneficent local objects. In their hands, judiciously managed, they will lighten the burden of internal taxation, the only form of raising revenue to which they can resort, and assist in the payment of their debts, or hasten the completion of important objects, in which the whole Union, as well as themselves, are interested and will be benefited.

On the subject of abolition, I am persuaded it is not necessary to say one word to this enlightened assemblage. My opinion was fully expressed in the Senate of the United States a few years ago, and the expression of it was one of the assigned causes of my not receiving the nomination as a candidate for the presidency in December, 1839. But, if there be any one who doubts or desires to obtain further information about my views in respect to that unfortunate question, I refer them to Mr. Mendenhall, of Richmond, Indiana.

I hope and believe, fellow-citizens, that brighter days and better times are approaching. All the exhibitions of popular feeling, all the manifestations of the public wishes, this spontaneous and vast assemblage, deceive us if the scenes and memorable events of 1840 are not going to be renewed and re-enacted. Our opponents complain of the means which were employed to bring about that event. They attribute their loss of the public confidence to the popular meetings and processions, to the display of banners, the use of log-cabins, the whig songs, and the exhibition of coons, which preceded the event of '40. How greatly do they deceive themselves! What little knowledge do they display of human nature! All these were the mere jokes of the campaign. The event itself was produced by a strong, deep, and general conviction, pervading all classes, and impressed by a dear-bought experience, that a change of both measures and men was indispensable to the welfare of the country. It was a great and irresistible movement of the people. Our opponents were unable to withstand, and were borne down by a popular current, far more powerful than that of the mighty father of waters. The symbols and insignia of which they complain, no more created and impelled that current, than the objects which float upon the bosom of the Mississippi give impetus to the stream. Our opponents profess to be great friends to the poor—and to take a great interest in their welfare, but they do not like the log-cabins in which the poor dwell! They dislike their beverage of hard-cider; they prefer sparkling champaigne, and perhaps their taste is correct, but they ought to reflect that it is not within the poor man's reach. They have a mortal hatred to our unoffending coons, and would prefer any other quadruped. And, as for our

whig songs, to their ears they appear grating and full of discord, although chanted by the loveliest daughters and most melodious voices of the land! We are very sorry to disoblige our democratic friends, but I am afraid they will have to reconcile themselves as well as they can to our log-cabins, hard-cider, and whig songs. Popular excitement, demonstrating a lively interest in the administration of public affairs, is far preferable to a state of stillness, of sullen gloom, and silent acquiescence, which denotes the existence of despotism, or a state of preparation for its introduction. And we need not be disturbed if that excitement should sometimes manifest itself in ludicrous but innocent forms. But our opponents seem to have short memories. Who commenced that species of display and exhibition of which they now so bitterly complain? Have they already forgotten the circumstances attendant on the campaigns of 1828 and 1832? Have they forgotten the use which they made of the hog—the whole hog, bristles and all? Has the scene escaped their recollection of bursting out the head of barrels,—not of hard-cider,—but of beer, pouring their contents into ditches, and then drinking the dirty liquid? Do they cease to remember the use which they made of the hickory, of the hickory poles, and hickory boughs? On more occasions than one, when it was previously known that I was to pass on a particular road, have I found the way obstructed by hickory boughs strewed along it. And I will not take up your time by narrating the numerous instances of mean, low, and vulgar indignity to which I have been personally exposed. Our opponents had better exercise a little more philosophy on the occasion. They have been our masters in employing symbols and devices to operate upon the passions of the people; and if they would reflect and philosophize a little they would arrive at the conclusion that, whenever an army or a political party achieves a victory over an adversary by means of any new instrument or stratagem, that adversary will be sure, sooner or later, to employ the same means.

I am truly glad to see our opponents returning to a sense of order and decency. I should be still happier if I did not fear that it was produced by the mortification of a past defeat, and the apprehension of one that awaits them ahead, rather than any thorough reformation of manners. Most certainly I do not approve of appeals to the passions of the people, or of the use of disgusting or unworthy means to operate on their sense or their understanding. Although I can look and laugh at the employment of hogs and coons to influence the exercise of the elective franchise, I should be glad to see them entirely dispensed with. I should greatly prefer to see every free citizen of the United States deliberately considering and determining how he can best promote the honor and prosperity of his country by the exercise of his inestimable privileges, and coming to the polls unaffected by all sinister exertions, and there independently depositing his suffrage. I should infinitely prefer to see calumny, falsehood, and detraction totally abandoned, and truth, sincerity, honor, and good faith, alone practised in all our discussions; and I think I may venture to assure our oppo-

nents that whenever they are prepared to conduct our public discussions and popular elections in the manner and upon the principles which I have indicated, the whig party will be as prompt in following their good example as they were slow and reluctant to imitate their bad one. The man does not breathe who would be more happy than I should be to see all parties united as a band of brothers to restore our beloved country to what it has been, to what it is so capable of being, to what it ever should be — the great model of self-government, the boast of enlightened and liberal men throughout the world, and, by the justice, wisdom, and beneficence of its operation, the terror and the dread of all tyrants. I know and deplore, deeply deplore, the demoralization which has so extensively prevailed in our country during a few past years. It should be to every man who has an American heart a source of the deepest mortification and most painful regret. Falsehood and treachery in high places; peculation and fraud among public servants; distress, embarrassment, and ruin among the people; distracted and disheartened at home, and treated with contempt and obloquy abroad, compose the sad features, during the period to which I have adverted, of our unfortunate national picture. I should rejoice to see this great country once more itself again, and the history of the past fifteen years shrouded in a dark and impenetrable veil. And why shall we not see it? We have only to will it, to revive and cultivate the spirit which won for us and bequeathed to us the noble heritage which we enjoy; we have only to rally around the institutions and interests of our beloved country, regardless of every other consideration — to break, if necessary, the chains of party, and rise in the majesty of freemen, and stand out, and stand up, firmly resolved to dare all, and do all, to preserve in unsullied purity, and perpetuate, unimpaired, the noble inheritance which is our birthright, and sealed to us with the blood of our fathers.

One word more, fellow-citizens, and I have done. I repeat that I had anticipated much gratification from my visit to your State. I had long anxiously wished to visit it, to tread the soil on which American Independence was first proclaimed; to mingle with the descendants of those who were the first to question the divine rights of kings, and who themselves are surpassed by none in devotion to the cause of human liberty, and to the constitution and the Union, its best securities. Only one circumstance has happened to diminish the satisfaction of my journey. When I left my residence in December, I anticipated the happiness of meeting, among others, your Gaston, then living. I had known him long and well, having served with him more than a quarter of a century ago in the House of Representatives. He united all the qualities which command esteem and admiration — bland, pure, patriotic, eloquent, learned, and pious, and was beloved by all who knew him. While we bow in dutiful submission to the will of Divine Providence, who, during the progress of my journey, has called him from his family and from his country, we can not but feel and deplore the great loss which we have all sustained. I share it largely with you, fellow-

citizens, and it is shared by the whole Union. To his bereaved family and to you, I offer assurances of my sincere sympathy and condolence.

We are about, fellow citizens, finally to separate. Never again shall I behold this assembled multitude. No more shall I probably ever see the beautiful city of the Oak. Never more shall I mingle in the delightful circle of its hospitable and accomplished inhabitants. But you will never be forgotten in this heart of mine. My visit to your State is an epoch in my life. I shall carry with me everywhere, and carry back to my own patriotic State, a grateful recollection of the kindness, friendship, and hospitality, which I have experienced so generously at your hands. And whatever may be my future lot or destiny, in retirement or public station, in health or sickness, in adversity or prosperity, you may count upon me, as an humble but zealous co-operator with you, in all honorable struggles to place the government of our country once more upon a solid, pure, and patriotic basis. I leave with you all that it is in my power to offer—my fervent prayers that one and all of you may be crowned with the blessings of Heaven; that your days may be lengthened out to the utmost period of human existence; that they may be unclouded, happy, and prosperous; and that, when this mortal career shall terminate, you may be translated to a better and a brighter world.

Farewell, fellow-citizens—ladies and gentlemen—an affectionate farewell to all of you!

X.

ON THE MEXICAN WAR.

AT THE LEXINGTON, (KY.) MASS MEETING, NOV. 13, 1847.

[The War with Mexico having been prosecuted to the complete discomfiture of the armies of that Republic, and the capture of her Metropolis having virtually crushed her resistance to the power of our Government, without having (apparently) secured to our country the blessings of peace, Mr. Clay, impressed with a sense of the public danger involved in the further prosecution of a war having no longer a definite, avowed aim, assembled his fellow-citizens of Fayette county, Ky, and addressed them as follows:]

Ladies and Gentlemen

The day is dark and gloomy, unsettled and uncertain, like the condition of our country in regard to the unnatural War with Mexico. The public mind is agitated and anxious, and is filled with serious apprehensions as to its indefinite continuance, and especially as to the consequences which its termination may bring forth, menacing the harmony, if not the existence, of our Union.

It is under these circumstances I present myself before you. No ordinary occasion would have drawn me from the retirement in which I live; but, while a single pulsation of the human heart remains, it should, if necessary, be dedicated to the service of one's country. And I have hoped that, although I am a private and humble citizen, an expression of the views and opinions I entertain, might form some little addition to the general stock of information, and afford a small assistance in delivering our country from the perils and dangers which surround it.

I have come here with no purpose to attempt to make a fine speech, or any ambitious oratorical display. I have brought with me no rhetorical bouquets to throw into this assemblage. In the circle of the year Autumn has come, and the season of flowers has passed away. In the progress of years, my Spring-time has gone by, and I too am in the Autumn of life, and feel the frost of Age. My desire and aim are to address you earnestly, calmly, seriously, and plainly, upon the grave and momentous subjects which have brought us together. And I am most solicitous that not a solitary word may fall from me, offensive to any party or person in the whole extent of the Union.

War, Pestilence, and Famine, by the common consent of mankind, are the three greatest calamities which can befall our species; and War, as the most direful, justly stands foremost and in front. Pestilence and Famine, no doubt for wise although inscrutable purposes, are inflictions of Provi-

dence, to which it is our duty, therefore, to bow with obedience, humble submission, and resignation. Their duration is not long, and their ravages are limited. They bring, indeed, great affliction, while they last, but Society soon recovers from their effects. War is the voluntary work of our own hands, and whatever reproaches it may deserve should be directed to ourselves. When it breaks out, its duration is indefinite and unknown—its vicissitudes are hidden from our view. In the sacrifice of human life, and in the waste of human treasure, in its losses and in its burdens, it affects both belligerent nations, and its sad effects of mangled bodies, of death, and of desolation, endure long after its thunders are hushed in peace. War unhinges society, disturbs its peaceful and regular industry, and scatters poisonous seeds of disease and immorality, which continue to germinate and diffuse their baneful influence long after it has ceased. Dazzling by its glitter, pomp, and pageantry, it begets a spirit of wild adventure and romantic enterprise, and often disqualifies those who embark in it, after their return from the bloody fields of battle, from engaging in the industrious and peaceful vocations of life.

We are informed by a statement, which is apparently correct, that the number of our countrymen slain in this lamentable Mexican War, although it has yet been of only eighteen months' existence, is equal to one half of the whole of the American loss during the seven years' War of the Revolution! And I venture to assert that the expenditure of treasure which it has occasioned, when it shall come to be fairly ascertained and footed up, will be found to be more than half of the pecuniary cost of the War of our Independence. And this is the condition of the party whose arms have been everywhere and constantly victorious!

How did we unhappily get involved in this War? It was predicted as the consequence of the Annexation of Texas to the United States. If we had not annexed Texas, we should have had no War. The people were told that if that event happened, War would ensue. They were told that the War between Texas and Mexico had not been terminated by a treaty of peace; that Mexico still claimed Texas as a revolted province; and that, if we received Texas into our Union, we took along with her the War existing between her and Mexico. And the Minister of Mexico formally announced to the Government at Washington, that his nation would consider the Annexation of Texas to the United States as producing a state of war. But all this was denied by the partisans of Annexation. They insisted we should have no war, and even imputed to those who foretold it sinister motives for their groundless prediction.

But, notwithstanding a state of virtual war necessarily resulted from the fact of annexation of one of the belligerents to the United States, actual hostilities might have been probably averted by prudence, moderation, and wise statesmanship. If General Taylor had been permitted to remain, where his own good sense prompted him to believe he ought to remain, at the point of Corpus Christi; and if a negotiation had been opened with

Mexico, in a true spirit of amity and conciliation, War possibly might have been prevented. But, instead of this pacific and moderate course, while Mr. Slidell was bending his way to Mexico, with his diplomatic credentials, General Taylor was ordered to transport his cannon, and to plant them, in a warlike attitude, opposite to Matamoras, on the east bank of the Rio Bravo, within the very disputed territory, the adjustment of which was to be the object of Mr Slidell's mission. What else could have transpired but a conflict of arms?

Thus the War commenced, and the president, after having produced it, appealed to Congress. A bill was prepared to raise 50,000 volunteers, and in order to commit all who should vote for it, a preamble was inserted falsely attributing the commencement of the War to the act of Mexico. I have no doubt of the patriotic motives of those who, after struggling to divest the bill of that flagrant error, found themselves constrained to vote for it. But I must say that no earthly consideration would have ever tempted or provoked me to vote for a bill with a palpable falsehood stamped on its face. Almost idolizing truth as I do, I never, never could have voted for that bill.

The exceptionable conduct of the Federal party, during the last British War, has excited an influence in the prosecution of the present War, and prevented a just discrimination between the two Wars. That was a War of National defence, required for the vindication of the National rights and honor, and demanded by the indignant voice of the people. President Madison himself, I know, at first reluctantly and with great doubt and hesitation, brought himself to the conviction that it ought to be declared. A leading, and perhaps the most influential member of his Cabinet (Mr. Gallatin), was, up to the time of its declaration, opposed to it. But nothing could withstand the irresistible force of public sentiment. It was a just War, and its great object, as announced at the time, was, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," against the intolerable and oppressive acts of British power on the ocean. The justice of the War, far from being denied or controverted, was admitted by the Federal party, which only questioned it on considerations of policy. Being deliberately and constitutionally declared, it was, I think, their duty to have given to it their hearty coöperation. But the mass of them did not. They continued to oppose and thwart it, to discourage loans and enlistments, to deny the power of the General Government to march the militia beyond our limits, and to hold a Hartford Convention, which, whatever were its real objects, bore the aspect of seeking a dissolution of the Union itself. They lost and justly lost the public confidence. But has not an apprehension of a similar fate, in a state of a case widely different, a repressed a fearless expression of their real sentiments in some of our public men?

How totally variant is the present War. This is no War of Defence, but one unnecessary and of offensive aggression. It is Mexico that is defending her firesides, her castles, and her altars, not we. And how different also is

the conduct of the Whig party of the present day from that of the major part of the Federal party during the War of 1812! Far from interposing any obstacles to the prosecution of the War, if the Whigs in office are reproachable at all, it is for having lent too ready a facility to it, without careful examination into the objects of the War. And, out of office, who have rushed to the prosecution of the War with more ardor and alacrity than the Whigs? Whose hearts have bled more freely than those of the Whigs? Who have more occasion to mourn the loss of sons, husbands, brothers, fathers, than Whig parents, Whigs wives, and Whig brothers, in this deadly and unprofitable strife?

But the havoc of War is in progress, and the no less deplorable havoc of an inhospitable and pestilential climate. Without indulging in an unnecessary retrospect and useless reproaches on the past, all hearts and heads should unite in the patriotic endeavor to bring it to a satisfactory close. Is there no way that this can be done? Must we blindly continue the conflict without any visible object, or any prospect of a definite termination? This is the important subject upon which I desire to consult and commune with you. Who, in this free government, is to decide upon the objects of a War, at its commencement, or at any time during its existence? Does the power belong to collective wisdom of the Nation in Congress assembled, or is it vested solely in a single functionary of the Government?

A declaration of War is the highest and most awful exercise of sovereignty. The Convention which framed our Federal Constitution had learned from the pages of history that it had been often and greatly abused. It had seen that War had often been commenced upon the most trifling pretexts; that it had been frequently waged to establish or exclude a dynasty; to snatch a crown from the head of one potentate and place it upon the head of another; that it had often been prosecuted to promote alien and other interests than those of the nation whose chief had proclaimed it, as in the case of English wars for Hanoverian interests; and, in short, that such a vast and tremendous power ought not to be confided to the perilous exercise of one single man. The Convention, therefore, resolved to guard the War-making power against those great abuses, of which, in the hands of a monarch, it was so susceptible. And the security against those abuses which its wisdom devised, was to vest the War-making power in the Congress of the United States, being the immediate representatives of the people and the States. So apprehensive and jealous was the Convention of its abuse in any other hands, that it interdicted the exercise of the power to any State in the Union, without the consent of Congress. Congress, then, in our system of Government, is the sole depositary of that tremendous power.

The Constitution provides that Congress shall have power to declare War, and grant letters-of-marque and reprisal, to make rules concerning captures on land and water, to raise and support armies, and provide and maintain a navy, and to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces. Thus we perceive that the principal power in regard to War, with all its

auxiliary attendants, is granted to Congress. Whenever called upon to determine upon the solemn question of Peace or War, Congress must consider and deliberate and decide upon the motives, objects and causes of the War. And, if a War be commenced without any previous declaration of its objects, as in the case of the existing War with Mexico, Congress must necessarily possess the authority, at any time, to declare for what purposes it shall be farther prosecuted. If we suppose Congress does not possess the controlling authority attributed to it—if it be contended that a War having been once commenced, the President of the United States may direct it to the accomplishment of any objects he pleases, without consulting and without any regard to the will of Congress—the Convention will have utterly failed in guarding the Nation against the abuses and ambition of a single individual. Either Congress or the President must have the right of determining upon the objects for which a War shall be prosecuted. There is no other alternative. If the President possess it and may prosecute it for objects against the will of Congress, where is the difference between our Free Government and that of any other nation which may be governed by an absolute Czar, Emperor, or King?

Congress may omit, as it has omitted in the present War, to proclaim the objects for which it was commenced or has been since prosecuted; and, in case of such omission, the President, being charged with the employment and direction of the national force, is necessarily left to his own judgment to decide upon the objects to the attainment of which that force shall be applied. But, whenever Congress shall think proper to declare, by some authentic act, for what purposes a war shall be commenced or continued, it is the duty of the President to apply the national force to the attainment of those purposes. In the instance of the last War with Great Britain, the act of Congress by which it was declared was preceded by a Message of President Madison enumerating the wrongs and injuries of which we complained against Great Britain. That Message, therefore, and without it the well-known objects of the War, which was a War purely of defence, rendered it unnecessary that Congress should particularize, in the act, the specific objects for which it was proclaimed. The whole world knew that it was a War waged for Free Trade and Sailors' Rights.

It may be urged that the President and Senate possess the treaty-making power, without any express limitation as to its exercise; that the natural and ordinary termination of a War is by a treaty of peace; and therefore, that the President and Senate must possess the power to decide what stipulations and conditions shall enter into such a treaty. But it is not more true that the President and Senate possess the treaty-making power, without limitation, than that Congress possesses the War-making power, without restriction. These two powers then ought to be so interpreted as to reconcile the one with the other; and, in expounding the Constitution, we ought to keep constantly in view the nature and structure of our Free Government, and especially the great object of the Convention in taking the War-

making power out of the hands of a single man and placing it in the safer custody of the representatives of the whole nation. The desirable reconciliation between the two powers is effected by attributing to Congress the right to declare what shall be the objects of a War, and to the President the duty of endeavoring to obtain those objects by the direction of the national force and by diplomacy.

I am broaching no new and speculative theory. The statute-book of the United States is full of examples of prior declarations by Congress of the objects to be attained by negotiations with foreign powers, and the archives of the Executive Department furnish abundant evidence of the accomplishment of those objects, or the attempt to accomplish them by subsequent negotiation. Prior to the declaration of the last War against Great Britain, in all the restrictive measures which Congress adopted, against the two great belligerent powers of Europe, clauses were inserted in the several acts establishing them, tendering to both or either of the belligerents the abolition of these restrictions if they would repeal their hostile Berlin and Milan Decrees and Orders in Council, operating against our commerce and navigation. And these acts of Congress were invariably communicated through the Executive, by diplomatic notes, to France and Great Britain, as the basis upon which it was proposed to restore friendly intercourse with them. So after the termination of the War, various acts of Congress were passed, from time to time, offering to foreign powers the principle of reciprocity in the commerce and navigation of the United States with them. Out of these acts have sprung a class, and a large class, of treaties (four or five of which were negotiated while I was in the Department of State), commonly called Reciprocity Treaties, concluded under all the Presidents from Mr. Madison to Mr. Van Buren, inclusive. And with regard to commercial treaties, negotiated with the sanction of prior acts of Congress, where they contained either appropriations, or were in conflict with unrepealed statutes, it has been ever held as the republican doctrine, from Mr. Jay's treaty down to the present time, that the passage of acts of Congress was necessary to secure the execution of those treaties. If, in the matter of foreign commerce, in respect to which the power vested in Congress to regulate it and the treaty-making power may be regarded as concurrent, Congress can previously decide the objects to which negotiation shall be applied, how much stronger is the case of War, the power to declare which is confided *exclusively* to Congress.

I conclude, therefore, Mr. President and fellow-citizens, with entire confidence, that Congress has the right, either at the beginning, or during the prosecution of any War, to decide the objects and purposes for which it was proclaimed, or for which it ought to be continued. And I think it is the duty of Congress, by some deliberate and authentic act, to declare for what objects the present War shall be longer prosecuted. I suppose the President would not hesitate to regulate his conduct by the pronounced will of Congress, and to employ the force and the diplomatic power of the nation to

execute that will. But, if the President should decline or refuse to do so, and, in contempt of the supreme authority of Congress, should persevere in waging the War, for other objects than those proclaimed by Congress, then it would be the imperative duty of that body to vindicate its authority by the most stringent and effectual and appropriate measures. And if, on the contrary, the enemy should refuse to conclude a treaty, containing stipulations securing the objects designated by Congress, it would become the duty of the whole Government to prosecute the War with all the national energy, until those objects were attained by a treaty of peace. There can be no insuperable difficulty in Congress making such an authoritative declaration. Let it resolve, simply, that the War shall or shall not be a War of Conquest; and, if a War of Conquest, what is to be conquered? Should a resolution pass, disclaiming the design of Conquest, peace would follow in less than sixty days, if the President would conform to his constitutional duty.

Here, fellow-citizens, I might pause, having indicated a mode by which the nation, through its accredited and legitimate representatives in Congress, can announce for what purposes and objects this War shall be longer prosecuted, and can thus let the whole people of the United States know for what end their blood is to be farther shed, and their treasure farther expended, instead of the knowledge of it being locked up and concealed in the bosom of one man. We should no longer perceive the objects of the War varying from time to time, according to the changing opinions of the Chief Magistrate charged with its prosecution. But I do not think it right to stop here. It is the privilege of the people, in their primary assemblies, and of every private man, however humble, to express an opinion in regard to the purposes for which the War should be continued; and such an expression will receive just so much consideration and consequence as it is entitled to, and no more.

Shall this War be prosecuted for the purpose of conquering and annexing Mexico, in all its boundless extent, to the United States?

I will not attribute to the President of the United States any such design; but I confess I have been shocked and alarmed by manifestations of it in various quarters. Of all the dangers and misfortunes which could befall this nation, I should regard that of its becoming a warlike and conquering power the most direful and fatal. History tells the mournful tale of conquering nations and conquerors. The three most celebrated conquerors, in the civilized world, were Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon. The first, after overrunning a large portion of Asia, and sighing and lamenting that there were no more worlds to subdue, met a premature and ignoble death. His lieutenants quarreled and warred with each other as to the spoils of his victories, and finally lost them all. Cæsar, after conquering Gaul, returned with his triumphant legions to Rome, passed the Rubicon, won the battle of Pharsalia, trampled upon the liberties of his country, and expired by the patriot-hand of Brutus. But Rome ceased to be free. War and conquest had enervated and corrupted the masses. The spirit of true

liberty was extinguished, and a long line of emperors succeeded, some of whom were the most execrable monsters that ever existed in humam form. And that most extraordinary man, perhaps, in all history, after subjugating all continental Europe, occupying almost all its capitals—seriously threatening, according to M. Thiers, proud Albion itself—and decking the brows of various members of his family with crowns torn from the heads of other monarchs, lived to behold his own dear France itself in the possession of his enemies, and was made himself a wretched captive, and, far removed from country, family and friends, breathed his last on the distant and inhospitable rock of St. Helena. The Alps and the Rhine had been claimed as the natural boundaries of France, but even these could not be secured in the treaties to which she was reduced to submit. Do you believe that the people of Macedon or Greece, of Rome, or of France, were benefited, individually or collectively, by the triumphs of their great Captains? Their sad lot was immense sacrifice of life, heavy and intolerable burdens, and the ultimate loss of liberty itself.

That the power of the United States is competent to the conquest of Mexico is quite probable. But it could not be achieved without frightful carnage, dreadful sacrifices of human life, and the creation of an onerous National Debt; nor could it be completely effected, in all probability, until after the lapse of many years. It would be necessary to occupy all its strongholds, to disarm its inhabitants, and keep them in constant fear and subjection. To consummate the work, I presume that Standing Armies, not less than a hundred thousand men, would be necessary to be kept perhaps always in the bosom of their country. These standing armies reveling in a foreign land, and accustomed to trample upon the liberties of a foreign people, at some distant day, might be fit and ready instruments, under the lead of some daring and unprincipled chieftain, to return to their country and prostrate the public liberty.

Supposing the conquest to be once made, what is to be done with it? Is it to be governed, like Roman Provinces, by Proconsuls? Would it be compatible with the genius, character, and safety of our free institutions, to keep such a great country as Mexico, with a population of not less than nine millions, in a state of constant military subjection?

Shall it be annexed to the United States? Does any considerate man believe it possible that two such immense countries, with territories of nearly equal extent, with populations so incongruous, so different in race, in language, in religion, and in laws, could be blended together in one harmonious mass, and happily governed by one common authority? Murmurs, discontent, insurrections, rebellion, would inevitably ensue, until the incompatible parts would be broken asunder, and possibly, in the frightful struggle, our present glorious Union itself would be dissevered or dissolved. We ought not to forget the warning voice of all history, which teaches the difficulty of combining and consolidating together conquering and conquered nations. After the lapse of eight hundred years, during which the Moors held their

conquest of Spain, the indomitable courage, perseverance, and obstinacy of the Spanish race finally triumphed over and expelled the African invaders from the Peninsula. And even within our own time, the colossal power of Napoleon, when at its loftiest height, was incompetent to subdue and subjugate the proud Castilian. And here in our own neighborhood, Lower Canada, which, near one hundred years ago, after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, was ceded by France to Great Britain, remains a foreign land in the midst of the British provinces, foreign in feelings and attachment, and foreign in laws, language, and religion. And what has been the fact with poor, gallant, generous, and oppressed Ireland? Centuries have passed since the overbearing Saxon overran and subdued the Emerald Isle. Rivers of Irish blood have flowed, during the long and arduous contest. Insurrection and rebellion have been the order of the day; and yet, up to this time, Ireland remains alien in feeling, affection, and sympathy, toward the power which has so long borne her down. Every Irishman hates, with a mortal hatred, his Saxon oppressor. Although there are great territorial differences between the condition of England and Ireland, as compared to that of the United States and Mexico, there are some points of striking resemblance between them. Both the Irish and the Mexicans are probably of the same Celtic race. Both the English and the Americans are of the same Saxon origin. The Catholic Religion predominates in both the former, the Protestant among both the latter. Religion has been the fruitful cause of dissatisfaction and discontent between the Irish and the English nations. Is there no reason to apprehend that it would become so between the people of the United States and those of Mexico, if they were united together? Why should we seek to interfere with them in their mode of worship of a common Savior? We believe they are wrong, especially in the exclusive character of their faith, and that we are right. They think that they are right and we wrong. What other rule can there be than to leave the followers of each religion to their own solemn convictions of conscientious duty toward God? Who, but the Great Arbiter of the Universe, can judge in such a question? For my own part, I sincerely believe and hope that those who belong to all the departments of the great Church of Christ, if, in truth and purity, they conform to the doctrines which they profess, will ultimately secure an abode in those regions of bliss which all aim finally to reach. I think that there is no potentate in Europe, whatever his religion may be, more enlightened, or at this moment so interesting as the liberal head of the Papal See.

But I suppose it to be impossible that those who favor, if there be any who favor, the annexation of Mexico to the United States, can think that it ought to be perpetually governed by military sway. Certainly no votary of human liberty could deem it right that a violation should be perpetrated of the great principles of our own Revolution, according to which, laws ought not to be enacted, and taxes ought not to be levied, without representation on the part of those who are to obey the one and pay the other. Then, Mexico is to par-

ticipate in our councils and equally share in our legislation and government. But, suppose she would not voluntarily choose representatives to the National Congress, is our soldiery to follow the electors to the ballot-box, and by force to compel them, at the point of the bayonet, to deposit their ballots? And how are the nine millions of Mexican people to be represented in the Congress of the United States of America and the Congress of the Republic of Mexico combined? Is every Mexican, without regard to color or caste, per capitum, to exercise the elective franchise? How is the quota of representation between the two Republics to be fixed? Where is their seat of common government to be established? And who can foresee or foretell, if Mexico, voluntarily or by force, were to share in the common government, what would be the consequence to her or to us? Unprepared, as I fear her population yet is, for the practical enjoyment of self-government, and of habits, customs, language, laws, and religion, so totally different from our own, we should present the revolting spectacle of a confused, distracted, and motley Government. We would have a Mexican Party, a Pacific Ocean Party, an Atlantic Party, in addition to the other parties which exist, or with which we are threatened, each striving to execute its own particular views and purposes, reproaching the others with thwarting and disappointing them. The Mexican representation, in Congress, would probably form a separate and impenetrable corps, always ready to throw itself into the scale of any other party, to advance and promote Mexican interests. Such a state of things could not long endure. Those whom God and geography have pronounced should live asunder, could never be permanently and harmoniously united together.

Do we want for our own happiness or greatness the addition of Mexico to the existing Union of our States? If our population were too dense for our territory, and there was a difficulty in obtaining honorably the means of subsistence, there might be some excuse for an attempt to enlarge our dominions. But we have no such apology. We have already, in our glorious country, a vast and almost boundless territory. Beginning at the North, in the frozen regions of the British Provinces, it stretches thousands of miles along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean and the Mexican Gulf, until it almost reaches the Tropics. It extends to the Pacific Ocean, borders on those great inland seas, the Lakes, which separate us from the possessions of Great Britain, and it embraces the great Father of Rivers, from its uppermost source to the Belize, and the still longer Missouri, from its mouth to the gorges of the Rocky Mountains. It comprehends the greatest variety of the richest soils, capable of almost all the productions of the earth, except tea and coffee and spices; and it includes every variety of climate which the heart could wish or desire. We have more than ten thousand millions of acres of waste and unsettled lands—enough for the subsistence of ten or twenty times our present population. Ought we not to be satisfied with such a country? Ought we not to be profoundly thankful to the Giver of all good things for such a vast and bountiful land? Is

it not the height of ingratitude to Him, to seek by war and conquest, indulging in a spirit of rapacity, to acquire other lands, the homes and habitations of a large portion of His common children? If we pursue the object of such a conquest, beside mortgaging the revenue and resources of this country for ages to come, in the form of an onerous National Debt, we should have greatly to augment that Debt by an assumption of the sixty or seventy millions of the National Debt of Mexico. For I take it that nothing is more certain than that, if we obtain voluntarily or by conquest a foreign nation, we acquire it with all the incumbrances attached to it. In my humble opinion, we are now bound in honor and morality to pay the just debt of Texas. And we should be equally bound by the same obligations, to pay the debts of Mexico if it were annexed to the United States.

Of the possessions which appertain to Man, in his collective or individual condition, none should be preserved and cherished with more sedulous and unremitting care than that of an unsullied character. It is impossible to estimate it too highly in society when attached to an individual, nor can it be exaggerated or too greatly magnified in a nation. Those who lose or are indifferent to it become just objects of scorn and contempt. Of all the abominable transactions which sully the pages of history, none exceed in enormity that of the dismemberment and partition of Poland by the three great Continental Powers—Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Ages may pass away, and centuries roll around, but so long as human records endure, all mankind will unite in execrating the rapacious and detestable deed. That was accomplished by overwhelming force, and the unfortunate existence of fatal dissensions and divisions in the bosom of Poland. Let us avoid affixing to our name and national character a similar, if not worse, stigma. I am afraid that we do not now stand well in the opinion of other parts of Christendom. Repudiation has brought upon us much reproach. All the nations, I apprehend, look upon us, in the prosecution of the present War, as being actuated by a spirit of rapacity, and an inordinate desire for territorial aggrandizement. Let us not forfeit altogether their good opinions. Let us command their applause by a noble exercise of forbearance and justice. In the elevated station which we hold, we can safely afford to practise the God-like virtues of moderation and magnanimity. The long series of glorious triumphs, achieved by our gallant commanders and their brave armies, unattended by a single reverse, justify us, without the least danger of tarnishing the national honor, in disinterestedly holding out the olive-branch of peace. We do not want the mines, the mountains, the morasses, and the sterile lands of Mexico. To her the loss of them would be humiliating, and be a perpetual source of regret and mortification. To us they might prove a fatal acquisition, producing distraction, dissension, division, possibly disunion. Let, therefore, the integrity of the national existence and national territory of Mexico remain undisturbed. For one, I desire to see no part of her territory torn from her by war. Some of our people have placed their

hearts upon the acquisition of the Bay of San Francisco in Upper California. To us, as a great maritime power, it might prove to be of advantage hereafter in respect to our commercial and navigating interests. To Mexico, which can never be a great maritime power, it can never be of much advantage. If we can obtain it by fair purchase for a just equivalent, I should be happy to see it so acquired. As, whenever the War ceases, Mexico ought to be required to pay the debts due our citizens, perhaps an equivalent for that Bay may be found in that debt, our Government assuming to pay to our citizens whatever portion of it may be applied for that object. But it should form no motive in the prosecution of the War, which I would not continue a solitary hour for the sake of that harbor.

But what, it will be asked, shall we make peace without any indemnity for the expenses of the war? If the published documents in relation to the late negotiations between Mr. Trist and the Mexican Commissioners be true, and I have not seen them anywhere contradicted, the Executive properly waived any demand of indemnity for the expenses of the War. And the rupture of that negotiation was produced, by our Government insisting upon a cession from Mexico, of the strip of mostly barren land between the Nueces and the Rio Bravo and New Mexico, which Mexico refused to make. So that we are now fighting, if not for the conquest of all Mexico, as intimated in some quarters, for that narrow strip, and for the barren province of New-Mexico, with its few miserable mines. We bought all the province of Louisiana for fifteen millions of dollars, and it is, in my opinion, worth more than all Mexico together. We bought Florida at five millions of dollars, and a hard bargain it was, since, beside that sum, we gave up the boundary of the Rio Bravo, to which I think we were entitled, as the western limit of the Province of Louisiana, and were restricted to that of the Sabine. And we are now, if not seeking the conquest of all Mexico, to continue this War indefinitely for the inconsiderable objects to which I have just referred.

But, it will be repeated, are we to have no indemnity for the expenses of the War? Mexico is utterly unable to make us any pecuniary indemnity, if the justice of the War on our part entitled us to demand it. Her country has been laid waste, her cities burned or occupied by our troops, her means so exhausted that she is unable to pay even her own armies. And every day's prosecution of the War, while it would augment the amount of our indemnity, would lessen the ability of Mexico to pay it. We have seen, however, that there is another form in which we are to demand indemnity. It is to be territorial indemnity! I hope, for reasons already stated, that that firebrand will not be brought into our country.

Among the resolutions, which it is my intention to present for your consideration, at the conclusion of this address, one proposes, in your behalf and mine, to disavow, in the most positive manner, any desire, on our part, to acquire any foreign territory whatever, for the purpose of introducing slavery into it. I do not know that any citizen of the United States enter-

tains such a wish. But such a motive has often been imputed to the Slave States, and I therefore think it necessary to notice it on this occasion. My opinions on the subject of Slavery are well known. They have the merit, if it be one, of consistency, uniformity, and long duration. I have ever regarded Slavery as a great evil, a wrong, for the present, I fear, an irremediable wrong, to its unfortunate victims. I should rejoice if not a single slave breathed the air or was within the limits of our country. But here they are, to be dealt with as well as we can, with a due consideration of all circumstances affecting the security, safety, and happiness of both races. Every State has the supreme, uncontrolled, and exclusive power to decide for itself whether slavery shall cease or continue within its limits, without any exterior intervention from any quarter. In States, where the slaves outnumber the whites, as is the case with several, the blacks could not be emancipated and invested with all the rights of freemen, without becoming the governing race in those States. Collisions and conflicts, between the two races, would be inevitable, and, after shocking scenes of rapine and carnage, the extinction or expulsion of the blacks would certainly take place. In the State of Kentucky, near fifty years ago, I thought the proportion of slaves, in comparison with the whites, was so inconsiderable that we might safely adopt a system of gradual emancipation that would ultimately eradicate this evil in our State. That system was totally different from the immediate abolition of Slavery for which the party of the Abolitionists of the present day contend. Whether they have intended it or not, it is my calm and deliberate belief, that they have done incalculable mischief even to the very cause which they espoused, to say nothing of the discord which has been produced between different parts of the Union. According to the system we attempted, near the close of the last century, all slaves in being were to remain such; but, all who might be born subsequent to a specified day, were to become free at the age of twenty-eight, and during their service were to be taught to read, write, and cipher. Thus, instead of being thrown upon the community, ignorant and unprepared, as would be the case by immediate emancipation, they would have entered upon the possession of their freedom, capable in some degree of enjoying it. After a hard struggle, the system was defeated, and I regret it extremely, as, if it had been then adopted, our State would be now nearly rid of that reproach.

Since that epoch, a scheme of unmixed benevolence has sprung up, which, if it had existed at that time, would have obviated one of the greatest objections which was made to gradual emancipation, which was the continuance of the emancipated slaves to abide among us. That scheme is the American Colonization Society. About twenty-eight years ago, a few individuals, myself among them, met together in the City of Washington, and laid the foundation of that Society. It has gone on amid extraordinary difficulties and trials, sustaining itself almost entirely by spontaneous and voluntary contributions, from individual benevolence, with scarcely any aid from Government. The Colonies, planted under its auspices, are now well

established communities, with churches, schools, and other institutions appertaining to the civilized state. They have made successful war in repelling attacks and invasions by their barbarous and savage neighbors. They have made treaties, annexed territories to their dominion, and are blessed with a free representative government. I recently read a message, from one of their Governors to their Legislature, which, in point of composition, and in careful attention to the public affairs of their Republic, would compare advantageously with the Messages of the Governers of our own States. I am not very superstitious, but I do solemnly believe that these Colonies are blessed with the smiles of Providence, and if we may dare attempt penetrating the veil by which He conceals His allwise dispensations from mortal eyes, that He designs that Africa shall be the refuge and the home of the descendants of its sons and daughters, torn and dragged from their native land by lawless violence.

It is a philanthropic and consoling reflection that the moral and physical condition of the African race in the United States, even in a state of slavery, is far better than it would have been if their ancestors had never been brought from their native land. And if it should be the decree of the Great Ruler of the Universe that their descendants shall be made instruments in His hands to the establishment of Civilization and the Christian Religion throughout Africa, our regrets, on account of the original wrong, will be greatly mitigated.

It may be argued that, in admitting the injustice of Slavery, I admit the necessity of an instantaneous reparation of that injustice. Unfortunately, however, it is not always safe, practicable, or possible, in the great movements of States and public affairs of nations, to remedy or repair the infliction of previous injustice. In the inception of it, we may oppose and denounce it, by our most strenuous exertions; but, after its consummation, there is often no other alternative left us but to deplore its perpetration, and to acquiesce as the only course, in its existence, as a less evil than the frightful consequences which might ensue from the vain endeavor to repair it. Slavery is one of those unfortunate instances. The evil of it was inflicted upon us by the parent country of Great Britain, against all the entreaties and remonstrances of the Colonies. And here it is among and amid us, and we must dispose of it as best we can under all the circumstances which surround us. It continued, by the importation of slaves from Africa, in spite of Colonial resistance, for a period of more than a century and a half, and it may require an equal or longer lapse of time before our country is entirely rid of the evil. And in the meantime, moderation, prudence, and discretion, among ourselves, and the blessings of Providence, may be all necessary to accomplish our ultimate deliverance from it. Examples of similar infliction of irreparable national evil and injustice might be multiplied to an indefinite extent. The case of the Annexation of Texas to the United States is a recent and an obvious one, which, if it were wrong, can not now be repaired. Texas is now an integral part of our Union,

with its own voluntary consent. Many of us opposed the Annexation with honest zeal and most earnest exertions. But who would now think of perpetrating the folly of casting Texas out of the Confederacy and throwing her back upon her own independence, or into the arms of Mexico? Who would now seek to divorce her from this Union? The Creeks and the Cherokee Indians were, by the most exceptionable means, driven from their country, and transported beyond the Mississippi River. Their lands have been fairly purchased and occupied by inhabitants of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee. Who would now conceive the flagrant injustice of expelling those inhabitants and restoring the Indian country to the Cherokees and Creeks, under color of repairing original injustice? During the War of our Revolution, millions of paper-money were issued by our ancestors, as the only currency with which they could achieve our liberties and independence. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of families were stripped of their homes and their all, and brought to ruin, by giving credit and confidence to that spurious currency. Stern necessity has prevented the reparation of that great national injustice.

But I forbear: I will no longer trespass upon your patience or farther tax my own voice, impaired by a speech of more than three hours' duration which professional duty required me to make only a few days ago. If I have been at all successful in the exposition of the views and opinions which I entertain, I have shown—

1st. That the present War was brought about by the Annexation of Texas and the subsequent order of the President, without the previous consent and authority of Congress.

2d. That the President, being unenlightened and uninstructed, by any public declaration of Congress, as to objects for which it ought to be prosecuted, in the conduct of it, is, necessarily left to his own sense of what the national interests and honor may require.

3d. That the whole war-making power of the nation, as to motives, causes, and objects, is confided by the Constitution to the discretion and judgment of Congress.

4th. That it is, therefore, the right of Congress, at the commencement or during the progress of any War, to declare for what objects and purposes the War ought to be waged and prosecuted.

5th. That it is the right and duty of Congress to announce to the Nation for what objects the present War shall be longer continued: that it is the duty of the President, in the exercise of all his official functions, to conform to and carry out this declared will of Congress, by the exercise, if necessary, of all the high powers with which he is clothed; and that, if he fail or refuse to do so, it becomes the imperative duty of Congress to arrest the farther progress of the War by the most effectual means in its power.

Let Congress announce to the Nation the objects for which this War shall be farther protracted, and public suspense and public inquietude will no longer remain. If it is to be a War of conquest of all, or any part of Mexico,

let the people know it, and they will no longer be agitated by a dark and uncertain future. But, although I might have forborne to express any opinion whatever as to the purposes and objects for which the War should be continued, I have not thought proper to conceal my opinions, whether worth anything or not, from the public examination. Accordingly I have stated:

6th. That it seems to me that it is the duty of our country, as well on the score of moderation and magnanimity, as with the view of avoiding discord and discontent at home, to abstain from seeking to conquer and annex to the United States, Mexico or any part of it; and, especially, to disabuse the public mind in any quarter of the Union of the impression, if it anywhere exists, that a desire for conquest is cherished for the purpose of propagating or extendiug Slavery.

I have embodied, Mr. President and fellow-citizens, the sentiments and opinions which I have endeavored to explain and enforce, in a series of Resolutions, which I beg now to submit to your consideration and judgment. They are the following:

1. *Resolved*, As the opinion of this meeting, that the primary cause of the present unhappy War existing between the United States of America and the United States of the Republic of Mexico, was the Annexation of Texas to the former; and that the immediate occasion of hostilities between the two Republics arose out of the order of the President of the United States for the removal of the army under the command of Gen. Taylor, from its position at Corpus Christi to a point opposite to Matamoros, on the east bank of the Rio Bravo, within the territory claimed by both Republics, but then under the jurisdiction of that of Mexico, and inhabited by its citizens; and that the order of the President for the removal of the army to that point, was improvident and unconstitutional, it being without the concurrence of Congress, or even any consultation with it, although it was in session; but that Congress having, by subsequent acts, recognised the War thus brought into existence without its previous authority or consent, the prosecution of it became thereby National.

2. *Resolved*, That, in the absence of any formal and public declaration by Congress of the objects for which the War ought to be prosecuted, the President of the United States, as Chief Magistrate and as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, is left to the guidance of his own judgment to prosecute it for such purposes and objects as he may deem the honor and interest of the nation to require.

3. *Resolved*, That by the Constitution of the United States, Congress, being invested with power to declare War, and grant letters of marque and reprisal, to make rules concerning captures on land and water, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, and to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces, has the full and complete war-making power of the United States; and, so possessing it, has a right to determine upon the motives, causes, and objects of any War, when it commences, or at any time during the progress of its existence.

4. *Resolved*, As the farther opnion of this meeting, that it is the right and duty of Congress to declare, by some authentic act, for what purposes and objects the existing War ought to be farther prosecuted; that it is the duty of the President, in his official conduct, to conform to such a declaration of Congress; and that, if after such declaration the President should decline or refuse to endeavor, by all the means, civil, diplomatic, and military, in his power, to execute the announced will of Congress, and, in defiance of its authority, should continue to prosecute the War for purposes and objects other than those declared by that body, it would become the right and duty of Congress to adopt the most efficacious measures to arrest the farther progress of the War, taking care to make ample provision for the honor, the safety and security of our armies in Mexico, in every contingency. And, if Mexico should decline or refuse to conclude a treaty with us, stipulating for the purposes and objects so declared by Congress, it would be the duty of the Government to prosecute the War with the utmost vigor, until they were attained by a treaty of peace.

5. *Resolved*, That we view with serious alarm, and are utterly opposed to any purpose of annexing Mexico to the United States, in any mode, and especially by conquest; that we believe the two nations could not be happily governed by one common authority, owing to their great difference of race, law, language, and religion, and the vast extent of their respective territories, and large amount of their respective populations; that such a union,

against the consent of the exasperated Mexican people, could only be effected and preserved by large standing armies, and the constant application of military force—in other words, by despotic sway exercised over the Mexican people, in the first instance, but which, there would be just cause to apprehend, might in process of time be extended over the people of the United States: That we deprecate, therefore, such a union, as wholly incompatible with the genius of our Government, and with the character of free and liberal institutions; and we anxiously hope that each nation may be left in the undisturbed possession of its own laws, language, cherished religion, and territory, to pursue its own happiness, according to what it may deem best for itself.

6. *Resolved*, That, considering the series of splendid and brilliant victories achieved by our brave armies and their gallant commanders, during the War with Mexico, unattended by a single reverse, the United States, without any danger of their honor suffering the slightest tarnish, can practice the virtues of moderation and magnanimity toward their discomfited foe. We have no desire for the dismemberment of the United States of the Republic of Mexico, but wish only a just and proper fixation of the limits of Texas.

7. *Resolved*, That we do positively and emphatically disclaim and disavow any wish or desire, on our part, to acquire any foreign territory whatever, for the purpose of propagating Slavery, or of introducing slaves from the United States, into such foreign territory.

8. *Resolved*, That we invite our fellow-citizens of the United States, who are anxious for the restoration of the blessings of peace, or, if the existing War shall continue to be prosecuted, are desirous that its purposes and objects shall be defined and known; who are anxious to avert present and future perils and dangers, with which it may be fraught, and who are also anxious to produce contentment and satisfaction at home, and to elevate the national character abroad, to assemble together in their respective communities, and to express their views, feelings, and opinions.

XI.

ON GRADUAL EMANCIPATION IN KENTUCKY.

Letter to Richard Pindell.

[The people of Kentucky decided, in 1848, to revise their Constitution in the course of the following year. The perpetuation or abolition of Slavery was among the questions which would legitimately come before the Constitutional Convention. Mr. Clay, though always discountenancing agitation respecting Slavery when it seemed unlikely to lead to any practical results, now believed that the proper time had arrived for restating to his fellow-citizens the convictions which he had expressed half a century earlier, when Kentucky became a State, and which he had never ceased to cherish, adverse to the perpetuity of Slavery. He, therefore, addressed to a relative and intimate personal friend in Lexington, the following letter:]

New Orleans, February 17, 1849.

Dear Sir: Prior to my departure from home in December last, in behalf of yourself and other friends, you obtained from me a promise to make a public exposition of my views and opinions upon a grave and important question which it was thus anticipated, would be much debated and considered by the people of Kentucky during this year, in consequence of the approaching Convention summoned to amend the present Constitution. I was not entirely well when I left home, and owing to that cause, and my

confinement several weeks during my sojourn in this city, from the effects of an accident which befell me, I have been delayed in the fulfilment of my promise, which I now propose to execute.

The question to which I allude is, whether African Slavery, as it now exists in Kentucky, shall be left to a perpetual or indefinite continuance, or some provision shall be made in the new constitution for its gradual and ultimate extinction?

A few general observations will suffice my present purpose, without entering on the whole subject of Slavery, under all its bearings, and in every aspect of it. I am aware that there are respectable persons who believe that Slavery is a blessing, that the institution ought to exist in every well-organized society, and that it is even favorable to the preservation of liberty. Happily, the number who entertain these extravagant opinions is not very great, and the time would be uselessly occupied in an elaborate refutation of them. I would, however, remark that, if Slavery be fraught with these alleged benefits, the principle on which it is maintained would require that one portion of the white race should be reduced to bondage to serve another portion of the same race, when black subjects of Slavery could not be obtained, and that in Africa, where they may entertain as great a preference for their color as we do for ours, they would be justified in reducing the white race to Slavery, in order to secure the blessings which that state is said to diffuse.

An argument, in support of reducing the African race to Slavery, is sometimes derived from their alleged intellectual inferiority to the white races; but, if this argument be founded in fact (as it may be, but which I shall not now examine), it would prove entirely too much. It would prove that any white nation, which had made greater advances in civilization, knowledge, and wisdom, than another white nation, would have a right to reduce the latter to a state of bondage. Nay, farther, if the principle of subjugation founded upon intellectual superiority be true, and be applicable to races and to nations, what is to prevent its being applied to individuals? And then the wisest man in the world would have a right to make slaves of all the rest of mankind!

If, indeed, we possess this intellectual superiority, profoundly grateful and thankful to Him who has bestowed it, we ought to fulfil all the obligations and duties which it imposes, and these would require us not to subjugate or deal unjustly with our fellow-men who are less blessed than we are, but to instruct, to improve, and to enlighten them.

A vast majority of the people of the United States, in every section of them, I believe, regret the introduction of Slavery into the Colonies, under the authority of our British ancestors, lament that a single slave treads our soil, deplore the necessity of the continuance of Slavery in any of the States, regard the institution as a great evil to both races, and would rejoice in the adoption of any safe, just, and practicable plan for the removal of all Slaves from among us. Hitherto no such satisfactory plan has been presented.

When, on the occasion of the formation of our present Constitution of Kentucky in 1799, the question of the gradual emancipation of Slavery in the State was agitated, its friends had to encounter a great obstacle, in the fact that there then existed no established Colony to which they could be transported. Now, by the successful establishment of flourishing Colonies on the Western Coast of Africa, that difficulty has been obviated. And I confess that, without indulging in any undue feelings of superstition, it does seem to me that it may have been among the dispensations of Providence to permit the wrongs under which Africa has suffered to be inflicted that her children might be returned to their original home civilized and imbued with the benign spirit of Christianity, and prepared ultimately to redeem that great continent from barbarism and idolatry.

6. Without undertaking to judge for any other State, it was in my opinion in 1799, that Kentucky was in a condition to admit of the gradual emancipation of her slaves; and how deeply do I lament that a system, with that object, had not been then established! If it had been, the State would now be nearly rid of all slaves. My opinion has never changed, and I have frequently publicly expressed it. I should be most happy if what was impracticable at that epoch could now be accomplished.

7. After full and deliberate consideration of the subject, it appears to me three principles should regulate the establishment of a system of Gradual Emancipation. The first is, that it should be slow in its operation, cautious, and gradual, so as to occasion no convulsion, nor any rash or sudden disturbance in the existing habits of society. Second, that, as an indispensable condition, the emancipated slaves should be removed from the State to some Colony. And, thirdly, that the expenses of their transportation to such colony, including an outfit for six months after their arrival at it, should be defrayed by a fund to be raised from the labor of each freed slave.

8. Nothing could be more unwise than the immediate liberation of all the slaves in the State, comprehending both sexes and all ages, from that of tender infancy to extreme old age. It would lead to the most frightful and fatal consequences. Any great change in the condition of society should be marked by extreme care and circumspection. The introduction of slaves into the Colonies was an operation of many years' duration; and the work of their removal from the United States can only be effected after the lapse of a great length of time.

I think that a period should be fixed when all born after it should be free at a specified age, all born before it remaining slaves for life. That period I would suggest should be 1855 or even 1860; for on this and other arrangements of the system, if adopted, I incline to a liberal margin, so as to obviate as many objections, and to unite as many opinions as possible. Whether the commencement of the operation of the system be a little earlier or later, is not so important as that a day should be permanently *fixed*, from which we could look forward, with confidence, to the final termination of Slavery within the limits of the Commonwealth.

Whatever may be the day fixed, whether 1855 or 1860, or any other day, all born after it, I suggest, should be free at the age of twenty-five, but be liable afterward to be hired out, under the authority of the State, for a term not exceeding three years, in order to raise a sum sufficient to pay the expenses of their transportation to the Colony and to provide them an outfit for six months after their arrival there.

If the descendants of those, who were themselves to be free, at the age of twenty-five were also to be considered as slaves until they attained the same age, and this rule were continued indefinitely as to time, it is manifest that Slavery would be perpetuated instead of being terminated. To guard against this consequence, provisions might be made that the offspring of those, who were to be free at twenty-five, should be free, from their births, but upon the condition that they should be apprenticed until they were twenty-one and be also afterward liable to be hired out, a period not exceeding three years, for the purpose of raising funds to meet the expenses to the Colony and their subsistence for the first six months.

The Pennsylvania system of Emancipation fixed the period of twenty-eight for the liberation of the slaves, and provided, or her courts have since interpreted the system to mean, that the issue of all who were to be free at the limited age, were from their births free. The Pennsylvania system made no provision for Colonization.

Until the commencement of the system which I am endeavoring to sketch, I think all the legal rights of the proprietors of slaves, in their fullest extent, ought to remain unimpaired and unrestricted. Consequently they would have the right to sell, devise, or remove them from the State, and, in the latter case, without their offspring being entitled to the benefit of Emancipation, for which the system provides.

2d. The colonization of the free blacks, as they successively arrived from year to year, at the age entitling them to freedom, I consider a condition absolutely indispensable. Without it I should be utterly opposed to any scheme of Emancipation. One hundred and ninety odd thousand blacks, composing about one fourth of the entire population of the State, with their descendants could never live in peace, harmony, and equality, with the residue of the population. The color, passions, and prejudices would forever prevent the two races from living together in a state of cordial union. Social, moral, and political degradation would be the inevitable lot of the colored race. Even in the Free States (I use the terms Free and Slave States not in any sense derogatory from one class, or implying any superiority in the other, but for the sake of brevity) that is their present condition. In some of those Free States the penal legislation against the people of color is quite as severe, if not harsher than it is in some of the Slave States. And nowhere in the United States are amalgamation and equality between the two races possible, it is better that there should be a separation, and that the African descendants should be returned to the native land of their fathers.

It would have been seen that the plan I have suggested proposes the annual transportation of all born after a specified day, upon their arrival at the prescribed age, to the Colony which may be selected for their destination, and that this process of transportation is to be continued until the separation of the two races is completed. If the emancipated slaves were to remain in Kentucky until they attained the age of twenty-eight, it would be about thirty-four years before the first annual transportation begins, if the system commence in 1855, and about thirty-nine years if its operation begin in 1860.

What the number thus to be annually transported would be, can not be precisely ascertained. I observe it stated by the auditor, that the increase of slaves in Kentucky last year was between three and four thousand. But, as that statement was made upon a comparison of the aggregate number of all the slaves in the State, without regard to births, it does not, I presume, exhibit truly the *natural* increase, which was probably larger. The aggregate was effected by the introduction, and still more by the exportation of slaves. I suppose that there would not be less, probably more, than five thousand to be transported the first year of the operation of the system; but after it was in progress some years, there would be a constant diminution of the number.

Would it be practicable annually to transport 5,000 persons from Kentucky? There can not be a doubt of it—or even a much larger number. We receive from Europe annually emigrants to an amount exceeding 250,000, at a cost for the passage of about $10 per head, and they embark at European ports more distant from the United States than the western coast of Africa. It is true that the commercial marine employed between Europe and the United States affords facilities in the transportation of emigrants, at that low rate, which that engaged in the commerce between Liberia and this country does not now supply. But that commerce is increasing, and by the time the proposed system, if adopted, would go into operation, it will have greatly augmented. If there were a certainty of the annual transportation of not less than five thousand persons to Africa, it would create a demand for transports, and the spirit of competition would, I have no doubt, greatly diminish the present cost of the passage. That cost has been stated, including the passage and six months' outfit after the arrival of the emigrant in Africa. Whatever may be the cost, and whatever the number to be transported, the fund to be raised by the hire of the liberated slaves, for a period not exceeding three years, will be amply sufficient. The annual hire on the average may be estimated at $50, or $150 for the whole term.

Colonization will be attended with the painful effect of the separation of the colonists from their parents, and in some instances from their children; but from the latter it will be only temporary, as they will follow and be again reunited. Their separation from their parents will not be until after they have attained a mature age, nor greater than voluntarily takes place

with emigrants from Europe, who leave their parents behind. It will be far less distressing than what frequently occurs in the state of Slavery, and will be attended with the animating encouragement that the colonists are transferred from a land of bondage and degradation for them, to a land of liberty and equality.

And 3d, the expense of transporting the liberated slave to the Colony, and of maintaining him there for six months, I think, ought to be provided for by a fund derived from his labor in the manner already indicated. He is the party most benefited by emancipation. It would not be right to subject the non-slaveholder to any part of that expense; and the slaveholder will have made sufficient sacrifices, without being exclusively burdened with taxes to raise that fund. The emancipated slaves could be hired out for the time proposed, by the sheriff or other public agent, in each county, who should be subject to strict accountability. And it would be requisite that there should be kept a register of all the births of all children of color, after the day fixed for the commencement of the system, enforced by appropriate sanctions. It would be a very desirable regulation of law to have births, deaths, and marriages, of the whole population of the State, registered and preserved, as is done in most well-governed States.

Among other considerations which unite in recommending to the State of Kentucky a system for the gradual abolition of Slavery, is that arising out of her exposed condition affording great facilities to the escape of her slaves into the Free States and into Canada. She does not enjoy the security which some of the Slave States have, by being covered in depth by two or three Slave States intervening between them and Free States. She has a greater length of border on Free States than any other Slave State in the Union. That border is the Ohio River, extending from the mouth of Big Sandy to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance of near 600 miles—separating her from the already powerful and growing States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Vast numbers of slaves have fled from most of the counties in Kentucky from the mouth of Big Sandy to the mouth of Miami, and the evil has increased and is increasing. Attempts to recover the fugitives lead to most painful and irritating collisions. Hitherto countenance and assistance to the fugitives have been chiefly afforded by persons in the State of Ohio; but it is to be apprehended, from the progressive opposition to Slavery, that, in process of time, similar facilities to the escape of slaves would be found in the States of Indiana and Illinois. By means of railroads, Canada can be reached from Cincinnati in a little more than twenty-four hours.

In the event of a civil war breaking out, or in the more dreadful event of a dissolution of the Union in consequence of the existence of Slavery, Kentucky would become the theatre and bear the brunt of the war. She would doubtless defend herself with her known valor and gallantry; but the superiority of the numbers by which she would be opposed would lay waste and devastate her fair fields. Her sister Slave States would fly to her succor; but even if they should be successful in the unequal conflict,

she never could obtain any indemnity for the inevitable ravages of the war.

It may be urged that we ought not, by the gradual abolition of Slavery, to separate ourselves from the other Slave States, but continue to share with them in all their future fortunes. The power of each Slave State, within its limits, over the institution of Slavery, is absolute, supreme, and exclusive — exclusive of that of Congress or that of any other State. The Government of each Slave State is bound by the highest and most solemn obligations to dispose of the question of Slavery, so as best to promote the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the people of the State. Kentucky being essentially a farming State, slave labor is less profitable. If, in most of the other Slave States, they find that labor more profitable, in the culture of the staples of cotton and sugar, they may perceive a reason in that feeling for continuing Slavery which can not be expected should control the judgment of Kentucky, as to what may be fitting and proper for her interests. If she should abolish Slavery, it would be her duty, and I trust that she would be as ready, as she now is, to defend the Slave States in the enjoyment of all their lawful and constitutional rights. Her power, political and physical, would be greatly increased; for one hundred and ninety odd thousand slaves and their descendants, would be gradually superseded by an equal number of white inhabitants, who would be estimated per capita, and not by the federal rule of three fifths prescribed for the colored race in the Constitution of the United States.

I have thus, without reserve, freely expressed my opinion and presented my views. The interesting subject of which I have treated would have admitted of much enlargement, but I have desired to consult brevity. The plan, which I have proposed, will hardly be accused of being too early in its commencement, or too rapid in its operation. It will be more likely to meet with contrary reproaches. If adopted, it is to begin thirty-four or thirty-nine years from the time of its adoption, as the one period or the other shall be selected for its commencement. How long a time it will take to remove all the colored race from the State, by the annual transportation of each year's natural increase, can not be exactly ascertained. After the system had been in operation some years, I think it probable, from the manifest blessings that would flow from it, from the diminished value of slave labor, and from the humanity and benevolence of private individuals prompting a liberation of their slaves and their transportation, a general disposition would exist to accelerate and complete the work of colonization.

That the system will be attended with some sacrifices on the part of slaveholders, which are to be regretted, need not be denied. What great and beneficial enterprise was ever accomplished without risk and sacrifice? But these sacrifices are distant, contingent, and inconsiderable. Assuming the year 1860 for the commencement of the system, all slaves born prior to that time would remain such during their lives, and the personal loss of the slaveholder would be only the difference in value of a female-slave whose

offspring, if she had any, born after the first day of January, 1860, should be free at the age of twenty-five, or should be slaves for life. In the meantime, if the right to remove or sell the slave out of the State, should be exercised, that trifling loss would not be incurred. The slaveholder, after the commencement of the system, would lose the difference in value between slaves for life and slaves until the age of twenty-five. He might also incur some inconsiderable expense in rearing, from their birth, the issue of those who were to be free at twenty-five, until they were old enough to be apprenticed out; but as it is probable that they would be most generally bound to him, he would receive some indemnity from their services, until they attained their majority.

Most of the evils, losses, and misfortunes of human life have some compensation or alleviation. The slaveholder is generally a landholder, and I am persuaded that he would find, in the augmented value of his land, some, if not full indemnity for losses arising to him from emancipation and colonization. He would also liberally share in the general benefits accruing to the whole State, from the extinction of Slavery. These have been so often and so fully stated, that I will not, nor is it necessary to dwell upon them extensively. They may be summed up in a few words. We shall remove from among us the contaminating influences of a servile and degraded race of different color; we shall enjoy the proud and conscious satisfaction of placing that race where they can enjoy the great blessings of liberty, and civil, political and social equality; we shall acquire the advantage of the diligence, the fidelity, and the constancy of free labor, instead of the carelessness, the infidelity, and the unsteadiness of slave labor; we shall elevate the character of white labor, and elevate the social condition of the white laborer; augment the value of our lands, improve the agriculture of the State, attract capital from abroad to all the pursuits of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture; redressed, as far and as fast as we prudently could, any wrongs which the descendants of Africa have suffered at our hands, and we should demonstrate the sincerity with which we pay indiscriminate homage to the great cause of the liberty of the human race.

Kentucky enjoys high respect and honorable consideration throughout the Union and throughout the civilized world; but, in my humble opinion, no title which she has to the esteem and admiration of mankind, no deeds of her former glory would equal, in greatness and grandeur, that of being the pioneer State in removing from her soil every trace of human Slavery, and in establishing the descendants of Africa, within her jurisdiction, in the native land of their forefathers.

I have thus executed the promise I made, alluded to in the commencement of this letter, and I hope that I have done it calmly, free from intemperance, and so as to wound the sensibilities of none. I sincerely hope that the question may be considered and decided, without the influence of party or passion. I should be most happy to have the good fortune of coinciding in opinion with a majority of the people of Kentucky; but, if there be a majority

opposed to all schemes of gradual emancipation, however much I may regret it, my duty will be to bow in submission to their will.

If it be perfectly certain and manifest that such a majority exists I should think it better not to agitate the question at all since that, in that case, it would be useless, and might exercise a pernicious collateral influence upon the fair consideration of other amendments, which may be proposed to our Constitution. If there be a majority of the people of Kentucky at this time, adverse to touching the institution of Slavery, as it now exists, we, who had thought and wished otherwise, can only indulge the hope that, at some future time, under better auspices and with the blessings of Providence, the cause, which we have so much at heart, may be attended with better success.

In any event, I shall have the satisfaction of having performed a duty to the State, to the subject, and to myself, by placing my sentiments perma nently upon record.

With great regard, I am your friend and obedient servant,

H. CLAY

RICHARD PINDELL, Esq.

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